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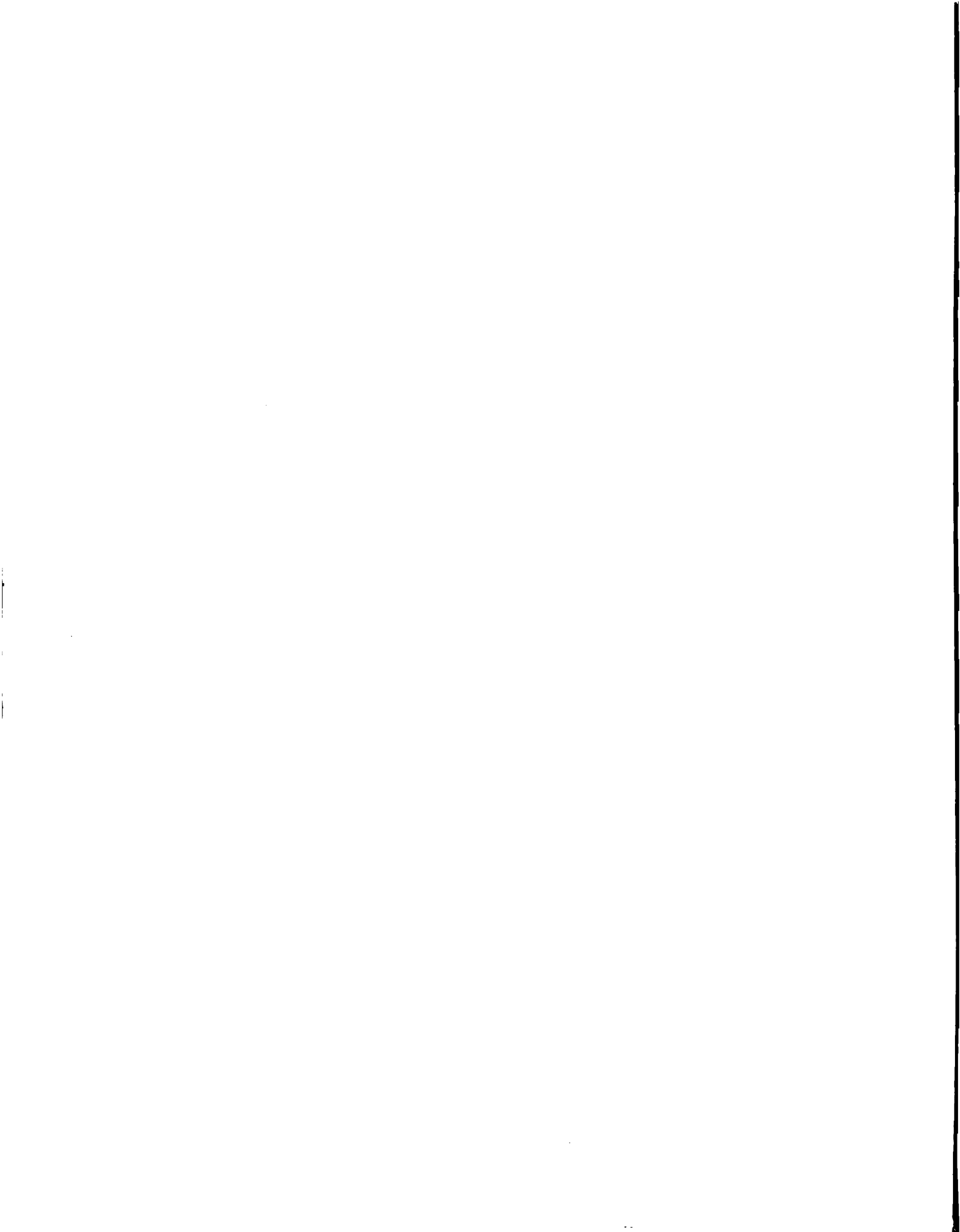
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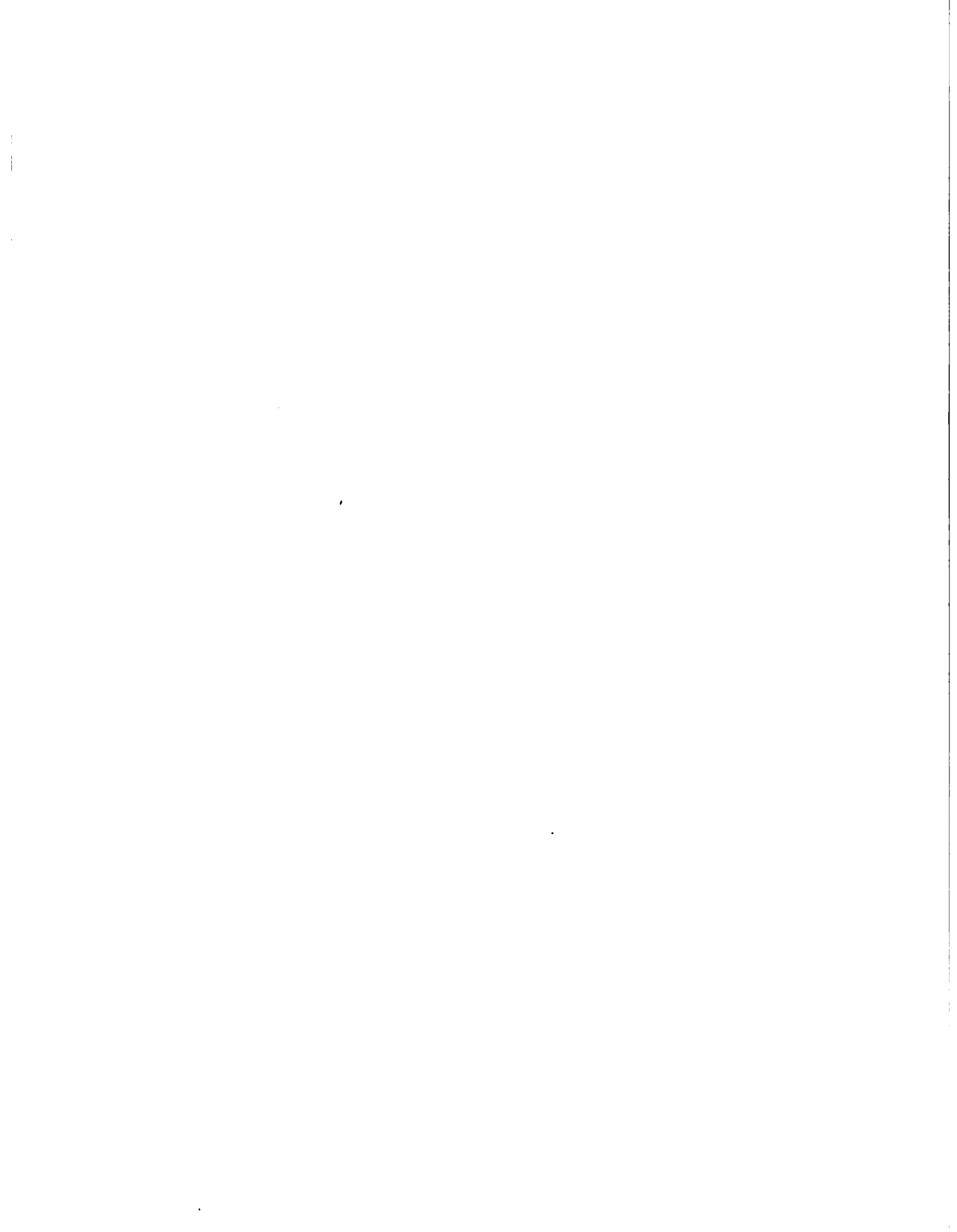


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Manuscript

FRAGMENTS

12363

OF

SCOTTISH HISTORY.

----- CUM ALTERA LUX VENIT,
JAM CRAS HESTERNUM CONSUMPSIMUS: ECCE ALIUD CRAS
EGERIT NOS ANNOS, ET SEMPER PAULUM ERIT ULTRA.

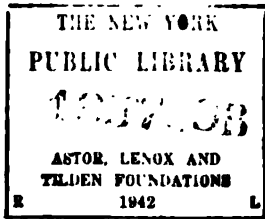
Persius, Sat. 5.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE,

AT THE CROSS.

1798.



TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY DUNDAS,

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE,

ETC. ETC.

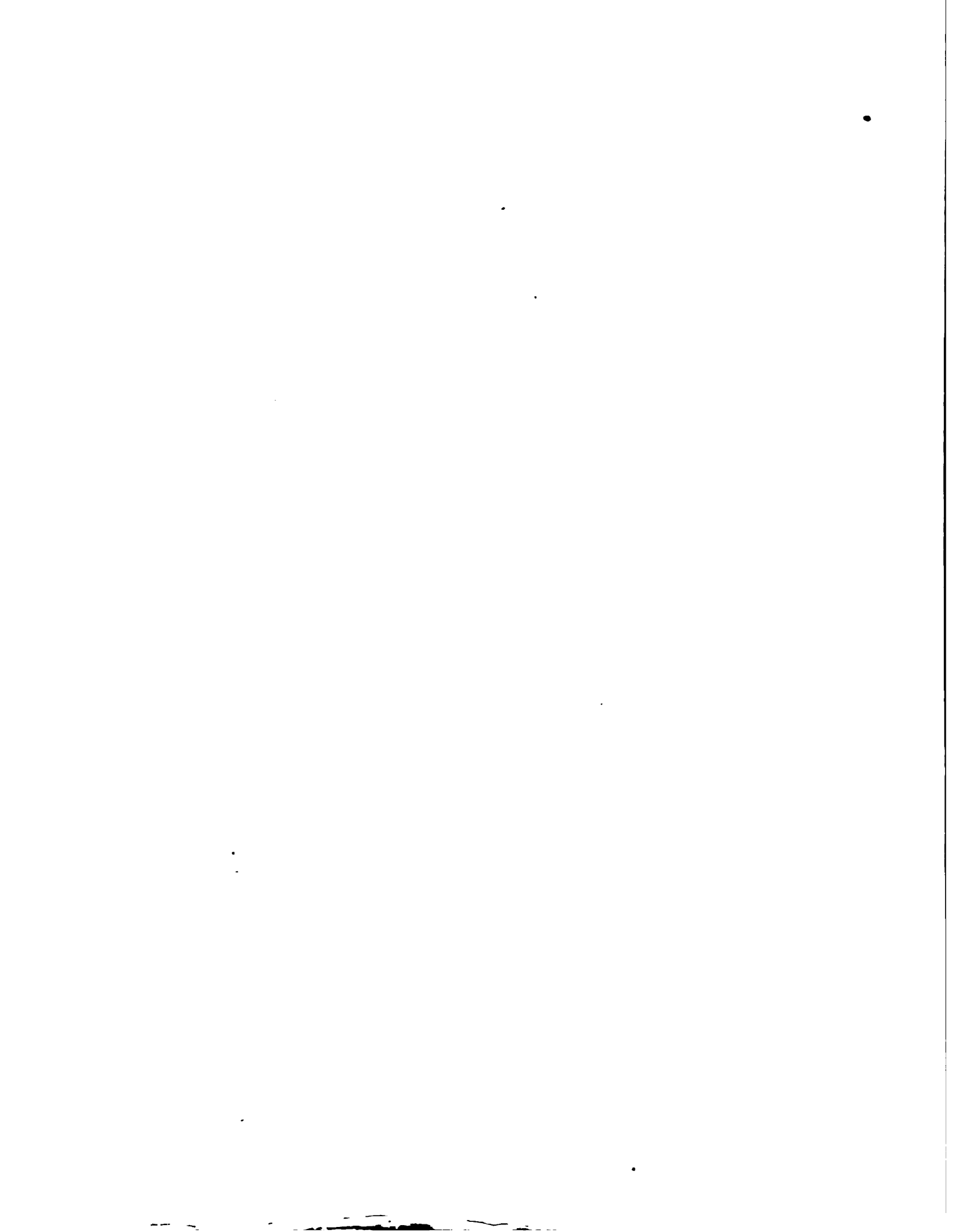
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IN TESTIMONY

OF

GRATITUDE.

John A. ... 23 May 1942



P R E F A C E.

THE following Reflections are a selection from notes which occurred during the perusal of some volumes of history. The period alluded to, is chiefly between the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and the death of Alexander III.—Although never intended to come under the description of a Dissertation, it was meant to notice, what other authors had not remarked, or applied to a different purpose ; whence, it will not be surprising that the subject is abrupt, and less appears than might have been written upon it.—I am sorry, upon revisal, to find some things that have been said before.

WHEN an author speaks of his labours, merit is indirectly ascribed to himself : but it is doubtless more easy to complete a history of any civilized country in Europe, than to elucidate one obscure century of the history of Scotland.—Yet theories are continually reared upon materials, the failure or imbecility of the smallest particle of which, would level the superstructure for ever. I make no positive assertion : every one may draw that inference from the authorities quoted, which seems to him the most reasonable : and if, at the present moment, I incline to any side, I do not warrant the continuance of my opinion ; for I have little doubt, that more information in the history of the nation, might prompt me to change.—

THE

THE manners of mankind form an interesting subject. We must not search for these in Courts, or in Theatres; but the rude and uncultivated savage of the more inhospitable climes, when viewed with a philosophic eye, presents a picture of man nearly in his primitive state. Facts, apparently trivial, will illustrate a coincidence or a difference of manners; and, while they seem important to the historian, may induce upon him the ridicule of the illiterate. Some circumstances are so unusual, and so surprising, that I have at times hesitated to bestow implicit credit upon the narrator. What is here said, is not deduced from one or two authorities only, but from nearly the whole voyages and travels of this century, and many of the last. The more modern, of Charlevoix, Carver, Byron, Wallis, Carteret, Cook, Bougainville, Hearne, Paterson, Sparrman, Thunberg, Long, Portlock, Meares, Cartwright, Bligh, Phillips, Hunter, Vaillant, De Page, Rochon, and many more. The works of Hyde, Banier, Bryant, Septchenes, Tressan, &c. have afforded some remarks upon religion. I may exclaim with Tacitus, “ Rara temporum
“ felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis et quæ sentias dicere licet!” Most of the classics, and many general writers, have been perused; but, to specify the names of the authors, would alone occupy several pages. The travellers are not quoted, not to raise the number of quotations to the standard of pedantry. At the same time, I am convinced how absurd a reason this is; for, with Pliny, I agree, “ Est enim benignum et plenum
“ ingenui pudoris fateri per quos profeceris.” All the mss. quoted are in the Advocates Library. The world will soon be gratified with a *Catalogue Raisonné* of the whole in that excellent collection. I need not anticipate the satisfaction this must afford.—I do not say, the Justiciaries

of

of Scotland, named here, are all that have existed ; nor do I say so of any of the other Officers of State : for the passages concerning them, are rather given as general illustrations. There is one circumstance, difficult to guard against ; the confounding of the Officers of the Crown with those in other establishments. The King might have a Chancellor, a Chamberlain, a Treasurer, a Cupbearer ; but the more eminent, if not all, religious houses, might have the same. Surnames must not be confounded with offices. Marescallus often signifies the surname *Marshall*. Camerarius, or de Camera, and Pincerna, may signify the surnames *Chamberlain*, and *Butler*.

WHATEVER may advance the imaginary honour of a nation, is, in a comparison between Scotland and England, momentarily decided in favour of England. Laws, Manners, and Arts. Which may claim the right, is perfectly unimportant. Cannon, it is said, were first used by the English, 1346 : But we have good evidence, they were used in Scotland, 1340. The oldest known English watch was made, it is said, in the sixteenth century. There exists a watch, which, antiquarians allow, belonged to King Robert Bruce. It is a matter of absolute indifference, whether either is true.

IF, in the few original pages presented here, I have censured the opinion of any one, when differing with my own, I must intreat for pardon ; for I know well, the most humble display of human abilities, is in criticizing the works of others ; and experience daily informs me, how much more easy it is to dictate, than to execute. But a degree of vanity, inseparable from the human race, will sometimes persuade us to
condemn

condemn what is beyond the limits of our comprehension ; perhaps attempting to show our learning, by criticizing what we do not understand : and it would seem that the severity of our censure, in general, encreases with our ignorance.

WHEN a native of Scotland writes in English, he writes in fetters ; he writes in a language which is not familiar to his ear. Those, whose good fortune has placed them among the more elevated ranks of life, are in some degree exempted from this : but residence in a country, alone can enable one to acquire the language.—That there must here be many errors in style, I am certain ; not that I am conscious of them myself : But perfection is unattainable by mankind, and far distant from a juvenile author. Yet one has always a cheerful prospect—a prospect of improvement : wherefore, in a retrospect, he may not be ashamed of those inadvertencies attendant upon youth.—There is one word I venture to retain, although perhaps it will not be found in any modern dictionary of the English language ; the term, *girdle*. National antiquities must be expressed in national language.

THE original papers are all, except two (No. XI. & XII.) * from MSS. in the Advocates Library. I did intend to select more ; but my
professional

* These are in a chartulary of Aberdeen, belonging to Mr A. CONSTABLE, bookseller in Edinburgh ; whose attention in procuring scarce books, and intelligence of whatever is valuable in literature, I must here acknowledge. Nor should I forget to confess how much I am indebted to Mr PATON, (whose name is well known to Scottish Antiquarians), for the use of books in his curious collection.

professional engagements, and other indispensable avocations, have prevented me both from doing that, and from continuing to examine the more ancient history of Scotland. The engraved agreement is from the Original Charters. No. I. & II. from the Chartulary of Dunfermline. No. III. from Lord Haddington's Collections. No. IV. is by Sir James Balfour. No. V. from Lord Haddington's Collections. No. VI. is by Sir James Balfour : both this and No. IV. are continued until the middle of last century. No. VII. from Copies of Ancient Charters. No. VIII. from the Lives of the Grate Constables. The three following have no absolute relation to the Reflections. No. IX, from the Chartulary of the chapel of Stirling, will illustrate the possessions, and in particular the library, of ecclesiastics. No. X, from the Chartulary of Aberdeen, will do the same. No. XI, from the same Chartulary, will afford the historian of that period some information respecting the sentences of Parliament, and the rigour with which second tithes were exacted. No. XII. XIII. & XIV. relate to King James VI, of whom much is said in the Diary : All three have been collected by Sir James Balfour : No. XIV. was communicated to him, it would appear, by some friend. The song, mentioned p. 58, will not bear transcription †.

IF the Diary has any merit, it may arise from its being written by a person who seems to have been attached to no party. It appears to be a simple narration of facts as they happened : but the author undoubtedly

b

meant

† The music book in which it is, was presented to me by Mr A. CONSTABLE ; and I intend to deposit it in the Advocates Library, for the inspection of the curious.

meant to make some alteration, as the work itself does not entirely correspond with the title. The obscure passages I intended to explain, by collations with other mss. and histories ; but I must lament, that, in this case, as before, the same causes have prevented me ; and, only when I could find leisure, a note was sometimes subjoined. Although the chronology of the author and that of Sir James Balfour agree, I do not say Principal Robertson is wrong ; particularly as, it would seem, Sir James has engrossed the greater part of the Diary in his own work. And although it is probable he collected more materials relating to the history of Scotland than ever was done by another, he is often inaccurate. With more attention to the facts, and by bestowing more time in collation, I might have ascertained the truth.

THE two last tracts are so exceedingly scarce, that they are very rarely to be seen ; and the value so great, that few can afford to purchase them. The first, though it here occupies only 14 pages, I have frequently heard estimated at ten guineas ; and the second at five and six. It was judged proper to reprint them, because the history of a country can be elucidated only by the facility of acquiring materials : and it is perhaps to be regretted, that many valuable mss. are locked up in private cabinets, unknown to the world. These tracts and the Diary, are edited with as much fidelity, as one, who could not bestow a large portion of his time upon them, might accomplish.

BEFORE a person writes upon a subject, he should have read all that has been already written upon it. This has been denied me. Had I
any

any prospect of continuing to study the history of Scotland, this volume might be enlarged, and made more perfect. I have still many notes which were intended for new reflections. But I believe, that, with this, I shall bid adieu to the antiquities of my country.

BINNS HOUSE,
November
 1798.

Malcolm III. begun to reign	1056.
Donald	1093.
Duncan	1094.
Edgar	1098.
Alexander I.	1107.
David I.	1124.
Malcolm IV.	1153.
William	1165.
Alexander II.	1214.
Alexander III.	1249. Killed 1286.

C O N T E N T S.

I. Defultory Reflections upon the State of Ancient Scotland. — Climate the cause of the ancient barbarism. Character of the natives. Manners in the time of war. Commerce. Navigation. — Barbarism of England. — Causes of Scottish barbarism. Proximity of England: Feudal law: Royal minorities: Slavery: Clergy: Appearance of the country. — Titles of honour: Earl. Thane. Abthane. — Officers of State: Justiciars of Scotland, Lothian. Site of Lothian. Justiciars north of the Forth. Constable. Cupbearer. Sheriff. Judex. — Music.

Appendix. I. De Ragewin et Gillepatric et Ulchil.
II. De fugitivis qui vocantur Cumberlach.
III. Declaration of freedom.
IV. Catalogue of Justiciars.
V. Charter by Eadgar to the monastery of Durham.
VI. Catalogue of the High Constables.
VII. Foundation charter of Scone.
VIII. Grant of the High Constabulary.
IX. Ornaments, jewels and books, in the chapel of Stirling, 1505.
X. Treasures in the cathedral of Aberdeen, 1518.
XI. Decretum Dominorum Parliamenti, 1522.
XII. Coronation of King James VI.
XIII. Letter of King James VI.
XIV. Character of King James VI.

II. Diary of Robert Birrel, from 1532 until 1605.
III. Expedition into Scotland by the Earl of Hertford, 1544.
IV. Expedition into Scotland by the Duke of Somerset, 1547.

DESULTORY REFLECTIONS

ON

THE STATE

OF

ANCIENT SCOTLAND.



DESULTORY REFLECTIONS, &c.

THE field of Scottish history presents a barren aspect. The meagre records of the times, offer no allurements to the patient enquirer. Few traits remain, that can guide us to the private life of our ancestors; and the seal of obscurity has stamped its impression upon our ancient national manners.

Our ancestors were savages, or they were but one degree removed. This cannot excite surprise. In a cold and ungenial clime, luxury is of late introduction. Perhaps the progress of science can alone eradicate the seeds of barbarism. In a state of nature, the manners of a nation are affected, it may be, regulated, by local influence: thus, the ancient barbarism of Scotland, perhaps, originates in climate.—Let us survey the Arctic region; let us traverse the snows of Lapland, Kamtschatka, Iceland, and Siberia: the natives are rude and savage.—Where the rigid soil admits the furrows of the plough; the winter's frost counteracts the benign influence of the summer's sun; renders the term of existence precarious: the chance of support, rests in the bow, or in the lance. The hopes of the labourer are blasted: no golden harvest crowns his cares. Depressed, he sees his anxieties are vain: and the sun reposes in the arms of Thetis, after a diurnal smile on fruitless exertion.—Or, where the earth is clad with almost everlasting snow, in vain the native roams the wide forest, or the naked plain, to quiet the calls of ravening hunger. Unless his progress is marked by some fortunate event, the hand of death arrests his footsteps; he falls, and perishes, far from the abode of men: or, sunk in despair, wretch-

ed he commits him to the turgid ocean ; and, as his little skiff is wafted over the billow, he almost wishes to return no more.—Care to obtain uncertain sustenance, employs the constant thought ; deadens the mind to pleasure. The day, consumed in toil, sportive amusements relieve not the tædium of the lingering night.—Here can there not be refinement.—The miseries of mankind encrease, as we approach the pole. The solemn stillness which pervades the vast expanse of snow, is interrupted but by the chilling blast ; distempers the imagination ; inspires the mind with melancholy.—

—No nation in the latitude of Scotland, has, with the absence of literature, been refined : and part of the Scottish dominions are in the latitude of Cape Farewel.—

—Although the manners of mankind are modified by climate ; although this may be the first cause which excites the difference of ideas : yet are there some things upon which it has little effect. The variety and coincidence of sentiment ; the variety and coincidence of ceremony ; are eminently conspicuous in religion. A beast, a bird, a serpent, a plant, or a mountain, have been the successive objects of adoration. The universal worship of the Sun, and the immolation of victims, have existed from the earliest ages. The most opposite objects are used to convey the same idea. The Chinese, the Indian, or the Tartar, conceives the number of countenances a symbol of universal presence ; and the number of hands a symbol of universal power. The Unitarian or Mahometan figures the omniscience and omnipotence of his deity, without a redundancy of organs. Nations have, and have not, ascribed the formation of the world to a Deity. The origin of man, has been fancied from blood, from earth, or from a tree : of woman, from a plant, the rib, thigh, or the soles of the feet of man. The Lares of the Romans may be analogous to the South-Sea Etuas : the Morai of the Otaheitans, to the Towers of the Gaures. The funeral pile of the Grecians may be found among the wandering Koriacs : the Apis of the Egyptians may remain with the brachmans of India, perhaps in the remote island of Japan :

pan : and the history of Christ may be traced in the incarnations of Vichenou. The Highland cairn is found in the American woods, and in the little known empire of Morocco. The rows of skulls in the temple of Diana (¹), may be seen in the island of Tongataboo.—Mankind have consigned their dead to the waters, the earth, or to fire. The Indian and the Danish women burnt themselves upon the funeral pile of their husbands. The Greeks and the Northern nations interred with the body a piece of money : the use, with the one, was to serve in hell ; with the other, to serve in heaven. The Colchians suspended their dead from trees (²) : the Illinois, it is said, do the same. The Nasomenes interred their dead in a sitting posture (³) : the natives of Hudson's Bay do the same. The inhabitants of Caucasus, say the ancients (⁴), from affection devoured the bodies of their deceased relations : this is done by the modern Americans. Artemisia, queen of Caria, celebrated for the Mausoleum, entombed her husband in her own body (⁵). The ancient Indians, and the Northern nations, esteemed disease dishonourable, and embraced a voluntary death. The Scythians, like the North Americans, drunk out of the skulls of their enemies. The war whoop existed among the Gauls, the Irish, and the ancient Danes. The god Priapus was known in Egypt, and to the Jews ; and now is known to the Calmucs and the South-Sea islanders. The respect of the Egyptians for the ibis, or the Thessalians for a stork (⁶), may resemble that of the Hottentots for the honey-bird, or the veneration of the owl at Owhyhee. Some remarkable customs of nations, remote from each other, may coincide, even where those customs are hardly known to the rest of the world. The Thracians, according

(¹) Ammian. Marcellin, lib. 22.

(²) Nicolaus Damascen. ap. Excerpt. Valesii, p. 527.

(³) Herodotus, lib. 4. 190.

(⁴) Strabo, lib. 15.

(⁵) Diodorus Siculus.

(⁶) Plutarch de Is. et Osir.

according to Herodotus, during a tempest, " discharge their arrows towards " the heavens, to menace the Deity" (7). The North Americans, when it thunders or lightens, " beat their drums, discharge their arrows, and " rival the noise of the evil spirits."—There is another fact, which I shall express in the words of the translator. Among the Egyptians, " *erectæ* " *fœminæ mingunt, et viri sedentes* " (8). This wonderful coincidence is actually found among the American nations.—The superstitions of mankind are unaccountable. Idiots have been venerated in rude and in civilized nations : in some, their privilege is at pleasure to massacre every individual. Strange, in Britain, an idiot in a family is judged fortunate! —The coincidence of manners, affords no absolute proof of the descent of nations. The European monk, the Turkish dervise, the Indian fakier, and the Chinese santone, are the same emblems of the same *mania*. Because the Danish Urd, Verdandi, and Skulld, are synonymous with the Grecian Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos ; because the northern Indians esteem privation of sepulture the cause of wandering on the shores of the waters of oblivion ; and because the Grecians did the same : it is no evidence of common descent, nor of the influence of climate. We find a similitude, not only in idea, but even in name, of the various supreme and inferior deities, among nations in situations the most remote. We find a similitude in the disposal of the dead, in the ideas of a future state, and in some of the chief acts of nations ; in the symbol of peace, and in the fate of captives.—But we may rest the parallel, with the immolation of human victims ; a fact, which seems to have pervaded the world since the origin of time, and still remains. The Scythians (9), the Tauri, who were a race of Scythians (10), the Lusitani (11),
the

(7) Lib. 4. 94.

(8) Herod. lib. 2. 35. Vid. Adair's hist. of the Indians, &c.

(9) Herod. 4. 62. Strab. lib. 7.

(10) Ammian. Marcell. Pomponius Mela, lib. 2.

(11) Strab. lib. 3. p. 232.

the Cimbri (¹²), the Britons (¹³), the Albani (¹⁴), all the Gauls (¹⁵), the Suevi (¹⁶), Germans (¹⁷); those were chiefly barbarous nations. We need not speak of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Jews or Romans, and many more. The altars of Odin often smoked with human blood (¹⁸).—How various are the effects of climate! and how varied are the pursuits of men! The Turk protracts his inactive life on the carpet of indolence; the Arab wanders the desert in perpetual change; the Egyptian is nurtured in the luxurious arms of effeminacy: while the Greenlander, in darkness, lives on eternal snow.—The wilds, the woods, the mountains, or the plain, must influence the ideas of man. His fertile genius produces the kajak, the proa, the galley, or the pyrogue, according to his state: and by this is a hut or a palace raised.—Happy Scotland! without the tropical region, nor within the frigid zones;—a climate, temperate, when compared with the piercing blasts of Lapland; temperate, when compared with the tepid zephyrs of Java or of Senegal. No Samiel, no Mælstrom, no Hecla, no Andes:—yet were the natives barbarous.—

—Far from the seat of splendour, Scotland stood unimportant in the politic scale. Remote from pomp and civilization, her children could not imbibe notions of literature and refinement. Her commerce limited, and her productions few; no attractions invited strangers, and the spirit of adventure was unknown. A scanty population demanded care to repress the incursions of an enemy; and the inhabitants, wrapt in anxiety to satisfy the wants of life, had little leisure to cultivate the arts. Centuries hardly produced a change. The same objects, the same scenes,

(¹²) Strabo, lib. 7. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 5.

(¹³) Tacit. Annal. lib. 14. 30. Diod. Sic. lib. 5.

(¹⁴) Strabo, 11. p. 768.

(¹⁵) Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. 6. c. 16. Strab. lib. 4. Pompon. Mela.

(¹⁶) Tacit. de Morib. German.

(¹⁷) Ib. c. 9.

(¹⁸) Bartholin. de Caus. Contempt. Mort. p. 393, et seq. Ditmar.

scenes, for ever presented themselves to view : but a wish was not excited to alter their state.—The Northern nations are not indolent : the rigours of cold, promote activity ; the enervations of heat, languor and indifference.—As the necessaries for existence are precarious, exertions must be used, to guard against the impending evil.—The character of our ancestors was, bravery, strength, and activity (¹⁹) ; a degree of fierceness, blended with courage, and pride with generosity (²⁰). Hence, says the historian, a Gallic proverb, “ *Ill est fier comme ung Escossois* ” (²¹).—Their stature was large ; and demeanour graceful.—There exists the description of an Hæbudian woman, in the year one thousand. She was above fifty, large and tall, of great stature, very corpulent, small eyes, black eyebrows, a great quantity of brown hair : modest in deportment, not cheerful or loquacious (²²).—Scotland has been unfortunate. Long and frequent minorities, enfeebled her national councils ; and the vicinity of a more numerous people, involved her in ruinous and bloody wars. We see deliberations in the Scottish assemblies, which would not dishonour any nation : we see them readily improve by experience, and grow wise from misfortune.—

It has been said, and with truth, that the Scottish nation is descended from the ancient Goths. The remnants of Gothic manners may aid the assertion. The race was warlike, and their conquests extended far : Nor is it wonderful that their customs are traced among their posterity.—In all, or many barbarous nations, birth, marriage, and death, are judged matters of importance. Crowds are assembled, feasts prepared, and the reins given to extravagant demonstrations of joy ; or sorrow drowned in copious libations to the manes of the deceased. Such customs

(¹⁹) Tacitus in Agricola.

(²⁰) Croniques de Froissart. Diodor. Sic. lib. 5.

(²¹) Major de Gest. Scotor. 1. 7.

(²²) Erbyggia Saga, ad ann. 1000.

customs still exist with us. We may, with pleasure, witness their decline.—

The bravery of the Northern nations, arose from their contempt of death; and their contempt of death, from the pleasure they anticipated in the hall of Odin. Like the Mahometans, they believed that from the field of glory the soul ascended to Paradise. A Danish King enacted a law against even an emotion of fear (²³). Hence, if we find the men of Scotland brave, it was only in common with the people of the North.—“ *Utque hominibus quietis et placidis otium est voluptabile, ita illos pericula juvant et bella : judicatur ibi beatus qui in bello profuderit animam.* ”

Ammian. Marcell. lib. 31. c. 2.

The employments of the Northern females were rude, and their state an abject subjection to the men. We read of the loom, and the pencil of the East: but the Northern women filled the drinking horns (²⁴), and followed the men to battle. The manners of nations are most varied in the treatment of their females. A writer of reputation thinks their station was eminent in the North, and their employments more befitting the modern ideas of feminine delicacy (²⁵). But it is difficult to reconcile our notions of a barbarous people, and respect for females. In our own days, we see exactly the reverse. I know well what is said of the Lycians, the Libyans, the Garrows, the Natches, and some North American nations: but this is insufficient to prove a general character. There is, in all history, a remarkable contradiction here. One would think the condition of the females was servile; yet the functions they discharged, would prompt us to imagine it held importance. No Egyptian woman was permitted to be a priestess (²⁶): but the Greeks and Romans bestowed this rank upon them. They dispensed the mysteries of the oracles; and, at Rome, had a temple, which it was death for a man to enter. They were the priestesses and

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prophetesses.

(²³) Bartholin. de Caus. Contempt. Mort.

(²⁴) Wormius Monumenta Danica, p. 388. Fast. Dan. p. 62. De Auro Corn. Reg. Christ. Will. of Malmsh. &c.

(²⁵) Gilb. Stuart's View of Society in Europe. Richardson on Eastern Manners, &c.

(²⁶) Herodotus, ii. 35.

prophetesses of the ruder nations ; and the names of Geirrid, Keidr, and Thorbiorg, are famous in the North. Heraclides ascribes an honourable office to the Persian women : “ Three hundred watch the king by night, singing, and playing upon the harp ” (‘‘). Yet we are told, the Persian king “ governed the queen like a master ” (‘‘). The Egyptians, according to Diodorus, allowed a queen more authority than a king (‘‘). Some of the Germans brought portions to their wives (‘‘), as well as some of the ancient nations in Spain (‘‘).—The Grecian women were certainly under restraint. An Athenian of rank “ chides his wife for wearing high-heeled shoes, and painting her face :” He tells her, that “ standing at her loom would improve her mien ; and baking, or such menial occupations, would give a preferable glow to her complexion.”—The condition of the Roman women, is uncertain. They seem, at one period, to have lived in the most unbounded licentiousness. Men and women promiscuously frequented the public baths, until the reign of Hadrian.—In the more early ages, a husband could put his wife to death for adultery, or for being intoxicated (‘‘). In later times, there was a law enacted—“ *Ne quastum corpore faceret, cui avus, aut pater, aut maritus, eques Romanus fuisset* ” (‘‘). The contrast is remarkable.—But the limitations of female liberty, existing in most nations, is sufficient to decide their state. The ancient Eastern nations exposed their women in public markets for sale ; and there the men purchased them indiscriminately for slaves or wives (‘‘). The infidelity of the wife has always been more severely punished, than that of the husband. In most cases, it was death ; which

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(‘‘) Heraclides à Gronov.

(‘‘) Dinon. ap. Athenæum.

(‘‘) Lib. 1. cap. 23.

(‘‘) Tacitus de Morib. German.

(‘‘) Strabo, p. 251. edit. 1707.

(‘‘) Dionysius Halicarnass. lib. ii. 25. Ælius Spartianus in vit. Hadr.

(‘‘) Tacit. Hist. ii. 75.

(‘‘) Nicolaus Damascen. p. 520. Strabo, lib. 15. Herodot. i. 196, &c.

is still inflicted among the savage nations, and the modern Tartars. The husband is the executioner.—

A celebrated author, who attained the utmost limits of ecclesiastical dignity, affirms, the Scottish women were amorous ; and that kisses were less valued in Scotland, than touching the hand was in Italy (¹⁵). This might be true. Modesty is an acquired idea ; and no female bears the burden of chastity, when an opportunity offers to lay it down. Few savage females are reserved.—But I do not know that the Northern nations are prone to love : which rather seems a characteristic of the warmer regions. Yet, were we ignorant of the influence of the church, perhaps we might acquiesce with his learned Holiness : for the legislature has, with singular care, declared the pain of fornication to be, “ shaving the head, imprisonment, immersion thrice in the deepest and dirtiest pool of water in the town or parish, and banishment from these for ever ” (¹⁶). *O tempora ! O mores !* How different, at one period, the customs of the neighbouring countries ! Robert Duke of Normandy, constituted one *Baldric custos meretricum publice venalium* (¹⁷). And over the doors of a palace belonging to Cardinal Wolsey, was inscribed, “ *Domus meretricum Domini Cardinalis.* ” The *marescallus meretricum* was an officer under the Crown.—We must acknowledge, however, that a passion for celibacy seems not to have affected the Scottish females. Of about 200 religious houses, only 22 were nunneries ; and, we are told, the morals of the nuns in some, occasioned their suppression.—

“ *Casta igitur nulla est : castæ sunt mille : quid ergo*

“ *Casta facit ? non dat : non tamen illa negat.* ”

MARTIAL, Ep. iv. 71.

—It is said, that in England, the nuns were as numerous as the monks. There was an hermaphrodite order, where monks and nuns lived under

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(¹⁵) Pope Pius II.

(¹⁶) Statute 1567, c. 13.

(¹⁷) Du Cange Glossarium.

the same roof. There were 1100 nuns of this order, and only 800 monks (18). We had, in Scotland, but one similar convent (19).—

Describing the state of ancient Scotland, Boyce says, the women were nearly as strong as the men. “ Al rank, madynis and wyffis, gif “ thay war nocht with child, yeid als weile to battel as the men ” (40). Boyce is not to be trusted ; and, did I mean to write a history of national manners, I might search for more authentic authorities. However, he may be right. The females of many nations have been militant, both in the East, and in the West. No one is ignorant of Semiramis, Artemisia, Zenobia, or Boadicea. The Sacæ (41), the Æthiopians (42), the Triballi, had, according to Damascenus, four ranks in their armies ; the last of women, to recal the fugitives (43). This, if true, might be a reason why the character of Amazons is ascribed to some nations. The German women went to battle—*cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant* (44). The same was practised in Britain, that they might witness the valour of their husbands (45). And there is reason to believe, that, at a later period, the women of England partook this Amazonian amusement (46).

In the time of war, our ancestors were absolute savages. That they were cannibals, has been asserted by the ancients, and denied by the moderns. The existence of a race of men, who could devour their own species, when unimpelled by the calls of hunger, was doubted, until recent evidence proved the fact. Ailred certainly affirms, the Gallovidians were cannibals. The speech of Walter L’Espec, before the

(18) Fuller’s Church Hist.

(19) Keith’s Catalogue, p. 264.

(40) Cosmographie, fol. 9.

(41) Ctesizæ Fragmenta.

(42) Strabo, lib. 17.

(43) P. 524.

(44) Tacitus de Morib. Germ. c. 7. Strabo, lib. 7.

(45) Annal. lib. 14. c. 34, 35.

(46) Barrington on Archery.

the battle of the Standard, 1138, expressly declares, they fed on human flesh, and drunk human blood, mixed with water (⁴⁷). Ailred we may trust to: this battle happened in his own time: it is thought he died about 1166.—The armies consisted chiefly of cavalry; and they were collected with wonderful expedition. In three days, more than 15,000 assembled (⁴⁸). Those armies sometimes amounted to 30,000, and even 50,000 horse. In 1327, Randolph and Douglas ravaged England with 20,000 *expeditorum equitum* (⁴⁹).—It is amusing, to see our historians plume themselves on the dignity of our forefathers, and perhaps bestow a degree of consequence upon a Shetland poney. The infantry were few in comparison: nevertheless, we sometimes read of numerous armies. It has been inferred, that, in ancient times, the infantry had no armour. It is difficult to conceive, how, in that state, they would venture to invade England, or engage the English armies, unless we suppose that they were equally destitute. “*Lanceis nostris,*” says Walter L’Espece, “*gladiis nostris, telis nostris, nudum obiciunt corium, pelle vitulina pro scuto utentes*” (⁵⁰). He afterwards describes the English armour. In the year 1173, according to the English authors, King William raised an army, “*habens multitudinem infinitam Galwalensium, agilem, nudam, calvitie multa notabilem*” (⁵¹). From this, it seems probable, the Scottish army had little armour.—They carried but a small portion of provisions to the field. A little oatmeal was all, and a girdle to prepare their cake (⁵²). At one time, says Froissart, they had neither bread, wine, salt, nor any provisions, but plenty of cattle. These were

(⁴⁷) De Bello Standardii.

(⁴⁸) Froissart, i. 324.

(⁴⁹) Buchanan, lib. 8. Froissart.

(⁵⁰) De Bello Standardii.

(⁵¹) Radulphus de Diceto, ad ann. 1173. “*Sinistrum latus munitem cultellis armatis quibus formidandis, jaculis jaciendis et dirigendis in longinquum, manum habentem apertissimam lanceam longam cum ad bellum progreditur, erigentem pro signo*” — — —

(⁵²) Froissart, i. 18.

were always abounding in the countries through which they passed.—Their culinary operations are described to have been, the tension of an animal's skin upon four stakes. Supplying fire and water, the flesh was boiled in its original skin. In this century, it is said, the same was done; and, in the remote quarters of the Highlands, is supposed to continue still.—

There was little trade in Scotland; and we may with reason enquire, what her produce or manufactures were, that could be valuable.—The chief articles, it would seem, were wool, hides, furs, and pearls.—It will appear strange, what furs a country like this could boast, worthy the notice of strangers. Surely, the skins of the wolf and the polecat, could not be esteemed by those who knew to procure the ermine or the sable.—One valuable animal, however, existed in Scotland. If we may credit Boyce, the beaver was known in his time (^{'3}). It is not impossible. Boyce was a physician: his descriptions in natural history, are accurate and expressive. Nor should we wonder, that, three centuries ago, he was imposed upon by the fables of Barnacles; when hardly one has elapsed, since an illustrious Italian philosopher wrote a treatise, expressly to prove, that insects were not generated from putrid matter (^{'4}). The fables of the Nile, and the ancient Greek historians, were the origin of this, as of many more considerable errors.—The beaver existed in Wales. In the twelfth century, its manners are described by an old historian (^{'5}): and in the sixteenth, Holinshed says, “To saie the truth, we have not manie beuers, but onelie in the Teifie in “Wales” (^{'6}). Yet I do not recollect to have met its name in any of our statutes. The point is immaterial, unless to elucidate our ancient natural history, which is less liable than our civil history to change.—Pearls were

(^{'3}) Fol. 9. Sir Rob. Sibbald. Prodrum. hist. nat. Scotiz, “an nunc reperiantur ne-
“fcio.”

(^{'4}) Rhedi opera varia.

(^{'5}) Giraldus Cambrensis, p. 178.

(^{'6}) Vol. 1. p. 225.

were an article of commerce ; and, if I mistake not, some of the Roman satirists are severe on Cæsar's love for them. They are enumerated by Æneas Sylvius ('7). Bishop Lesly praises their number and quality ('8); and the collection of Alexander I. receives the commendations of a cotemporary ('9). They are still found of value.—Scotland had a traffic with the Low countries, and some with England. I have seen an ancient charter, addressed, “ *Omnibus mercatoribus Angliæ* ” trading with Scotland. Perhaps, at a more remote period, the commerce was greater ; and, in the reign of David I, the duties from the ships anchoring in particular harbours, were of sufficient importance to be the subject of special grants.

The navy of Scotland was always neglected. This might be one cause of the limited commerce. Perhaps a naval enemy was not to be dreaded. But, navigation does not seem totally unknown in ancient times, though, it is probable, on a very narrow scale. Sometimes we read of fleets. When we meet with those of a thousand ships, we must read with reserve : if such ever did exist, it was probably the migration of so many savages in their canoes.—Sumerlid, Thane of Argyle, had one fleet of fifty-three ships, 1158 ; and another of one hundred and sixty, 1164 ('0). Alexander III. fought against the Manks, 1275 : he conveyed his troops in a fleet ('1). In ancient charters, the *reddendo* is often a vessel of 18, 22, 26, or 40 oars ; particularly in the time of Robert I. ('2). Barbour gives a curious account of this King's navigation

('7) *Commentar. Rer. Memor.* p. 5.

('8) *De orig. Scotor.*

('9) Hailes's *Annals*, vol. 1. p. 58. *Vid.* *Natural History of Scotland, MS. Adv. Lib. W. 5. 26.* Sir James Balfour on gems, *MS. Adv. Lib. W. 5. 36.*

('0) *Chronicon. Manniz*, p. 17, 20. Copenhagen 1786.

('1) *Ibid.* p. 41.

('2) *Vid.* *Haddington's Collections, MS. Advocates Library.*—This is a large volume of charters and other deeds, collected by the learned Earl of Haddington in the beginning of last century. I would earnestly recommend its perusal to any one who wishes to have an idea of our ancient feudal system.

gation among the Western Isles. It would appear that sails were not in common use (63). The size of vessels is perhaps one test of barbarism; at least, we have never heard of large vessels in nations which could be termed absolutely savage. In some of the semi-civilized islands of the Southern hemisphere, we find vessels of considerable magnitude. The most ancient, in Britain, it is supposed were curroughs. They use, says Pliny, "*vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis*" (64). They are described by Cæsar, who, by a hint from savages, at one time saved his army (65). The construction seems always to have been the same. In the life of St Ninian, their capacity is said to be, "*tantæ magnitudinis, ut sedentes juxta se tres homines capere sufficiat*" (66). St Ninian flourished about 410. And Barbour, speaking of a boat, says,

" Bot it so littel was, that it

" Myght owr the water bot thrie flit " (67).

From Ailred, they do not seem in general use about 1150. Maitland says, in his time, they were, on the river Spey, five feet long, and three wide (68). Upon this, as usual, Boyce bestows his liberal *encomia*; while some modern barbaric customs may with ease be traced. " How may there be ane greter ingyne," he exclaims, " than to mak ane bait of ane bull hyd bound with na thing bot wands! This bait is callit ane currok, with the quhilk they fysche salmond, and sum tyme passis our gret riuers thairwith; and quhen thay haue done thair fysching, thay beir it to ony place on thair bak quhair thay
" pleis "

(63) P. 314. edit. 1758.

(64) Hist. Natur. lib. 4. c. 30.

(65) De Bello civili, c. 54. " Quum in his angustiis res esset, atque omnes viz ab Afranianis, militibus equitibusque obsiderentur, nec pontes perfici possent: imperat militibus Cæsar, ut naves faciant, cujus generis cum superioribus annis usus Britannie docuerat. Carinæ primum ex levi materia fiebant, reliquum corpus navium, viminibus contextum coriis integebatur."

(66) Vita Niniani, cap. 10.

(67) P. 53.

(68) Hist. of Scotland, vol. 1. p. 168.

“pleis” (69). Similar vessels were known, in ancient times, to other countries. Now, they are only used by nations in the extreme of barbarism. Large vessels seem a modern invention. It is true, we read of some of surprising magnitude, such as that framed by Ptolemy Philopator; and Pliny, I think, speaks of the mast of a vessel four fathoms in circumference: but few have been intended for use.—It does not appear essential to navigation, that ships should be large. Within these ten or twelve years, a bark of fifty tons doubled Cape Horn, and sailed round the world. It is probable, the ancients knew more of the new world than we are aware: and we imagine our modern discoveries were unknown before. But it is indubitable, for example, that the Spanish navigator, Quiros, anchored at Otaheite.—It is uncertain what was the size of ancient vessels. In the expedition of Xerxes against Greece, some of the ships carried 230, others 280 men (70). Homer says, if I remember right, that some of the Grecian vessels against the Trojans, carried 50, and others 120 men; and speaks of their being drawn on shore.—The vessels were certainly small in general; and it seems to have been thought inconsistent with antiquity, to suppose them large.—The ship *Argo*, so famous in ancient story, Diodorus tells us, was larger than the common size, and manned by fifty-four persons: it had a stone for an anchor, and was moored to a laurel root. The vessel was carried on the shoulders of the crew (71).—What the size of our own vessels was, I am ignorant. In the year 1357, there were three piratical vessels manned by 300 chosen men: an hundred, I imagine, is meant in each (72). We sometimes subsidized the ships of Flanders: our chief engineers were Flemings. It is only in later times, the navy of England has been improved. And we must imbibe a diminutive idea of the fleet fitted out by Edward II. against this nation, when we find vessels navigated by seven, eight, or ten seamen, termed ships of war: in one there were
eighty-two.

(69) *Cosmographie*, ch. 16.

(70) *Herodotus*, vii. 184, 185.

(71) *Apollonius Rhodius*, lib. i. v. 955. i. 166. iv. 1335.

(72) *Knyghton*, ad ann. 1357.

eighty-two (73). The fleet of Edward III. was numerous, consisting chiefly of small vessels (74). In the reign of Mary, the ships were small. And only in that of Elizabeth and James, did the English navy become really important (75). In 1574, the number of men of war was 24. - - -

—In a search after truth, we ought not to conceal the state of our ancestors.—They were barbarous, indeed ; but that implies no reproach to us : and if we aspire to the higher spheres of literature and refinement, our attempts may merit praise.—Some facts would prompt me to deny their extreme barbarism, did not the state of the neighbouring country proclaim it savage ; and I am not partial enough to my own, to fancy its situation differed much.—

“ Nothing,” says a learned modern author (76), “ can be more erroneous, than the magnificent ideas formed of the roast beef of Old England.” And he speaks with justice.—The truth is, that while the more elevated ranks enjoyed a sort of savage abundance, the commons had scarcely sufficiency to preserve life.—When Æneas Sylvius passed to the English borders, he found the people in a most deplorable state. He complains that he could get neither bread nor wine. All the inhabitants stared at the novelty, “ *ut nostri, vel Ethiopes, vel Indos, mirari solent.*” Upon an alarm from the Scots, the men fled to a remote tower ; and he passed a sleepless night, with two servants and a guide, among an hundred women, round a large fire, who, says he, “ *stuprum inter mala non ducunt* ” (77). This is not so wonderful, although the description itself gives an admirable picture of savages ; as incursions from either side were so frequent, that the natives could call little property with certainty their own.—Amidst a thousand other delicacies,

(73) *Archæologia*, vol. 6. p. 197.

(74) *Hakluyt*, vol. 2.

(75) *Vid.* *Hakluyt* ; Sir William Monson ; *Archæolog.* vol. 12. ; Bree's sketches of the 14th century ; and other lists of the navies.

(76) David Hume.

(77) *Commentarii Rer. Memorab.*

oacies, I find “ XII porposes and seales ” devoured at a feast, 1467 (¹⁸): and the porpoise and seal are among the fishes enumerated for the tables of Henry VIII. (¹⁹); the price covenanted, if the porpoise was not above one horse load, 13s. 4d.—The Earl and Countess of Northumberland, who perhaps lived in the first style of the times, have on their table, at seven o’clock, for breakfast, “ a loif of “ brede in trenchors, 2 manchetts, 1 quart of bere, a quart of “ wyne, 2 pecys of salt fysche, 6 baconnd herryng, 4 white her- “ ryng, or a dysche of sproits.” On flesh days, “ half a chyne “ of mutton, or ells a chyne of beif boiled ” (²⁰). The annual consumption of linen, 70 ells. Only one table-cloth is allowed for “ the Knights boord in the great chambre, of 5 ells and 3 quarters “ long; ” and only two washing towels for my Lord (²¹). The general service seems to have been in wooden platters; and, when the family removed, all their furniture travelled with them.—These regulations were made, 1512.—The maids of honour to Queen Catharine, were allowed “ a chet (²²) loaf, a manchet, a gallon of ale, and a “ chine of beef, for breakfast,” 1531 (²³). In times of scarcity, which do not appear uncommon, Holinshed says, the poorer classes were reduced to feed upon tares and acorns (²⁴). This was in the reign of Elizabeth. Major ridicules the account Æneas Sylvius gives of the Scottish fuel, “ *carbones nigros lapides vocans* ” (²⁵). Trifling as it may seem, to possess coals or not; by the regulations of Henry VIII.’s household, they were permitted only in the King’s, Queen’s, and Lady Mary’s chambers (²⁶).—When we turn our eyes homewards, we are

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presented:

(¹⁸) Leland’s Collectanea, vol. 6. edit. 1770.

(¹⁹) Archæologia, vol. 3.

(²⁰) Northumberland household book, p. 73.

(²¹) Ibid. p. 16.

(²²) Wheaton, (Holinshed).

(²³) Archæologia, vol. 3.

(²⁴) Description of England.

(²⁵) Pag. 26.

(²⁶) Archæologia. Collection of ordinances and regulations for the Royal Household.

presented with a wretched view of life. Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, writes to the ministry, in the year 1543—"I hade
 "leuer be among the Turkis; for in my L. of Angus house, wher he
 "is, I cannot be, being the same (as I am crediblye informed) in suche
 "ruyne, as he hethe there scant one chalmer for himselfe and my
 "Ladye his wife; and lykewayis my L. L. of Cassillis and Glencairne,
 "which dwell xx myllis a sonder, and almost xxx myllis from my
 "L. of Anguse, be not so well housed as they can spare me any
 "lodgyng; for undoubtedlye the l. l. houses in this miserable and
 "beggerlye cuntrie, be not efter such sorte as in uther cuntries" (17).
 —There may be some exaggeration here.—I do not by any means intend to decry the English nation.—Those who imagine the people demigods, when compared with the Scottish, but display their unformed ideas, and expose their ignorance. Upon a more narrow investigation, we shall find, that neither the appearance nor the manners of the kingdoms differed much; though I will readily allow a pre-eminence in England, as the more civilized.—

It is probable, according to ancient historians, the inhabitants of Scotland went naked. In a climate where the cold is as intense, it surely requires no great exertion of genius to invent the aid of clothing. Formerly, I could not reconcile the ideas of a cold country and nakedness; but, since I learn the state of the natives of Cape Horn, the Streights of Magellan, and Nootka Sound, I will admit our climate is not so severe. Scotland may have been warmer. The favourite idea of an illustrious philosopher (18), is the gradual refrigeration of the earth. From the lives of the Saints, it is certain that clothes were used between the fifth and eighth centuries. Paulus Jovius, in the sixteenth century, says, the Orcadians were *seminudi* (19). His work is full of fables, entirely copied from Boyce. He confounds the Orcadians with
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(17) Sadler's Embassies, *MS.* Advocates Library, A. ii. 21. p. 313. To my Lord of Suffolk, 12th December 1543.

(18) Buffon.

(19) *Descriptio Britannie, &c.* Ven. 1578.

the Shetlanders, who, Buchanan affirms, were attired “ *Germanico ritu, sed juxta facultates non indecoræ* ” (°°). But it shews, and many authorities might be quoted, what an idea the Continental writers had of the people on this side of the Streights; and indeed with reason. They are, upon all occasions, unceremoniously classed *cum aliis barbaris gentibus*.—Henry VIII. forbids his cooks to employ naked scullions.—In Ireland, some of the natives were naked, in the beginning of last century (°¹).—

Our ancient agriculture was wretched. So late as the sixteenth century, we have a fragment upon its state in the Orkneys: “ They teill not whill ye spring of the zeir; and as they teill, so they saw ther aittes; ther plouche is drawin be foure beastis going syde for syde; the caller gangis backward with a whipe ” (°²). In Ireland, in the year 1606, there was an act against yoking oxen by the tails. However, it does appear there was a greater quantity of grain anciently raised in Scotland, than is in general supposed. Zosimus speaks of considerable exportation.

—By progressive state, we travel from rudeness to refinement; and, when at the zenith of civilization, experience a gradual decline.—To cultivate the arts, requires a degree of ease and affluence.—Where the mind is tortured with anxiety, or the person exposed to inclement severity, we cannot find refuge in amusement, or study to promote the advancement of science.—When unemployed in important matters, we are fond of innovations.—Fate has said, our ancestors should be barbarous, and we should be civilized.—It is perhaps to this situation, we owe the advantages of the present day.—We compare them with ourselves, allow them little merit, and rejoice in the change.—The notions we possess, are but applicable to the term of our own existence,
and

(°°) Lib. 1. *fine*.

(°¹) Moryson's Itinerary.

(°²) Descriptio insularum Orchadiarum, per me Jo: Ben, ibidem colentem, in anno 1529, *MS. Adv. Libr.* The whole, I believe, is engrossed in the geographical descriptions of Scotland, *MS. Adv. Libr.*

and would as ill suit the thirteenth century, as those of that period would apply to us.—King James IV. entered the Scotch capital riding, with his Queen behind him, 1503 (⁹³); and, at the marriage feast, “the furst courfe sche was served of a wyld borres hed gylt within a fayr platter” (⁹⁴).—We are told, that at the marriage feast of James II, his Queen was served with a boar’s head stuck full of bits of flax, which were lighted, and blazed amidst the barbaric acclamations of the savage assembly (⁹⁵).

“*Sanguine et igne micant oculi, riget horrida cervix.*”

OVID. Met. l. 8.

—Ignorance recurs to the happiness of *good old* times.—Alas, I fear the comforts of our fathers were few and uncertain.—In a state of perpetual alarm, their thoughts probably found constant employment in calculating plans to fortify their castles, or for the repulsion of invaders; and, in the rare intervals of peace, they had little leisure to spend in ease and festivity. . . .

—The transfer of property was effected with little ceremony, and often against the inclination of the owner.—Our ancestors are branded with the name of Thieves! Our ancient heroes grasped at the pleasures of peculation! (⁹⁶).—An attribute of all savages, is a propensity to thieving; and also of nations semicivilized.—There was a singular law with the Egyptians. To be entitled to steal, it was necessary to be entered in a particular list of thieves, and engage to bring all stolen goods to the chief (⁹⁷).—Their neighbours, the Ethiopians, had different ideas. They had no locked places; and things left in the highways were

(⁹³) “He cam downe of his horse, and monted upon the pallefroy of the said Qwene, and the said Qwene behinde him, and so rode thorow the said town of Edinburgh” Ryancells of James and Margaret, by John Young, ap. Lel. Collect. v. 4.

(⁹⁴) Ibid. p. 294.

(⁹⁵) Pinkerton’s hist. of Scotland, v. 1. p. 432. from de Coucy.—For the use of hards in war, *vide* Barbour, p. 366, l. 24.

(⁹⁶) Froissart, tom. iii. ch. 125.—“*esont grans larrons.*”

(⁹⁷) Diodor. Sic. lib. 1.

were never stolen (⁹⁸).—Thieving was in esteem: it was not viewed as a crime, but as a point of address. The Spartan youth underwent a regular education in it. Nestor asks Telemachus and Mentor, after entertaining them, whether they are pirates. When Cæsar was in Gaul, “*Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines cujusque civitatis fiunt.*” The Danes, Norwegians, and Icelanders, delighted in piracy. A common vaunt was, that the hero had never slept under an immoveable roof.—The Northern pirates added cruelty to plunder. An ordinary amusement was, tossing children from one, and receiving it upon the lance of another (⁹⁹).—Of the Borderers, Lesly affirms, “*non multum interesse putant, sive a Scotis sive ab Anglis furentur*” (¹⁰⁰). And theft by “landed men,” is by the Legislature declared treason (¹⁰¹).—But the genius of our English neighbours seems to have soared in a peculiar style of thieving. And the last Henry enjoins his attendants, “not to steal any locks or keys, tables, forms, cupboards, or other furniture, out of the noblemen’s and gentlemen’s houses where he goes to visit” (¹⁰²). ----

—If this was really more barbarous than other nations, a few hints upon the apparent causes, may not mispend a vacant hour.—

—Although we ascribe to climate the primary cause of the rudeness of a nation, many collateral causes may conspire to retard the improvement of the people.—Domestic broils, and little intercourse with other countries; we may say of Scotland, as Strabo said of Spain—“Destitute of commerce, civilization and society are lost.”

—The vicinity of a more potent kingdom, was perhaps the chief and most patent reason.—The quarrels of England and Scotland, seem of more difficult reconciliation than those of other countries.—A long and inveterate animosity; an animosity, sorry am I to say, hardly yet extinguished;

(⁹⁸) Nicol. Damasc. ap. Vales. p. 519.

(⁹⁹) Bartholin. de Caus. Contempt. Mort. p. 457.

(¹⁰⁰) Pagin. 61.

(¹⁰¹) Stat. 1587, c. 50.

(¹⁰²) Archæologia. Vid. Collection of ordinances and regulations for the Royal Household, p. 145.

extinguished; magnified their injuries, and fomented each dispute. Their battles bear greater resemblance to a general massacre, than to a fair contest.—

—Why should we open the sources of ancient enmity?—The causes of contention, or the aggressors, we cannot with certainty decide.—Our neighbours taxed us with faithlessness, while the fault was perhaps their own: *Punica fides* was known in Rome, as well as in Carthage. Two nations, such as these, cannot differ from all the world.—The power of England was considerable. Scotland was ruined by long minorities, and internal commotions.—We know the magnanimity of human nature too well, to leave room for a suggestion, that a stronger people will not oppress a weaker, at all seasons when opportunity offers. An old author justly remarks, “*Pacem sinceram nunquam duo regna vicina fovent.*”—Scotland had no occasion to bear affection to England.—The treachery of Edward, who, under the mask of friendship, tried to wrest away their sceptre; the wiles of the fourth and seventh Henries, who, in peace, detained their King a captive, and sowed dissension in their national assemblies; and the deceit of Elizabeth, who, in cold blood, inhumanly murdered their Queen: planted an insuperable barrier to amity, and formed a wound, which the revolution of near two centuries has not completely healed.—How this nation could exist, when opposed to the arms of England, is wonderful: and we need search for no other proof of the valour of our ancestors. *—

—The feudal law has had an early introduction here. It is recognized in our most ancient authentic documents, and then not in its original state.—The King was the fountain of honour and property.—By the feudal system, every man was a soldier.—Lands were granted and transmitted, for personal service only; and the whole centered in the King.—This continued long: and the extensive period required to effect a change, shews how very ancient its establishment must have been.—Lands were granted for various acknowledgements;

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* In lecto mori reputant segnicem, in campo interfici arbitrantur gloriam.....

a quota of the fruits they produced ; and, when the exchange of goods for money begun, a return was made in specie.—At first, the royal mint might be very portable ; perhaps it always attended the king ; and probably, a hammer, an anvil, and the die, constituted the whole.—Agriculture was neglected, from the frequent use the nation had for its soldiers.—Continual wars, wars which sometimes lasted near a century without intermission, engaged the whole attention of the natives, and induced them to live by plunder.—Refinements that might be collecting for ages, were annihilated in the distractions of Baliol, Bruce, and Edward ; and instilled a savage ferocity in the minds of the people, that would have required ages of peace to quiet.—I doubt not, that luxuries were known, and the progress of the arts was more eminent in the days of William and the Alexanders, than in the reigns of David II, Robert III, or, it may be, the first or second James.—Few nations have been so unfortunate in long minorities, as this.—When Robert Bruce had composed the unsettled state, and formed rules for internal polity, nature claimed her due.—The minority and troubled reign of David, was insufficient to effect composure. Those of the Roberts had perhaps some influence, when Robert III. died.—

—From the death of Robert, until 1586, a period of 185 years, 75 are occupied by minorities ! Was there no other reason, this is probably sufficient why the nation could never flourish.—Factions and turbulence are the indispensable attendants upon minorities.—Our kings have been all we could expect, warlike and philosophic. But, uniformly, when arrived at maturity, and preparing to reclaim their people, have they met some untimely fate.—James the First and Second, were wise legislators : James the Third, an admirer of science. One fell a sacrifice to accident ; the others to the rudeness of the age. Under James IV, Scotland began to emerge from her deep obscurity ; to bear some importance ; and her commerce to extend to other nations : when he became, in the vigour of life, a vic-

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tim to one inconsiderate engagement. We can never cease to deplore the fate of so illustrious a prince (101).—

“ *Heu qualis pietas, heu quam brevis occidit etas !*”—

At the bloom of thirty, grief brought James V. to the grave.— Unfortunate race!—Mary, the blossom of beauty, the pride of the age, languished eighteen years in captivity, and then was murdered, under the guise of justice..... Unhappy Mary!—Let my pen, while it records thy sufferings, drop a blot upon thy errors; and let the feeling heart consign a tear to thy unmerited fate.— —

—The greatest curse attendant on mortals, the curse of slavery, was entailed on the ancient inhabitants of Scotland. We have most ample evidence of this.—It has been said, and by an author whose opinion I highly respect, as that of the most learned historian Scotland has produced—it has been said, that “ few instances occur of absolute villanage ” (104). It is true, I have not found many. Some did exist: and I question if we are entitled to say they were uncommon. Villanage is but a superior species of slavery: yet we see examples of the most humiliating bondage.—Before 1189, two brothers, their children, and their whole posterity, are transferred to a person for 3 marks (105). The prior and convent of St Andrews emancipate a man, his children, and property; or rather give him permission to change his master, 1222 (106). Malise, Earl of Strathern, grants Gilmory Gillendes, his slave, to the monks of Inchaffry; likewise Johannes Starnes, 1258 (107).—I have seen several charters *cum villanis*. One of the Roberts grants

(101) *Vid.* a curious anecdote, Stowe’s Survey of London, vol. i. b. 3. p. 81. edit. 1720.

(104) Pinkerton’s Hist. vol. i. p. 147.

(105) Anderson’s Diplomata.

(106) Original charters, N^o 27. This is a collection by Sir James Balfour, and is of considerable value. *MS.* Adv. Lib.

(107) Ann. of Scotl. i. 304. from the chartulary of Inchaffry. Lord Hailes says, the person who permitted him to peruse this chartulary, chose to conceal himself. Crawford or Nisbet, I forget which, tells us, in his time it was in the family of Abercainey.

grants certain lands “*Mariæ Comyn, cum licentia abducendi tenentes, cum bovis suis, a terris, si non sint nativi et ligii homines*” (108).—It would appear, the lower ranks were subjected to the hard necessity of having their liberty tried by a judge: and in the year 1320, Adam Adamson, and his four sons, are declared not to be the King’s bondmen (109).—There were various kinds of slaves. The laws are copious respecting their state and manumission (110): and an ancient statute declares, if a slave shall fail in the proof of his freedom, the master may take him by the nose, and reduce him to his former slavery (111). Indeed, until a late period, tenants and servants lived under a severe and arbitrary law: but the liberty they have now obtained, must one day ruin the nation.— —

—Like all countries where an exuberance of religion and superstition prevail, Scotland was oppressed by the clergy.—Monks and monasteries swarmed in every quarter.—We cannot imagine them unmindful of their interest: and, at an early period, they had the address to impose the burden of tithes.—Before 1093, King Malcolm III. grants to the Abbey of Dunfermline, lands with their tithes (112). Sir James Dalrymple, a judicious antiquary, suspects this charter should be ascribed to Malcolm IV. (113); but I do not think his reasons are sufficiently conclusive.—Since the days of Edgar, I have never met *Basilicus* for *Rex*. The foundation is declared, “*pro salute unoris mea*.”—

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Malcolm

(108) Haddington’s Collections.

(109) Ibidem. Nisbet (*Heraldry* vol. i. p. 131.) mentions this deed as being in the chartulary of Dunfermline.—I have often examined that chartulary; and if it is there, which I doubt, I have always overlooked it.

(110) *Regiam Majestatem*, lib. i. cap. 3. 4.; lib. ii. cap. 4. 11. 12. *Leges Burgorum*, c. 17. C. 93. stat. *Gulielm. &c. &c.*

(111) *Quoniam Attachiamenta*, cap. 56. “*Potest Dominus ipsum per nasum suum redigere in pristinam servitutem.*”

(112) *Cart. Fundat. Cœnob. Fermolodun.* ap. *Collect. of Ancient Charters, MS. Adv. Lib. W. ii. 29.* On the margin, “*Concordat cum autographo in omnibus: Ja. Balfoure “Lyone.”* Also ap. *Monastic. Anglic. t. 2. p. 1054.*

(113) *Historical Collections*, p. 228.

Malcolm IV. was never married. As Mr Davidson well observes, monks could forge; and it is more than probable they did forge. Yet, if this charter was not genuine, the exaction of tithes is certainly very ancient. They are mentioned in the grants of Alexander I. And although the general illustration of their antiquity, is referred to two charters of David I, I have seen few of his charters which did not bear tithes.—Their application was extensive indeed. It has been computed, that a third of the kingdom belonged to the clergy. Every thing was tithed: even the tenth egg was levied.—And in a council held at Aberdeen, 1230 (114), they had the impudence to declare, “ *quod secundum divinæ legis et humanæ precepta, decimæ debentur, de blado, feno, lino, de ortis, de molendinis, de piscariis, de fructibus animalium, lana, lacte, caseis, pullis, ovis, negociacione, venacione, silva cædua, de fructibus.....* ” (115).—Our ancestors might have said with Gildas, “ *Sacerdotes habet Britannia, sed insipientes; quamplurimos ministros, sed impudentes; clericos, sed raptores subdolos.....* ”—Strange as it may seem, at this day a man cannot, with the sweat of his brow, raise a sheaf of corn, without being forced to deliver an individual a portion of it.—But the demands of the clergy will cease to appear extravagant, when we consider the number of religious houses (116). In the year 1542, there were 200 monks in the Abbey of Melrose alone! (117)—However, although the clergy contrive to flourish every where, a barren soil does not suit their vegetation.—Yet Scotland possessed some attractions, and lent some aid to amass their riches.—In the year 1559, we find the silver implements belonging to the cathedral of Aberdeen, amounted to 1980 ounces. There was not much gold: some rich vestments, and some precious stones (118).—To say the truth, the clergy seem to have had less influence here, than (comparatively

(114) Innes's Critical Enquiry.

(115) Cartularium Aberdonens. fol. 30. MS. Adv. Lib.

(116) Vide Keith's Hist. of religious houses.

(117) Hay's Diplomata Veterum, MS. Adv. Lib.

(118) Hay's Scotia Sacra, MS. Adv. Lib. A useful work, particularly to those who study the ecclesiastical history of Scotland.

tively speaking) in most other countries. In 1540, there was taken out of the cathedral church of Lincoln, 2621 ounces of gold, 4285 ounces of silver, besides a variety of jewels, and other costly articles of immense value (¹¹⁹). When David I. succeeded to the throne, there were, according to Ailred, only three or four bishops in Scotland—*toto Scotorum regno* (¹²⁰). This prince was a friend to the church; and prelates had a rapid growth under his reign.—Scotland may mean one division of the kingdom.—Wyntown agrees with Ailred, and rather insinuates the number was three or four in the whole kingdom (¹²¹).—The licentiousness and oppression of the clergy, at length occasioned their ruin; and, although begun in the most infamous manner, we may bless the day of its completion.—When the convent of Observantines at Perth was destroyed, “ their sheets, blankets, beds and coverings, were such, that “ no Earl of Scotland had better. Their napry was fine. Though “ but eight persons in the convent, they had eight puncheons of salt “ beef; wine, beer and ale, in abundance; besides store of other vic- “ tuals ” (¹²²). Notwithstanding the relation of a hot-brained fanatic, this may be partly true.

—Lord Hailes remarks, that in our ancient history, there is little mention of magic, and scarcely any vestiges of witchcraft. At a future period, both crept in. Whence could this arise, but from the superstition and ignorance of the people?—It is said, the clergy passed a *veto* upon any one learning to read; which perhaps may account for the extreme ignorance of former ages.—King Robert Bruce had his fortune predicted by a woman; and Barbour gives a dissertation upon astrology (¹²³). The first capital punishment for witchcraft, was 1479 (¹²⁴); the last, 1722 (¹²⁵). King James VI. writes a
book.

(¹¹⁹) *Monasticon Anglicanum*, t. 3. p. 287.

(¹²⁰) *Eulogium Davidis*, sect. 4.

(¹²¹) *Cronykil*, B. 7. ch. 6.

(¹²²) *Knox's Hist.*

(¹²³) P. 84.

(¹²⁴) *Pinkerton's Hist.* i. 295.

(¹²⁵) *Arnot's Criminal Trials.*

book upon the subject. His opinion is, that “no age, sexe, or ranck, should be exempted from punishment.” However, he cautions judges, “to beware to condemne, except those that are guiltie;” and laments, that witches “were never so rife as they are now” (116). Sir George M’Kenzie, a man esteemed learned; a man who defended the antiquity of the Scottish royal line, and died in the last decade of the former century: avers “witchcraft to be the greatest of crimes; and that “the lawyers of Scotland cannot doubt there are witches, since the law ordains them to be punished!!” (117).—Those who are curious to know the expence of burning a witch, will find an account in Arnot’s Criminal Trials (118).-----

—Men who live in woods, are savage; and countries overgrown with wood, in general contain a savage people. The progress of agriculture is retarded, and shelter given to the enemies of the shepherd.—After what has been said upon the nakedness of Scotland, the number of her mountains, and the scantiness of her woods; it may seem rash to assert, there has been a time when woods existed, and when their magnitude protected the ferocious animals of prey.—Mr Wallace declares his opinion, that “we have little reason to think, that in any age, of which an accurate remembrance is preserved, this kingdom ever was much more woody than it is now” (119). Æneas Sylvius affirms Scotland to be “*terram frigidam, magna ex parte arboribus carentem*” (120). And in another place, he says, “they burn a kind of sulphureous stone instead of wood, *quo regio nuda est*” (121). And the preamble of a statute is, that “the greene wood of Scotland is utterly destroyed” (122).—Yet it must appear to an unprejudiced enquirer,

(116) Dæmonologia, p. 77. 78. 81.

(117) Criminal Law.

(118) Appendix.

(119) Nature and descent of Peerages, p. 34.

(120) Commentarii Rer. Memorabil.

(121) Descriptio Asiz et Europæ.

(122) 1503, c. 71.

enquirer, that much wood grew in Scotland, and is, I fear, but too cogent an evidence of the barbarism of the nation.—Few, who have had access to, or examined our ancient cotemporary authorities, will hesitate to allow, that wood has been abundant, not in one, but in every quarter of the kingdom. We can turn over few pages in any of our ancient chartularies, and fail to remark conveyances of woods, not in general, but in special terms. These, and charters, I judge cotemporary evidence.—We find repeated liberty granted to monks and to laymen, to cut wood in certain forests. We find dispositions of forests alone, and unconnected with land. We find them the property of individuals, and in possession of the Crown. The royal forester was an officer of importance, and always has been a person of rank; and the forests were judged of sufficient moment, to demand a code of laws. We read of forests, where a tree does not now appear; and trees are daily taken from mosses, which must have lain there for ages. Will this surprise us? Fordun, who flourished in the reign of Robert II, assures us, “*subterranea radices arborum ingentes et trunci reperiuntur immanes, immo quo nusquam antea silvas crevisse diceret ullo signo*”⁽¹³³⁾; and often speaks of “*ingentia circa radices montium nemora*.”—We all know the vast extent of the famous Silva Caledoniæ. Part of this may have existed in the days of Boece⁽¹³⁴⁾, and perhaps later.—In Froissart, we meet with many woods. He tells us of six warriors, who lived seven years, winter and summer, in Jedburgh forest⁽¹³⁵⁾: and here, says Fordun, died Edward, eldest son of Malcolm III.⁽¹³⁶⁾ Froissart says, this forest was uninhabitable by the English⁽¹³⁷⁾. The Scots, upon invasion, withdrew into great forests, where no man could follow them; and, when they went to fight, the women and children drove:

(133) Scotichronicon, lib. i. cap. 36.

(134) Fol. 10.

(135) Par l'Hyver et par l'Esté, Croniq. i. 56.

(136) Scotichr. lib. v. cap. 25.

(137) Liv. i. ch. 27.

drove the cattle into the forests (138).—The right to woods, and hunting, is often reserved in ancient grants of land.—The appearance of the adjacent isles is uncertain. Boece, as Mr Wallace observes, affirms there was little wood in Ila (139). This is no general rule. In an account nearly cotemporary, the author says, the isle of “ Ywst is full “ of heighe hills and forests ” (140). According to Sir Robert Sibbald, “ trees are unfrequent in the Shetland isles ; but vast roots and “ trunks are sometimes dug up ” (141). All our chartularies and chronicles, record many debates, between their convents and powerful heritors, respecting woods ; and that of Melrose relates, that the boundaries of a royal forest were, 1184, tried by a jury, who swore upon relics belonging to the Abbey (142). Trees, it is said, exist, bearing marks of great antiquity. Our books of provincial topography, contain innumerable examples. The remnant of Wallace’s oak, is eleven or twelve feet in diameter.—

Savage animals delight in woods : the recesses of the forest, can alone protect them from the conquering hand of man.—They long existed here ; but, had it not been for the woods, possibly the race would soon have been extinguished with ease.—Bears once lived in our woods. The ancients tell us, they were transported to Rome, and admired by the Romans. From Martial we learn, they were employed to heighten the torments of capital convicts :

“ *Nuda Caledonio sic pectora præbuit urso,*
 “ *Non falsa pendens in cruce Laureolus.*”

MARTIAL, Lib. Spectac. 7.

Should this be read *Calydenio urso* ?

The

(138) Liv. iii. ch. 12.

(139) Fol. 14.

(140) Description of the Western Isles, by Donald Monro, 1549, MS. Adv. Libr.

(141) Description of the Shetland Isles.

(142) Ad an. 1184.

The wild boar had an abode in Scotland. In the sixth century, it seems to have been common, both here and in Wales (143). Not a century has elapsed, it is said, since the last was destroyed. Charles I. imported to England a breed from Germany.

The wolf infested the three kingdoms. In 1281, I find an order issued, to destroy the wolves which came to England from the mountains of Wales (144). Here, they were not extirpated until 1680 (145); and they were known in Ireland, 1710. Lesly, who wrote towards the end of the sixteenth century, complains of "*lupos quamplurimos, et eos sævisimos*" (146).—A French author says, "*Jay ouy dire vulgairment, que en Angleterre ny auoit point des loups, mais ie puis bien asseurer den auoir veu pardeca Beruic **."—To hunt the wolf, was a matter of national concern, in ancient times; and rewards were given for the head of each (147). Wild cattle were numerous. Boyce wrote between 1510 and 1527. He says, there were formerly white bulls in the *Silva Caledonia*: but none then remained, unless about Cumbernald (148). Lesly relates the same, evidently copied from Boyce, with some additions, "*nunc quidem rarior.....tribus tantum locis est reliquus, Strivilingi, Cummernaldia, et Kincarnia.*" - - - Sir Robert Sibbald assures us, that while he lived, wild white cattle were found on the mountains (149).—The

bison

(143) *Vita Kentigerni*, cap. 24. *Vita Sanct. Columb. ab Adomnan.* lib. ii. c. 27.

(144) *Rym. Føder.* v. 2.

(145) *Arctic Zoology.*

(146) *Pagin.* 19.

* "*Bien est vray, que au pays Dangoux en Escosse, en la vallee de Glenmores, les loups semblent auoir prins autre nature quilz nont en autres lieux. Car la, ilz ne viuient que de la proye de plusieurs sortes de bestes sauluaiges, quilz chassent sans faire aucun mal aux brebis.*" *Le sommaire des antiquitez & merueilles Descosse, redige et mys par Jehan de Monstiers escuyer* Paris 1538. This is a very rare book, in 12mo, consisting of about 40 leaves. I have only seen one copy, now in the Advocates Library.

(147) *Stat.* 1427, ch. 104. 1457, ch. 87.

(148) *Fol.* 11.

(149) *Prodrom. hist. natur. Scot.* lib. iii. "*In pluribus locis montanæ partis Scotiæ, quidam boves feri albi quoque.*" *Vide Johnson hist. nat. &c.*

bison Scoticus is known to foreign authors. People seem to have had a strange idea of its ferocity.—A tradition is yet current, that Arthur Seat and its environs were covered with wood; and a story, I do not say true, is told of David I, who, hunting there, and escaping imminent danger, founded the monastery of Holyrood ('''). Lord Hailes thinks, *Salis* or *Seles bury*, signifies a house in a wood. . . . I acknowledge myself at a loss to conceive, how wild beasts could long exist in a country devoid of wood, or how our ancestors could enjoy the pleasures of hunting, their favourite and almost only amusement.—At the same time, we must allow there has been a wonderful change in the Lowlands of Scotland.—The injunction to sow broom ('''), is no argument for the nakedness of the country. Surely we must suppose James II, a wise and politic prince, endowed with a greater portion of reason, than to command his subjects to rear an insignificant shrub, for the purpose of adorning his dominions; and we are safe to think it has been done with some other intent.—Neither is it an argument, because wood for lances was imported to Scotland, more than, because bow staves were imported to England, there should be no trees. . . . Yet it does appear, the wood has undergone some considerable destruction. The building of the great Michael, 1511, exhausted all the oak woods in Fife, except that of Falkland ('''). In Mary's reign, a committee was appointed to examine the state of this forest ('''). The greater part was found "auld, failzied, and decayed," and ordered to be cut down.—Our Kings went to hunt in the more remote quarters. Pitscottie tells us, James V. went to the field attended by 12,000 men, and killed 18 score of harts. But this is nothing, compared with the wonderful accounts of Bishop Lesly. King David I. grants to the monks of Dunfermling "*decimam de omnibus meis sylvestribus equabus*" ('''). . . . The theory of

(''') Bellenden's transl. of Boetius.

(''') Stat. 1457, c. 80.

(''') Pitscottie's hist. p. 167.

(''') Stat. 1555.

(''') Hay's *Diplomata Veterum*, t. i. 374.

of mosses is ingenious; and, if I remember right, Lord Cromertie was its author.—Perhaps this may be insufficient to account for the extirpation of the wood, which certainly arises from some cause now unknown.—It is unimportant, whether the fact was, that Scotland was barren, or a forest; but it is always of value to ascertain a truth.—Later authorities tend to illustrate what I assert: and we need not refer to Strabo, Dio, or Tacitus, to prove the woodiness of ancient Caledonia. . . .

—While we endeavour to attain the mansion of truth, the wide chasm of fable interrupts the path of enquiry.—It is unfortunate, the only monuments of antiquity which could illustrate the manners of Scotland, the poems of Ossian, and the *Regiam Majestatem*, are of suspected credit. An investigation of the authenticity of the one is yet in embryo, and the labours of the learned have not tended to dissipate the gloom which hovers over the origin of the other. Perhaps it may be discovered, that the poems of Ossian are not a modern production; but, when the difficulty of preservation, for many centuries, of any writing, is considered, not even to name the danger of error arising from oral tradition, I doubt it will not be easy to ascertain the precise time when they were composed.—The northern nations have produced poets: the ancient sagas throw some connected light upon the manners of their æra. But I believe, those nations, where poets sung the exploits of heroes, were all more than semicivilized.—We might be induced to deny the apparent barbarism of Scotland, when we consider the attention bestowed upon the dispensation of justice, and when we survey the remains of structures the most splendid.—The Abbey of Dunfermline, says Matthew of Westminster, could lodge three sovereign princes with all their retinue (115).

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The

(115) Flores historiarum, p. 441, edit. 1570. “ Porro Dunfermlin infra procinctum
 “ suum ampla erat nimis, continens tres carrucatas terræ palatiæ, quasi regia continens in
 “ se multa, ita ut tres inclyti reges cum eorum sequela singuli, sine alterius improbitate,
 “ simul et semel, hospitari poterant.”

The riches of this Abbey must have been enormous. It was founded and doted by Margaret, Queen of Malcolm Canmore; and *there*, Turgot affirms, were “*non pauca ex solido ac puro auro vasa*” (156). Among other things, David I. grants it “a tenth of all the gold found in Fife and Fothrifle” (157).—It was the place of royal sepulture; and the ruins shew its vast extent.—If we may credit our historians, there were many as magnificent. Paisley, Elgin, Melros, and Arbroath, are termed second to none. How such edifices could be constructed by barbarians, is inexplicable.—A theory has been adopted by a late writer, that the religious houses were erected by artists from Italy. This is improbable. Some foreign architect possibly did superintend the works; but the number of operative persons required, from a polished state, would have civilized the people here. There is another method of reconciling the different opinions; which is, to suppose the original buildings rude, and that they were afterwards improved.—Perhaps, the monasteries were the general residence of our Kings. I once had an idea, that we might discover the chief places of royal abode, from the date of charters. It seems David I. spent much time at Dunfermline. His charters are dated at Dunfermline, Perth, Bervick, Edinburg, Scone, Abernethie, Ercheldon, Elbotle, Strathrewyn in Galwegia, Hadintune, Peblis, Cadichon, &c.—Malcolm IV. Strivelin, Dunfermlin, Edinburg, Perth, Clacmanan, Rokesburg, Jedd:—William the Lyon, Seleschurche, Kingorn, Innuar, Dunfermlin, Edinburg, Sanct. Andr: Munros, Forfar, Hadingtun, Kinkardin, Lastalrig, Clunin, Fethertiviet, Elgin, Larnarc, Kintore, Boncle.—From the variety, it is impossible to judge with certainty. . . .

—It is singular, that titles of honour should be known to a nation so rude as this seems to have been, and titles in use among the most civilized countries in Europe. But such are undoubtedly very ancient with us.—A notion has prevailed, and been adopted by many, that the title

(156) Vita Margarit. Regin. Scotor. sect. 5.

(157) Chartulary of Dunfermline, MS. Adv. Libr.

title *Earl*, or *Comes*, was introduced by Malcolm Canmore. Some older authors, and a late able writer, in a puerile essay on the subject (¹⁵⁸), may have an imaginary weight. It has been said, indeed it is generally believed, that the title, Earl, supplanted Thane (¹⁵⁹). It may be imprudent to maintain, in opposition to the more respectable authorities, that Earls existed here before the time even of Malcolm II.; or that Earls and Thanes were cotemporary. Torfæus speaks thus: "*Fuit quidam Comes in Scotia Melbrigdius,*" inter 860 et 870 (¹⁶⁰). "*Dun-gadus Comes Catenesiæ,*" ad an. 875 (¹⁶¹). Inter 870 et 880, "*Meldun quidam Comes in Scotia*" (¹⁶²). There are "*Adils et Hringus Comites*" 937 (¹⁶³); "*Macbeth Comes*" 952; "*Finleikus Comes Scotorum*" 985 (¹⁶⁴); "*Hundius et Melsnatus Comites*" 993; "*Melcolfus Comes*" 1015*. If we might credit Torfæus, who is an historian in universal esteem, Malcolm Mackenneth was in use to create Earls. "*Secundum mortem Sigurdi Comititis, filii illius a-dultiores, Sumerlidius, Brusius et Einar, Orcades et Hialtlandiam, & quis portionibus, inter se dividebant; transmarinis provinciis, Catenesia*"
" et

(¹⁵⁸) Lord Kames, Essay on honour and dignity.

(¹⁵⁹) Scala Chronica; and many others. There is scarcely an author who does not adopt this theory.

(¹⁶⁰) Historiæ Orcadum, lib. i. cap. 4. Snorro, v. i. p. 99.

(¹⁶¹) Ibid. cap. 15. Orkneyinga Saga, p. 5.

(¹⁶²) Ibid. pagin. 16. Antiquitat. Celt. Scandic. p. 20, 21. Ex Landnamaboc.

(¹⁶³) Egilli Skallagrimi Saga. There is a King of Scotland mentioned in the northern Sagas, of whom we have little or no account in other writings. Johnstone, the editor of the *Antiq. Celt. Scandic.* in a note, says, "Olaus is by Simeon of Durham named *Hu-valus, et alio etiam nomine, apud Bromtonum (nomen legere nequeo).*" The names, in these two authors, are, "*Huval, Rex Occidentalium Britonum.—Constantinus, Rex Scotorum.*" Sim. Dunelm. ad an. 926. . . . "*Aulaf, Rex Paganus Hiberniæ.—Constantinus, Rex Scotiæ.*" Chron. Johan. Bromt. ad an. 939.—The existence of the Earls, must in a great measure depend upon the correctness of the Sagas, and whether there was ever an Olaus king of Scotland; and I rather agree with Bromton. The Norwegians long possessed part of Scotland.

(¹⁶⁴) Ol. Tryggvasonar. Saga. Torfæus, p. 28.

* Niala Saga.

“ *et Suderlandia, Thorfinno fratrum minimo permissis : eum namque avus*
 “ *maternus Scotiæ Rex Melcolmus (nostris Melkolfus pronunciatur) Co-*
 “ *mitem creavit* ” (‘65). And there is an earlier account of the crea-
 tion of an Earl, “ *Sculo frater Lioti in Scotiam profectus, comitis dignitate*
 “ *a Scotorum rege ornatur* ” 952 *. Torfæus proceeds ----- After
 Malcolm II. died, one was king ---- “ *nostris scriptores Karl vel Karolum*
 “ *quemdam Hundii filium ---- filium sororis sui Moddanem Comitem crea-*
 “ *vit* ” (‘66). Great latitude must be given to the imperfect accounts
 Torfæus and the writers of the Sagas might obtain. This Karl pro-
 bably never existed; and perhaps some of the Earls. But when we
 read of a King, whose æra we are unable with facility to reconcile to
 known or imaginary facts, with very little ceremony he is condemned
 to nonentity. The passages quoted, shew that Earls were not regard-
 ed as incompatible with the times to which they allude; that is, if the
 northern *Iarl* precisely quadrated with the title Earl.—Fordun tells us,
 Kenneth III. was killed by Finele, daughter of Cruchne Earl of Angus
 (‘67). Wyntown, it is true, relates the story differently; but the par-
 ties are the same.

“ The Erle of Angws, in hys dayis
 “ Conquhare cald, ye story sayis,
 “ Had a dochtere, Fynbelle cald,
 “ The quhilk had a sone yhong and bald ----

 “ As throw ye Mernys, on a day,
 “ The Kyng was rydand hys hey way,
 “ Of hys awyne Cwrt, al suddanly
 “ Agayne hym ras a cumpany.

“ Into

(‘65) Capit. 12. Orkneyinga Saga, p. 39. Snorro, v. ii. p. 146.

* Tryggvaas. Saga.

(‘66) Capit. 13. Orkneyinga Saga,

(‘67) Lib. iv. cap. 35.

“ Into ye towne of Fethyrkerne,
 “ To fecht wyht hym yai war sa yharne ;
 “ And he agayne yame faucht sa fast,
 “ Bot he yare slayne was at ye last ” (168).

All this happened long before the time of Malcolm Canmore ; and I see no reason why it might not. But how Malcolm could be imagined an inventor of earldoms, is difficult to discover. If Turgot is right, he was an illiterate prince—“ *unde et libros in quibus ipsa (regina) vel oratione re consueverat vel legere : ille ignarus licet litterarum saepe manoversare solebat et inspicere* ” (169).—The meaning of an Earl, was very different, in ancient times, from what it now is.—The mode of attaching titles to land, is of later invention. There is little doubt, that every title, at first, was personal, and died with the owner. Political reasons, perhaps, occasioned the vitiation : and we recognize an earldom as a personal honour, in the beginning of the eleventh century (170).—In the more rude ages, that is, before titles were annexed to land, an Earl might only be a magistrate : the term *vicecomes* seems to infer this. *Iarl*, it is said, in the Northern languages, signifies a chieftain.— —

—What was the peculiar office or dignity of a *Thane*, I confess I am ignorant. From our own historians, we can gather little information. If we resort to foreign glossaries, we find it used in various senses : and the question is, which is applicable here ? Fordun describes a Thane, the levier of the Royal rents (171). Boyce follows him (172). Whether they are right, I will not presume to decide. This much seems certain, that a Thane enjoyed a certain degree of rank (173). Thanes appear

(168) Cronykil, b. vi. ch. 10.

(169) Vita Sanct. Margarit.

(170) Vita Magn. Comit. Orcad. cap. 10.

(171) Lib. iv. cap. 43.

(172) Fol. 20.

(173) Reg. Majest. lib. iv. cap. 21. Cap. 31. § 3. Stat. Alex. cap. 15. Stat. Dav. II. cap. 1.

appear of great antiquity. Mr Pinkerton supposes the title was introduced after the time of Malcolm Canmore (1144).—Before this, we read of Thanes; and many authors understand it, though perhaps erroneously, to be the most ancient title in Scotland. Macduff may have been Thane of Fife, Macbeth Thane of Calder, Doir and Banquho Thanes of Lochaber.—The title continued long: it would seem it was hereditary.—There is a charter to John Thane of Fordale, and Alexander his son, termed *hereditary Thane* (1111). One example, however, is too slender to found a theory.—The first Thane I have yet met with in manuscripts, is Macbeath *Thaynetus de Falkland, inter 1115 et 1127* (1166). The last, Vilzam Thayn of Caldor, 1492 (1177). Nisbet and other authors say there were no Thanes after 1476 (1188).—John is Thane of Fordale 1451 (1179).— —

—Concerning the station of an Abthane, I am in still greater doubt. An Abthane, says Fordun, is chief of the Thanes—“ *quasi ab abba pater.....velut officio fungens æconomi sive camerarii* ” (1180). This passage both shews the opinion and the learning of Fordun. He seems to have had the Hebrew in view, as *ab*, or *abba*, in that language, signifies father. Hebrew was the language of theology, and probably the only Eastern language which reached Scotland: and I rather suppose it must

(114) Hist. vol. i. p. 161. Note.

(115) Chartulary of Dunfermline.

(116) Registrum Chartarum Priorat. Scti Andree, *MS. Adv. Lib.* It would seem, there were at least two registers of the Priory of St Andrews. This, in the *Advoc. Lib.* has hardly one charter of those enumerated by Mr Pinkerton. Enquiry, Append. *Vid. Lives Offic. of State*, p. 7. 428. 253. Sir James Dalrymple's *Hist. Collect.* p. 106. Nicholson's *Scots Hist. Libr.* p. 220, &c.

(117) *Cartularium (Majus) Moraviae*, fol. 98. Decret-arbitral anent the marchis of Kildrumy, 13. Aug. 1492, *MS. Adv. Lib.*

(118) *Heraldry*, vol. ii. Append. p. 238.

(119) *Chartul. of Dunfermline.* *Vid. some particulars regarding this subject, Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 27.

(120) *Lib. iv. cap. 43.*

must be the Hebrew he alludes to; although, in the various glossaries of Persian Arabic, Syriac and Chaldaic, I find the signification the same.—Major calls an Abthane, “*senescallus in insulis qui regios proventus collegit*” (181). Fordun tells us, Malcolm II. bestowed his daughter upon Crinan, Abthane of Dull (182). Mr Pinkerton derides the idea of an Abthane; and seems to prove, that Abthane should there be Abbot (183). Wyntown, indeed, calls him Cryny, Abbot of Dunkeldyn (184). Which is also corroborated by the annals of Ulster, where he is called Crionain, Abbot of Dunkeld (185). And in the Chronicon Elegiacum, “*Abbatis Crini jam dicti filia Regis uxor erat Bethoc*” I was swayed by the opinion of so valuable an historian as Mr Pinkerton, until I observed that Sir James Dalrymple remarks, he has read of an Abthane of Kinghorn (186): and Mr Pinkerton himself, in a posterior work, quotes an instrument which mentions the Abthanrie of Dull (187). There is also another instrument, of an earlier date, which mentions the Abthanrie of Dull (188). From these, it is possible such a title as Abthane might be known.—In an enquiry after the titles of Thane and Abthane, it does not appear Mr Riddel has gone farther than Fordun (189).— —

—The laws of the nation, until lately believed authentic, have been challenged; and what was thought a genuine compilation, is now in general esteemed spurious.—Some impending fate seems to attend the history of this kingdom; and we can hardly surmount the barrier of ignorance, before some new obstruction is raised.—

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—What

(181) Lib. iii. cap. 43.

(182) Loc. sup. cit. iv. 43.

(183) Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 192.

(184) Cronykil, b. vi. cap. 10.

(185) Ad an. 1045, ap. Antiq. Celt. Norman.

(186) Histor. Collect. p. 222.

(187) History, vol. i. p. 161.

(188) Macpherson's Notes on Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 467.

(189) Transact. of Scot. Antiq.; and Archæologia.

—What was the most ancient, or what the supreme judicature in Scotland, is difficult to determine.—The power of the Justiciar might be eminent among the rest. But his office was divided; and there were three chief Justiciars in the kingdom: *Justiciarius Scotiæ*, *justiciarius Laodonie*, and *justiciarius ex parte boreali aquæ de Forth*.—Sir James Balfour traces the justiciar to the reign of Malcolm Canmore; and he gives the following series:

19	Malcolm III.	Aluinus	-	-	-	-	1076.
	David I.	Maldouenus					
5	Malcolm IV.	Valterus, filius Alani Senescalli	-				1158.
3	William.	Villiam Cumin	-	-	-	-	1168.
9		David Olifard	-	-	-	-	1174.
13		Gilbert Earle of Stratherne	-				1178.
19		Duncanus Comes de Fyffe	-	-			1184.
		Robertus Auenell					
25	Alexander II.	William Earle of Ross	-	-			1239.
23		Allanus Senescallus, filius Allani Senescalli					1237.
		Allanus Hostiarius	-	-	-		1243.
27		Robertus de Monte Alto	-	-			1241.
19		Walterus, filius Alani Senescalli	-				1233.
5	Alexander III.	Alexander Cumin Earle of Buchan	-				1253.
7		Allanus Ostiarius	-	-	-		1256 (1290).

—I do not well know what to think of this list. It would be wrong to assert that Sir James Balfour is absolutely mistaken, particularly as he draws his conclusions from authorities I have never seen. But I have examined some of the passages which he seems to quote, and I have not there found enough, to make the same inferences with him. The list is certainly inaccurate. The different kinds of justiciars are injudiciously classed together; and they are crowded so fast upon each other, that it is almost impossible the office could be granted *ad vitam aut culpam*.—I have

(1290). Lives of the Chamberlains, &c. MS. Adv. Libr.

have not met with the one half; possibly from my limited scale of reading. But some of the series appear unknown to all our genealogists. Indeed, in the history of this office, there is great confusion.—

The first justiciar I have yet met with, is *Galfridus de Malevilla*, inter 1165—1168 (191); but he is not termed *Justiciarius Scotiae*.—A fragment of the series may be this.—

Duncan Comes de Fife, *Justiciarius Scotiae* (192). He is cotemporary with *Hugo, Cancellarius*, who was in office 1189—1199 (193). In another charter, where Hugo is also witness, he is termed simply *Justiciarius* (194).—This was Duncan, sixth Earl of Fife. He died 1203 (195).

Willielmus Cumyn, *Justiciarius Scotiae*, anno 1210 (196). This is Fordun's account. If he is right, Douglas errs, when he says William was constituted justiciar 1220 (197); likewise Crawford, 1230 (198). He is mentioned before 1214 (199).—This was William first Earl of Buchan. He died 1233 (200).

Walterus, filius Alani Senescalli, *Justiciarius Scotiae*, was, according to Wyntown, constituted justiciar 1231 (201). Stewart says, " he was
f ij " constituted

(191) Extracts from the chartulary of Glasgow, *MS. Adv. Lib.* dated 1556. Nicholson (*Scots Hist. Libr.* p. 76. fol. edit.) says, " The chief records of the church of Glasgow were carried into France by Archbishop Beatoun." And Hay, in his *Manuscript Collections*, vol. ii. p. 648, says, " In the Scots College at Paris, there was a chartulary of Glasgow."

(192) Charter to the borough of Invernes. *Sibbald's Hist. of Fife*, p. 95.

(193) *Lives of the Officers of State*.

(194) *Chartularium de Scone*, *MS. Adv. Lib.*

(195) *Douglas's Peerage*.

(196) *Scotichronic. lib. viii. cap. 70*.

(197) *Peerage*, p. 92.

(198) *Peerage*, p. 46.

(199) *Chartulary of Dunfermline*, fol. 12.

(200) *Peerages, &c.*

(201) *Cronykil*, b. vii. c. 9.

“constituted justiciar 1230” (202).—We may observe, in passing, that where the difference in date is but a year, it may be occasioned by the change of style.—He is named as in office 1231 (203); 1236, 1237, (204); 1249, (205). According to Stewart, he died about 1246.—At this period, there seems to be an irreconcilable confusion. Cyphers are easily mistaken; but it seems to consist in something more than mere mistake.

Philippus de Malevilla, Justiciarius Scotiæ 1242 (206). This might be an ancestor of the Earls of Melville.

Alanus Hostiarius, Justiciarius Scotiæ, 1243 (207). He is in office, 1249 (208).—“Anno 1275 obiit Alanus Ostiarius, vir dapsilis, et strenuissimus in armis” (209).

Alexander Cumyn, Comes de Buchan, Justiciarius Scotiæ, 1249 (210). He is in office, 1258 (211); 1265, 1267 (212); 1284, &c. He was third Earl of Buchan. A man of great power; both high constable and justiciar. He died 1290—1292 (213).—

These are all the justiciaries of Scotland, prior to the death of Alexander III, that I have yet met with, properly termed such. The series is confused; but it may shew what persons held the office.—In Macfarlane’s genealogical collections, it is said, “David Olifard was
“justiciary

(202) History of the Stewarts, p. 48.

(203) Cartularium de Balmyrinoch, MS. Adv. Lib. Nicholson quotes a chartulary of Balmyrinoch in 4to, Adv. Lib. It is certainly the same which is still there: but I would rather call it large 8vo. The description agrees. *Vid.* Scot’s Hist. Lib. p. 78.

(204) Chartulary of Dunfermline.

(205) Chartulary of Newbattle, fol. 6. MS. Adv. Lib.

(206) Extracts from the chartulary of Glasgow.

(207) Fordun, lib. ix. cap. 6r.

(208) Chartulary of Dunfermline.

(209) Fordun, lib. x. cap. 80.

(210) Chartulary of Dunfermline.

(211) Douglas’s Peerage.

(212) Chartulary of Londors, MS. Adv. Lib. fol. 9. Cart. to Gilcrist MacNachdan.

(213) Douglas’s Peerage, p. 93.

“ justiciary of Scotland, 1174, and immediately succeeded Duncan Earl of Fife, as appears from the chartulary of Scone ” (214).—There is no such person, in this manuscript, justiciary of Scotland. In the 31st charter of the Stormont copy, indeed, there is “ *Dd: Olifard, Justiciarius;* ” but it is not said, of Scotland.—

—The justiciar of Lothian is of great antiquity. *Robertus Avenel* is *Justiciarius Laodonie, ante* 1189 (215).

Hugo de Berkeley, Justiciarius Laodonie (216). He is cotemporary with W. Bishop of St Andrews: this must be William Malvoisine, who was translated from the see of Glasgow, 1202 (217). The charter where he is named, is granted by King William: therefore, Hugo is justiciary, 1202—1214. He is in office, 1230 (218); 1231 (219).—It is almost impossible to complete a perfect series of these justiciaries.

Walterus Olifard, Justiciarius Laodonie, 1222 (220); 1227, 1232, 1235, 1236, 1242 (221). “ *Anno 1242 obiit Gualterus de Olifard, Justiciarius Laodonie, et in capitulo de Melros sepelitur honorifice* ” (222).

David de Lyndesay, Justiciarius Laodonie, 1246 (223).

Hugo de Berkley, Justiciarius Laodonie, 1269.

I only mention these persons, to assist chronology; and to evince how very difficult it would be to frame a regular series.— —

—Here I do not mean to engage in the celebrated question, concerning the site of ancient Lothian.—Lord Hailes seems to prove there has been

(214) Vol. i. p. 426. *MS. Advoc. Libr.*

(215) Chartulary of Dunfermline.

(216) Chartulary of Newbattle.

(217) Keith's Catalogue of the Bishops.

(218) Anderson's Diplomata.

(219) Registrum Hospitalis de Soltre, *MS. Adv. Libr.*

(220) Cartularium Prioratus de Coldingham, *MS. Adv. Libr.* Cartularium de Calchon, (Kelso) *MS. Adv. Libr.*

(221) Cartularium Moraviae. Cartularium de Balmyrinoch. Chartulary of Glasgow. Chartulary of Kelso. Chartulary of Coldinghame and Dunfermline.

(222) Chronicon de Mailros, p. 206.

(223) Cartular. de Scone.

been a *Lothene* in England (²²⁴). It is indubitable, there was also one in Scotland; but I doubt much if it was that of the present day. Perhaps an extensive tract, bearing the same name, might be divided, and a part appropriated to each nation.—Upon this subject, Mr Pinkerton gives an ingenious and learned dissertation (²²⁵).—I shall but observe, in addition to what others have said, that if *Loida* signifies Lothian, an ancient historian bounds it by the Tweed. “*Fluvius Tueda, qui Northymbriam et Loidam disternat*” (²²⁶). Eadgar grants to the monks of Durham, “*Coldinghame, et omnes illas terras quas habent in Laudoneio.*”—David I. grants “*has terras in Laudoneio, Coldingham, Aldcambus, Lumisden, Riston, Rennington, Swinwodie, Prendregrest, Eiton, Lambton, Paxton, et Swinton, A. D. 1126*” (²²⁷). In the year 1356 is disposed, “*insula de le Bass, juxta Aldbam in Laudonia*” (²²⁸).—This may illustrate what in those days was understood to be Lothian.— —

—There was a third justiciar, one whose jurisdiction perhaps embraced a more spacious district than that of either of the other two, unless the *Justiciarius Scotiæ* was supreme. I mean, the justiciar north of the Forth. This office also is ancient. Alanus Hostiarius is *Justiciarius ex parte boreali*, 1175 (²²⁹). I should imagine him different from the justiciar of Scotland: perhaps not. After enjoying the one office, he might obtain the other.—I do not think I have met with the name of this judge so often as with those of the rest. Yet his office still existed.

Fergus

(²²⁴) Remarks on the History of Scotland, &c.

(²²⁵) Enquiry, vol. ii.

(²²⁶) Simeon Dunelmensis, ad an. 1125. *Vid.* ad an. 1072.—In Nennius, there is an interpolation, of what antiquity I know not ---- “*Wedale est villa in provincia Lodonesie, nunc vero juris Episcopi Sancti Andreæ Scotiæ, 6 milliaria ab occidentali parte ab illo quondam nobili et eximio monasterio de Meilros.*” *Hist. Briton.* c. 63.

(²²⁷) Haddington’s Collections.

(²²⁸) Collection of Charters, MS. Adv. Lib. James V. iv. 25.

(²²⁹) Chartulary of Aberdeen.

Fergus is *Justiciarius ex parte boreali Scotiae*, 1219 (²¹⁰).—The distinction continued long. *Willielmus, Comes de Ross, Dominus de Sky*, is justiciar *ex parte aquilonali de Forth*, 1348 (²¹¹). And Andrew, Lord Gray, holds the same office, 1506 (²¹²). In that year, he was constituted *Justiciarius Scotiae* (²¹³).—

I am ignorant, what was the peculiar province of the supreme justiciaries. Their power seems to have been comprehensive. Perhaps, they had, in the first instance, an exclusive privilege of judging criminals; but it appears, their jurisdiction also extended to civil cases. We had always more than one. The most ancient charters are addressed *Justiciariis*. And there were inferior justiciaries. I have seen a charter by Malcolm IV. *Justitie sue de Fife*.—The office of simple justiciar, seems to have been of considerable importance, and has been held by powerful families, such as, the Earls of Dunbar, the Cumyns, and the Olifards.—Perhaps it was a step towards the higher degrees. The Earl of Fife is often termed *Justitiarius*, simply; so is Walter Olifard. Great allowance must be made for the errors that may insinuate themselves in the transcripts of charters, six centuries from their date; and I must at the same time observe, that *these* general conclusions may be erroneous.— —

—The office of Constable is ancient.—Sir James Balfour gives a series of constables, which is apparently more confused than that of his justiciars.

4	Malcolm III.	Vnalene Earle of Stratherne	- . .	1061
		Fergus		
	Donald VII.	Rothericke Earle of Stratherne		
2	Duncane II.	Philipe de Maulea, knight	- . .	1097
1	Edgar.	Sir Eustace de Mal-erbe, or Malherba	-	1098.
				Alex.

(²¹⁰) Chartulary of Aberdeen.

(²¹¹) Registrum de Abirbrothock, *MS. Adv. Libr.*

(²¹²) Sir James Dalrymple, and Sir James Balfour.

(²¹³) Crawford's Peerage.

Alexander I.	Sir Eustace de Morweill, knight	-	-	1109
1 David I.	Eduard	-	-	1124
2	Humfrey de Morweill	-	-	1126
Malcolm IV.	Humphrey de Morweill			
	Richard de Morweill	-	-	1156
William.	Heughe de Morweill	-	-	1159
	Williame Morweill	-	-	1167

I may pass the same observations upon this series, as upon that of the Justiciars.—In the transcript of a charter, called by Sir James Balfour the foundation charter of Scone, there is *Eustachius de Moreueilla Constabularius*, 1110. This charter is in neither of the chartularies of Scone in the Advocates Library. The most ancient, there, is one by Alexander I, which was published by Sir James Dalrymple: in his opinion granted about 1115. He thinks it the charter of foundation; but it certainly is not.—I find *Edwardus Constabularius* 1115, according to Sir James Dalrymple's chronology (²¹⁴). Whether he was constable of Scotland, I cannot affirm; but, from his place in charters, if any exact order was then preserved, his rank was high.—*Edwardus, Constabularius*, is cotemporary with Chancellor Herbert (²¹⁵); with Robert, bishop of St Andrews; John, bishop and chancellor; and Duncan, *Comes* (²¹⁶). Herbert died 1126 (²¹⁷); Robert was consecrated 1127 (²¹⁸); John was chancellor until about 1140; and this Duncan might be third Earl of Fife, who succeeded 1139 (²¹⁹). Therefore, Edward might be in office, 1125—1140.

In a charter granted by *Willielmus, nepos regis Scotiae, filius regis Duncani*, there is one *Ranulphus Constabularius, inter* 1220—1230 (²⁴⁰).

Whether

(²¹⁴) Cart. de Scone.

(²¹⁵) Chartulary of Dunfermline.

(²¹⁶) Ibidem.

(²¹⁷) Fordun, lib. v. cap. 37.

(²¹⁸) Keith's Catal. of the Bishops.

(²¹⁹) Crawford. Douglas.

(²⁴⁰) Hay's Manuscript Collections, l. i. p. 384.

Whether he was constable of Scotland, I am ignorant ; and I have only once met his name : but, from the relation of the granter, I rather imagine he was Ranulph, Earl of Chester.

Hugo de Moreville, Constabularius, 1140 (241). *Anno 1162 obiit fundator ecclesiæ de Drieburgh, Hugo de Moreville* (242). *Hugo de Moreville, senior, says Fordun* (243). I am uncertain whether he was constable of Scotland ; but a family of that name, probably his descendants, long held the office. These three are the only constables I have yet discovered, prior to the series given by Lord Hailes (244). There were inferior constables, as is well known. *Henricus, Comes, filius regis Scottorum*, addresses a charter *Gulielmo de Umfraville, Constabulo suo* (245). The high constabulary was an office of great importance, and it was enjoyed only by the most distinguished characters. It passed to an English family by marriage : it is not very clear how it returned (246). By Robert I. it was vested in the family of Errol, where it still remains.— —

—The splendour of a court is increased by the number of its Peers, and the variety of its officers. Perhaps we had few pretensions to splendour : and the lofty ideas our writers have formed of the magnificence of the *Aula Regis*, might be applied, with the same truth, to the retinue of a petty Asiatic or an African potentate ; and all we had, was, it may be, adopted in humble imitation of other states.— —

—The office of Cupbearer is ancient. Between 1098—1107, is *Alfric, pincerna* (247). In the year 1115, Alfric is cupbearer ; probably the same (248). In 1164, is *Willielmus de Haya, pincerna* (249). *Ranulphus*

g

nulphus

(241) Chartulary of Newbattle.

(242) Chronicon de Mailros, p. 8. Chartul. of Glasgow.

(243) Lib. viii. cap. 7.

(244) Additional Case of the Countess of Sutherland.

(245) Cartular. Priorat. de Coldinghame.

(246) Fordun, lib. x. c. 28. Additional Case.

(247) Carta Reg. Eadgar. ap. Anders. Diplom.

(248) Cart. de Scone.

(249) Anderson's Diplomat.

nulphus de Soules, pincerna Domini Regis, 1170 (210). *Anno 1207, Ranulphus de Soules, in domo suo, à domesticis suis occisus.* (211). *Inter 1202—1214, Malcolmus, pincerna Domini Regis* (212).—It is uncertain, whether Alfric was the royal cupbearer. I have yet seen no evidence that he was. There might be a cupbearer in convents, and about the establishments of powerful noblemen. I find *Gilbertus, pincerna de Golin* (213).— —

—The office of Sheriff, is of great antiquity, and his jurisdiction has always held an eminent place in the administration of justice.—Craig well observes, “*ab ipsis comitibus nomen vicecomitis defluxit*” (214); and this was possibly at an early period the case.—But his origin, like that of all our ancient judges, is enveloped in obscurity.—There is a passage, which, if genuine, would say, sheriffs were known in the days of Macbeth. “*De libertate Kyrknes collata a Rege Mathbet filio Finlath* (215), *et a Gruoch Regina.—Cum omni libertate collata fuit villa de Kyrknes Deo Omnipotenti et Keledeis, absque omni munere et exactione Regis et filii Regis, Vicecomitis et alicujus*” (216).—The few deeds ascribed to Malcolm, that I have seen, make no allusion to sheriffs.—The Abbey of Kelso was founded about 1108, according to Fordun (217); or 1118, according to Wyntown (218): and, soon after, we find *Gospatricius Vicecomes* (219). In the reign of David I, they are not unfrequent. *Gospatricius Vicecomes, 1126* (260); *Thor Vicecomes; Durandus.*

(210) Chartulary of Newbattle.

(211) Chronicle of Melros, p. 182.

(212) Registrum Priorat. Scti Andree, p. 468. Chartul. of Scone.

(213) Cartular. de Coldingham.

(214) De Feudis, lib. i. dieg. 12. § 14.

(215) Macbeth filio Finleg. *Vid. Innes's Enquiry.*

(216) Regist. Priorat. Scti Andr.

(217) Lib. v. cap. 36.

(218) B. vii. c. 5. l. 185.

(219) Chartul. of Kelso.

(260) Haddington's collections.

Durandus Vicecomes ; *Willielmus Vicecomes* ; *Gilbertus Vicecomes de Strivelin* ; *Willielmus Vicecomes de Strivelin*, who may be the same with *Willielmus Vicecomes*.—

The relation between a *Vicecomes* and a *Vicecomitatus*, seems not to have been understood in the same sense as it now is.—In the reign of David I, we read of *Malothben Vicecomes de Scona*, and the *Vicecomes* of Dunfermline. In the reign of Alexander II, Randulf is *Vicecomes de Scona* (²⁶¹): and in the reign of Malcolm IV, or William the Lyon, *Nicolaus* is *Vicecomes de Libertone* (²⁶²), and *Willielmus Vicecomes de Karal*.—I do not recollect to have met with a *Vicecomitatus* under any of these appellations.—Perhaps the term was used, as we say “ Sheriffs in that part.”—The office of sheriff appears, formerly, of greater consequence. Robert III. confers the sheriffdom of Bute upon his brother John, which may shew its value or its importance.—Between 1445, 1449, or 1457, there is an enumeration of the counties in Scotland; the number is twenty-two (²⁶³): and before that, there is a sort of list in the *Regiam Majestatem*. In different ages, the division varied.—

Sir James Dalrymple remarks a distinction between the *Vicecomitatus* and *Shira* (²⁶⁴), “ the latter being a less jurisdiction and district.” Although we do not know the particular description or properties of a *Shira*, it often occurs. The distinction is ancient. In a charter of Malcolm III, there is given *Shira de Kircaladunt*, *Shira de Fothriffie et Musselburge* (²⁶⁵). There are *Sira de Chellyn*, *Sira de Cherel*, given by David I. (²⁶⁶), termed in a charter of William, *Shira de Kelbyn*, *Shira de Karal* (²⁶⁷). We find, *Shira de Gellad*, *Shira de Gatemile*, *Coldingham shire*, &c.— —

g ij

—We

(²⁶¹) Chartularies of Scone and Newbattle.

(²⁶²) Cartularium Abbat. Scti Crucis. MS. Adv. Lib.

(²⁶³) Abbreviat. Scotichronic. Ford. v. ii. p. 542. Ed. 1759.

(²⁶⁴) Hist. Collect. p. 400.

(²⁶⁵) Cart. Foundation. Cænob. de Dunferm.

(²⁶⁶) Monastic. Anglic. v. i. p. 422.

(²⁶⁷) Al. cart. pag. ead.

—We had a person termed *Judex*, whose station or office I cannot precisely discover.—“ After the introduction of Sheriffs,” says Sir James Dalrymple, “ the officary or hereditary Earl, retained jurisdiction over his vassals and tenants, by a person called *Judex*. I have seen a person so designed, amongst the witnesses to a charter by Gilbert Earl of Angus to Wishart of Logie, and to a charter of *Dungal filius Christini, Judicis de Levenax* ” (168).—I do not entirely agree with Sir James; for *Judices* are known of particular districts, which we have no particular evidence ever were *Comitatus*. Nisbet says, “ The *Justiciarius Lothaniæ*, is called, in old charters, the *Judex Laudonia* ” (269). In this he is certainly mistaken. The *Judex* rarely occurs in deeds. Whether this may be from the unimportance of his office, I shall not determine. Among others are, *Leyning et Ogga Cumbrenses Judices, circa 1118* (270); *Meldoineth Judex bonus et discretus, ante 1127* (271); *Maldouen Judex, ante 1139* (272); *Malisius Judex, circa 1200* (273); *Malcolmus Judex* (274); *Laurentius Judex de Perth* (275); *Beldin Judex de Ferne* (276); *Rogerus Raynir Judex Domini Regis* (277). Probably, there were different gradations in the office.—Once or twice I have seen royal charters, wherein the Sheriff is designed, simply, *Viccomes meus*. I know not whether he had any pre-eminence. *Inter 1115—1127*, is *Constantinus Comes de Fyf, magnus Judex in Scotia* (278). At first, I thought he might be the Justiciar, as I had seen

none.

(168) Hist. Coll. p. 217.

(269) Heraldry, v. ii. p. 4. c. 11. p. 66.

(270) Instrum. possess. Eccles. Glascuen. Ap. Crawf. Offic. of State. Pinkert. Enq. &c.

(271) Registrum Priorat. Scti Andr.

(272) Chartulary of Dunfermline.

(273) Original charters, No. 49.

(274) Registr. Scti Andr. p. 191.

(275) Chartulary of Scone.

(276) Original charters, No. 27.

(277) Cartularium de Balmyrinoch, fol. 17.

(278) Regist. Scti Andr.

none so termed before that period. But, since Sir James Balfour gives a more early series of Justiciaries, and after finding the different denominations of *Judices*, this Earl may have been the chief of that order. Whether the supreme civil Judge at the time, I leave to greater antiquarians.— —

—However different from the general opinion, I can by no means think the offices under the Crown were hereditary in ancient times; and I am well convinced, that heritable grants of jurisdiction were unusual before the reign of Robert Bruce. If we see any son in succession to an office his father enjoyed, or we even find many descendants of a family discharge an office, it seems to be but from special favour: and I doubt not, that under William and the Alexanders, hereditary jurisdiction was as little known as it is at this day. There might, in singular cases, be exceptions, and in particular offices. With peculiar aids, the High Constabulary of Scotland was given to Roland Lord of Galloway for 700 marks⁽²⁷⁹⁾; neither does it at all appear, sheriffdoms were in general hereditary rights. Indeed, when such grants came into use, their importance was too great to render them universal. In the rolls of Robert II, anno 1372, “*officium Vicecomitis Vicecomitatus de Kin-*”
“*ros conceditur Roberto Haket pro tempore vitæ*”⁽²⁸⁰⁾. I never paid attention to this period of our history. Few, or many examples, may exist.— —

—I am well aware, how dangerous it is, to draw general conclusions from obscure facts, or from fragments of histories. Perhaps, those ancient officers, justiciars, cupbearers, and constables, might be the officers of the Crown, and each *unique* in the kingdom. Perhaps, about the reign of William the Lyon, the appellation *Justiciarius, Constabularius Scotiæ* or *Laudoniæ*, and *Pincerna Regis*, with the characteristic, might first be assumed. Perhaps, *Justiciarius Scotiæ* or *Laudoniæ*, might mean a justiciar of Scotland or of Lothian. In the charters of
David I,

(279) Ford. lib. viii. cap. 56. “*Datis septingentis marcis argenti Williclmo Regi Scotorum, pro hereditate et honore Constabulariæ.*”

(280) *Diplomata Regia*, vol. i. MS. Adv. Lib. in 10 vol. fol.

David I, the Mareschal is simply termed *Marescallus* : and although we had inferior constables and justiciars, I am uncertain whether there were inferior mareschals ; perhaps there might. But the little order apparently preserved in our ancient writings, and the great destruction they have undergone, prevent us from arranging our ideas with accuracy upon the subject. And this destruction is not wonderful, when we consider how often the nation has been exposed to the horrors of war, and the tumults of licentious plunderers. To say, there has been no destruction, is absurd ; for we daily meet with references to a series of deeds, all which seem now to be in non-existence.— —

— —How unlike the production of savages, is the music of Scotland ! No traits of barbarism are displayed in the Scottish song. Framed to touch the soul, its simple melody interests, while its pathos bears an unrivalled palm. Perhaps I am wrong. Perhaps the music of almost all savages is pathetic.—Our music was believed ancient ; but it has been asserted, in an excellent dissertation, that what we imagine centuries old, is of modern date ; and, that no direct evidence can be shown, of any tune, familiar to our ears, existing before the Restoration ⁽²¹¹⁾. I cannot contradict the assertion. Our ancient authors speak of music. Wyntown records a song composed upon the death of Alexander III.

“ Quhen Alysandyr oure Kyng wes dede,
 “ That Scotland led in luwe and le,
 “ Away wes sons of ale and brede,
 “ Of wyne and wax, gamyn and gle.

 “ Oure gold wes changyd into lede,
 “ Cryst borne into Virgynyte.
 “ Succour Scotland, and remede.
 “ That stad is in perplexité ” ⁽²¹²⁾.

This, if pure, may be esteemed a great curiosity. Alexander III. died, or rather was accidentally killed, 1285.—Bower, who wrote 1444—1449, gives

(211) Ritson's Scottish Songs.

(212) Cronykil, B. 10. *fin.*

gives an account of the state of music in his time. He seems anxious to prove, that it did not resemble the Irish, as Giraldus Cambrensis had said ; and declares it the opinion of many, that the Scottish not only equalled, but then excelled the Irish music (283). Major, who lived a century after Bower, says, the musicians of Scotland were as perfect as those of England, but were less numerous. The Highlanders "*lyra utuntur, cujus chordas ex ære, et non ex intestinis animalium faciunt, in qua dulcissime modulantur*" (284).—What were the most ancient instruments, is uncertain. Giraldus says they had three, *cithara, tympana, et chorus* (285).—Several of the ornaments upon Melrose Abbey are figures of musicians. Upon the south or south-west wall is a figure playing upon an instrument, the lower part only of which remains : it seems to be a flute or hautbois, with six holes at most. Near this is a bagpipe blown with the mouth. It has but one drone : the whole is much defaced. There is another instrument, evidently the violin, with four strings : the sounding holes are above the bridge : the hand is broken away, and the rest much defaced. Beside this is a female figure playing upon a six-stringed instrument, the strings disposed in pairs. I suppose this is what Mr Barrington has taken for the Welch crwth. The form of the instrument is like the longitudinal section of a pear, and quite different from the drawing he gives of a crwth. The historian of the Irish Bards thinks he has mistaken a French viol for the crwth. If I were to hazard a conjecture, I should say it is a kind of lute. I can find it in none of the many authors upon music and musical instruments I have consulted. In *Mersenne* and *Kircher*, there is one bearing some resemblance. Upon the west side of the Abbey, there is a similar instrument, much larger, with the strings disposed singly. Both are very entire. Some author, I forget who, translates the word *chorus, crwth*. There are several other musical instruments, both within and without the Abbey ; but I

can:

(283) Fordun, lib. xvi. cap. 28.

(284) Major, lib. 5. cap. 1. & 8.

(285) De Mirabilib. Hiberniæ.

can pretend to describe no more. Some are so much effaced, that it is impossible to say what they have been. I have not observed any instruments without musicians, which are statues, or in basso and alto relievo. We are ignorant at what time they were placed there. The stones upon which they are carved form part of the wall.—I cannot consider these instruments as deciding the custom of the country. Neither is it certain, as some authors think, that the architect of Melrose Abbey was a Frenchman. The language of the inscription, upon which this opinion is founded, is of a period long after the time of David I, if the whole structure was erected by that prince. Variety, with the most wonderful execution, seems to have been the object of the sculptor; which is proved by the amazing diversity of ornaments which still adorn this beautiful ruin.—Barbour mentions no musical instrument; and singing is only once alluded to (¹⁸⁶): neither does Wyntown, in his whole work, unless in the passage quoted.—James I. is celebrated as a musician: he played “*in tympano et choro, in psalterio et organo, tibia et lyra, tuba et fistula*” (¹⁸⁷). Upon the harp he excelled the Irish, or “*sylvestres Scoti, qui in illa arte precipui sunt*” (¹⁸⁸).—James III. cultivated the sciences; and, in his reign, William Rogers, a famous English musician, came to Scotland (¹⁸⁹).—James IV. was skilled in music. At his marriage, “he played of the clarycordes, and after of the lute” ----- “Lastynge the dinner, they blew trompetts, mynstrells, and sakkeboutts” (¹⁹⁰).—Horns were anciently used in battle, and, it would seem, trumpets (¹⁹¹). The trumpet is but a simple elongation of the horn, and is perhaps one of the
most

(¹⁸⁶) Page 340, line 195.

(¹⁸⁷) Ford. lib. xvi. cap. 28.

(¹⁸⁸) Major, lib. vi. cap. 4.

(¹⁸⁹) Pinkerton's history.

(¹⁹⁰) Leland's collectanea, v. iv. p. 284, 285.

(¹⁹¹) Froissart, liv. i. ch. 18. Deux trompettes d'Escoce.

most ancient instruments (²⁹²). Each warrior carried a horn, suspended by a cord, about his neck—" *tanquam venator, et cum prælium ingrediuntur, tali sono se ad bellum animant* " (²⁹³). Froissart often mentions those horns. Buchanan copies Froissart, with some additions, probably of his own invention (²⁹⁴). Also Barbour (²⁹⁵). The noise was hideous: it could be heard at four miles distance: and, according to Froissart, " seemed as if all the devils of hell had been there " (²⁹⁶). Cochran, the favourite of James III, had a horn of peculiar elegance (²⁹⁷). The horn was a Saxon instrument, (if it may be dignified with the name of a musical instrument, which I doubt), and perhaps general in the north. Ancient drawings often exhibit horns; and they are introduced in representations of battles.—It is an error to think the bagpipe peculiar to Scotland: it was a Grecian and a Roman instrument, known by the name of *tibia utricularia*, at least there was one similar, which we sometimes meet on coins, vases, and other monuments of antiquity. It was not uncommon in the sister kingdom. Among the minstrels of Edward III, are 5 pipers. I doubt if the bagpipe is meant. Queen Elizabeth, who seems always to have had a tolerable band, annually gives her bagpiper L xii: xiii: iiij. (²⁹⁸).—In the *Complaynt of Scotland* are enumerated 37 songs, which might then be in vogue (²⁹⁹). Few of those are known to remain. *O lusty Maye vitht Flora quene*, is in a collection of poems and ballads in the Advocates Library, printed 1508,

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thought

(²⁹²) Memoir. de L'Academ. Roy. des Inscip. v. i. p. 104.

(²⁹³) Major, loc. sup. cit. c. 4.

(²⁹⁴) Lib. ix.

(²⁹⁵) P. 418, l. 223; 419, l. 15.

(²⁹⁶) Froissart, liv. iii.

(²⁹⁷) Pitscottie, p. 123. and the life of Cochran; a weak production.

(²⁹⁸) MS. Adv. Lib. W. i. 12. Omitted in Peck's Desiderat. Curios.

(²⁹⁹) About 1549. There is one copy in the British Museum, another belonging to his Grace the Duke of Roxburgh, one belonging to Mr M'Gowan in Edinburgh, and another to Mr Paton there, known to exist. All, it is said, were imperfect: that in the British Museum, and the copy belonging to Mr Paton, were completed from each other.

thought to be the first printing in Scotland. Another, *Al musing of Meruellis a mys hef I gone*, I find in a music book, written, it would appear, during last century. I observe it in none of the printed collections of Scottish poetry. The song bears an allusion, as I think, to some expedition of one of our kings during war. Of James IV or V, it is impossible to say. Except in this, to me the song seems nonsense; but, whether any allegorical meaning is conveyed in the rest, I leave to those who are better skilled in the history of Scotland than myself.—Seven of the rest are in a collection of *Spiritual Songs*, which, the author or collector declares, were “chainged out of prophaine sanges, for avoyding of sinne and harlotrie” (100).—There is also a list of 30 dances. One, *Baglap And al*, (101) might be appropriated to a tune in Oswald’s and the Macfarlane collection (102). And two are named among the *Spiritual Songs*.—

It has been thought, that the Chinese resemble the Scottish tunes. There may be some similarity; but, where fancy dictates, it is dangerous to judge. Most of the Chinese tunes, that I have seen, consist of one part of ten, to above twenty bars (103). Our tunes of one part, are esteemed the most ancient, that is, the production of the ruder times. In this there is no rule. I have seen a Kamstchadale tune in two parts. There may be one characteristic of savage music, which is, the little variation of strain, and the shortness of the tune. A late traveller thinks the Moorish resembles the Scottish music. He gives no specimens, which is unfortunate, as it is more than probable no person will in future

(100) *Ane compendious booke of Godly and Spirituall Songs*, &c. Edinburgh, printed by Andro Hart.

(101) Folio 30.

(102) *MS.* 3 vol. Scot. Antiq. Societ. Museum. I fear one vol. is now lost.

(103) *Vid.* Grosier. *Hist. de la Chine*, *mult. loc.* *Essai sur la Musique ancienne et moderne*, T. 2. *fine.* 4 T. 4to, Paris 1780. Various specimens of national music in this work. *Memoires concern. les Chinois*, t. 6. An elaborate account. *Ambassade de Nieuhoff*, Sir William Jones, and various travellers.

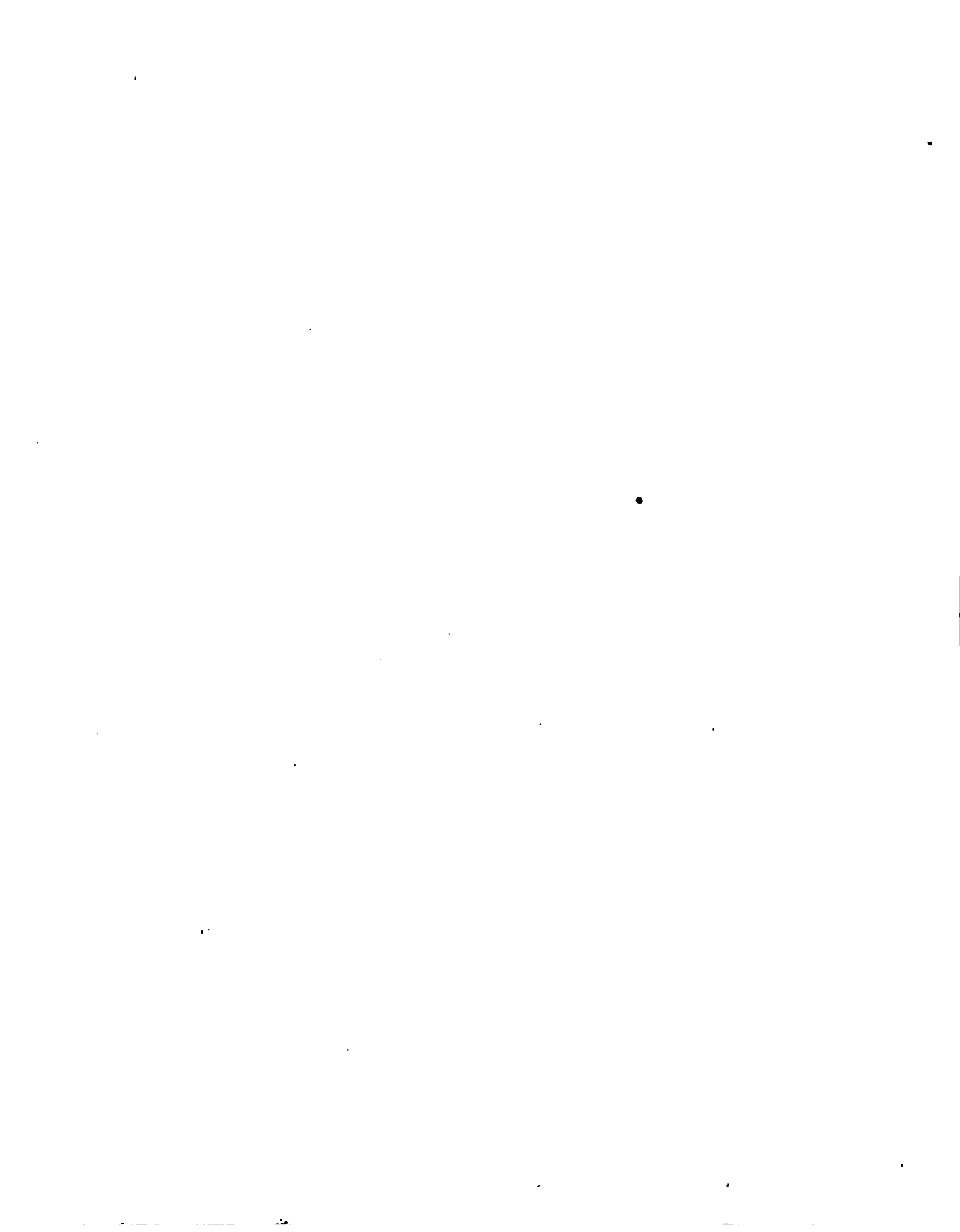
ture have the same advantageous opportunities.—None that I have seen, although beautiful, have the least resemblance.— —

—What can exceed the beauty of the Scottish song!—Unadorned, it affects the feelings: its expression surpasses the studied productions of the age.—Could we afford time to reflect, the Braes of Ballendyne, Logan Water, or the Birks of Endermay, give more sensible pleasure than the most laboured passage of Haydn, Pleyel, Giornovich, or Viotti.—Can such be the production of savages? Can such be the feelings of minds harassed by the cares of humbler life? Amidst solici- tude and want, can the soul unbend to pleasure, and pour forth its ef- fusions in harmonic strains? Or, shall we say, that in grief we melt at music, and record our sufferings in pathetic song?— — — — —

FINIS.



A P P E N D I X.



A P P E N D I X.

I.

DE RAGEWIN ET GILLEPATRIC ET ULCHIL.

DAVID Dei gracia Rex Scottorum, omnibus probis hominibus suis salutem. Sciatis me dedisse Ragewin et Gillepatric et Ulchil in perpetuum ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis de Dunfermlin, sicuti homines meos proprios. Teste Johanne episcopo, et Gillemichel comite, et Waldevo fratre, et Dolfin et Maldoueni iudice, et Vuyet Albo et Roberto Burgeis, apud Dunfermlin.

II.

DE FUGITIVIS QUI VOCANTUR CUMBERLACH.

DAVID Rex Scottorum, omnibus fidelibus suis tocius Scotie et Laudonie salutem. Precipio quatenus cito Cumerlachi reddantur ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis de Dunfermlin, et omnes servi sui quos pater meus et mater mea et fratres mei ei dederunt, et Cumerlachi sui a tempore Edgari Regis usque nunc cum tota pecunia sua ubicunque inveniuntur, et prohibeo ne injuste retineantur. Testibus Herberto cancellario et Vuyet, apud Dunfermlin.

III.

 III.

DECLARATION OF FREEDOM.

ROBERTUS REX—Sciatis quod per bonam et fidelem assisam cor. Wilhelmo de Lyndesay camerario nostro Scotiæ, et Joanni filio Uroningis justiciario nostro, ad hoc specialiter deputat: evidenter extitit conspectum et declaratum quod, Ad: filius Adam lator presentium non est homo nr ligius seu natus, quin pro voluntate sua se ipsum et liberos suos et verum bona libere valeat transferre ubicumque voluerit, infra regnum nostrum prout melius sibi viderit expedire absq: calumnia a quocunq: propter quod præfatum Adam et liberi suos supradict: viz. Robertum, Joannem, Reginaldum et Duncanum, liberos, solutos fore declaramus ac ipsos ab omni jugo et onere servitutis quietos reddimus per ptes, in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium, pr has literas nostras perpetuo, directuras sibi, fieri fecimus patentes. Apud Sanctum Andream, decimo die Septembris anno regni nri quarto decimo.

 IV.

A CATALOGUE OF ALL YE LORDS CHIEFFE JUSTICIARS OR GRATE JUSTICIARS, SINCE YE I. ZEIR OF YE RAINGE OF K. MALCOLME YE 3^p TO THIS PRESENT 1643.

King Malcolme ye 3^d.—Aluinus Justiciarius Scotiæ Regnante Mal. 3. Him I find wittnes in a donatione of this Kinges to the Culdeis de Insula S. Seruani de Lochleuin de certis præuilidgiis, Ao: 19. Regni Regis. *Ex Regist. Culd. fol. 7.*

K. Da-

K. David ye First.—Maldouenus, Justiciarius Scotiæ, I find wittnes in a donacione of K. David ye 1. to ye mounkes and monasterey de Vlchill et Ragiswin in puram et perpetuam elimosinam. fol. 7. pag. 1.

K. Malcolme ye Fourth.—Valterus, filius Allani Senescalli, was justiciar of Scotland Ao: 5 regni Mal: 4. Him I find wittnes in a donacione of this Kinges, monachis et monasterio S. Trinitatis de Dumfermlin in Fyffe, de vno tofto in burgo de Edinbrughe, possesid by Robert de Loudoniis. *Ex Regist. dicti Monasterii*, fol. 10. pag. 2.

K. William ye Lyone.—Villiam Cumin, Justiciarius Scotiæ, is wittnes in a donacione of this Kinges, de vno tofto in burgo Karell, monachis St. Michaelis Archangeli de Scona, Ao. Reg. 3. 9 Octobris. *Ex Regist. Monasterii de Scona*, fol. 12.

David Olifard, iusticiarius Scotiæ, I find wittnes in ratificatione of contrawersie betuix ye chanons of St Andrews and ye mounkes of Dunfermlin, decidit by K. William, anent a mortificatione by K. Da: 1. to ye said chanons out of ye lands of Balcorstin, &c. Apud Kingorne, Ao. 9. regni Regis Villielmi. *Ex Regist. Monasterii de Dumferml:* fol. 12. pag. 2.

Gilbert Earle of Stratherne, I find to be Justiciarius Scotiæ, Ao. 13. regni Villielmi Regis. He is wittnes in a confirmatione of this Kings, of ye churche of Montin in Athole, dotat to ye mounkes and monasterey of Dumfermlin in Fyffe by Malcolme Earle of Athole. *Ex Regist. dicti Monasterii*, fol. 12. pag. 2.

Duncanus Comes de Fyffe, I find to be Justiciarius Scotiæ, Ao. 19. regni Regis Willielmi. He is wittnes in a charter of confirmatione of this Kinges to ye mounkes and monasterey of Dumfermlin in Fyffe, ratiffing to them ye donacione of Saierus de Quinci and of Waldeuius, of ye landes of Beeth. Apud Perth, 20 Augusti. *Ex Regist. dicti Monasterii*, fol. 13. pag. 2.

Robertus Auenel, Justiciarius Scotiæ, I find wittnes in a charter of excambium of some landes neire adiacent to ye toune and castell of Streuelin, wich K. Villiam exchanged with ye mounkes of Dumfermlin, and annexed ye same to his chapell royall of Streuelin : wich landes formerly belonged to Roger ye sone of Odo. *Ex Regist. dicti Monasterii*, fol. 13. pag. 2.

K. Alexander ye Second.—William Earle of Ross, Justiciarius Scotiæ ex parte boreali Aquæ de Forth (callid Maris Scoticiani) by hes sentence ordanis Sr Dauid Wymes de eodem, Shriffe of Fyffe, to make payment of the aught pairt of ye Kinges rent in Fyffe & Forthriff to ye abbot and convent of Dumfermlin. According to ther rightes. Apud Perth 7 Octobris, regnante Rege Alexandro 2do in Ao. 1239, et regni Regis Ao. 25. *Ex Regist. Monasterii de Dumfermlin*, fol. 5.

Allanus Senescallus, filius Allani Senescalli, wes justiciarius Scotiæ Ao. 23. regni Regis Alexandri 2^{di}. Him I find wittnes in donatione of this Kinges to ye mounkes and monasterey of Dumfermlin, of ye landes of Dolar in feodo, de Clackmanan in excambium pro elimosinis, wich they had e terris nostris de Kingorne et Karell in brasio hordeo et arenis ; as also in full contentment and satisfaction omnium rectitudinum quas præcipere consueuerunt e culinis nostris et Reginae sponsæ nostræ, &c. in puram et perpetuam elimosinam. *Ex Regist. dicti Monasterii*, fol. 15. pag. 2.

Allanus Hostiarius, or Ostiarius, I find justiciarius Scotiæ in Ao: 1243. He is wittnes in diuers donations of this Kinges to ye mounkes and monasterey of S. Mary of Coupar in Angus. *Ex Regist. dicti Monasterii*, fol. 5. pag. 2.

Robertus de Monte Alto was grate justiciar of Scotland Ao. 27. regni Regis Alexandri 2^{di}. He is wittnes in a donacione of this Kinges to ye mounkes and monasterey of St Marey of Coupar.

Coupar in Angus, of ye churche of Glenylise, &c. and ye landes of Belactyn, Craignouthyn, & Innertharidie. *Ex Regist. Monasterii de Cupro*, fol. 6.

Walterus, filius Allani Senescalli Justiciarius Scotiæ, I find wittnes in a donatione of K. Alexander ye Seconde, de centum petrarium Caseii de firmis de Tullemutlache, to ye mounkes and monasterey of Cambuskeneth in Streueling shyre, 15 Januarii, Ao. regni Regis Alex. 2di. 19. *Ex Regist. dicti Monasterii*. Fordon in his Scoticronicon, yat King Alexander ye Second at St Andrews fecit Valterum filium Allani Senescalli qui Senescallus ipsius * Justiciarium Scotiæ, in Ao. 1231.

K. Alexander ye 3d.—Alexander Cumin, Earle of Buchan, Justiciarius Scotiæ, one of ye priuey counsail to K. Alexander ye Thrid, befor quhom and ye rest of ye priuey counsaill, Anno regni Regis 5. et Sal. 1253, Emina, the daughter and heire of Richard de Smethun, acknowledged yat her landes did formerly hold of ye monasterey of Dumfermlin as a parcell and pendicle of the baroney of Muskilbroughe, dotat to them by K. Da. 1. of good memorey, &c. *Ex Regist. dicti Monasterii*, fol. 17. pag.

The names of K. Alexanders priuey counsellors, befor quhom this was cognosced, as I find them in ye record, wer,

Clement Bis. of Dumblaine.
 Richard Abbot of Cambuskeneth.
 Valter Cumin Earle of Menteith
 Alex. Cumin Earle of Buchan, justiciar.
 William Earle of Mar, chamberlaine.
 S^r Alexander Steuarte.
 S^r Robert Ross.
 S^r Dauid Grhame.

i ij

S^r

* Sic.

S^r Johne Blonde, &
 S^r Johne Saluiani, knights.
 M^r Gameline, &
 M^r William, ye Kinges chaplains.
 Alexander Corbridge, ye Kinges clerke.

Allanus Ostiarius, dapifer Regis, I find to be Justiciarius Scotiæ Ao. 17. regni Regis Alexandri Tertii et Sal. 1256, as ye record of ye monasterey of Aberbrothic, *vol. 2^d. fol. 82.* This Allane wes restored to K. Alexander ye 3^ds fauor by the mediations of Henrey King of England, and at ye said Kings earnest intrettey made Lord Chieffe Justice of Scotland for 7 zeires, in Ao. 1253. As wittneses ye booke of Melrosse.— — —

V.

CHARTER TO THE MONASTERY OF DURHAM.

EADGARUS Dei gratia Rex Scotorum, omnibus per regnum suum Scottis et Anglis salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse Deo omnipotenti et Scto Cuthberto ac monachis ejus, pro animabus patris et matris meæ, et salute animæ meæ, ac fratrum ac sororum mearum, Coldinghame et omnes illas terras quas habent in Laudoneio, ita liberas et quietas, cum omnibus consuetudinibus, sicut eas ego ipse habeo in propria mea manu. Et volo et precipio omnibus meis hominibus, ne ullus illorum, eis aliquam molestiam vel injuriam, inde faciat vel hanc donationem meam infringat, sed in pace et quiete et honorifice in perpetuo habeant eas et teneant.

VI.

A CATALOGUE OF ALL THE GRATE CONSTABLES OF SCOTLAND
SINCE THE 4 ZEIRE OF YE RAINGE OF K. MALCOLME YE 3^d.

VNALENE Earle of Stratherne, I find aboute ye latter end of ye fourte zeir of ye rainge of K. Malcolme the 3^d to be constable of Scotland be northe ye Riuer of Forthe.

Fergus ye sone of Earl Madock, neir yat same tyme, I lykwayes find to be constable of Scotland be south Forth to ye Riuer of Tyne. *Scotticronicon*, lib. 7. fol. 172.

K. Donald ye Seuinth.—Rothericke Earle of Stratherne, I find to be grate constable of Scotland during ye shorte rainge of this vsurper. He is wittnes in a donatione of this Kinges Deo et S. Seruano & Keledeis heremitis de Insula de Lochleuin terrarum de Cathro.

K. Duncane the Second.—Philipe de Maulea, knight chamberer to K. Duncane the Second, by quhom, in ye begining of the second zeire of his rainge, he was made Grate Constable of Scotland. This same S^r Philipe de Maulea had by ye donatione of this King, 9 Januarii, Ao. 2. regni, ye landes of Panmure in Angus shyre. The witness of this charter of donatione are Gilchrist Earle of Angus, Alexander ye Kinges brother, & Gilleriche, with divers wthers.

K. Edgar.—S^r Eustasse de Mal-erbe or Malaherba, a Frencheman by birthe, one quho was trained vpe zoung with this King, being his fauorite, by quhom, in ye first zeire of his rainge, viz. the
day:

day after his coronatione, he was made Grate Constable of Scotland. I find him witness in diuers donationes and confirmations of this Kinges to the Culdeis of Lochleuin and monasterey of Dumfermlinge.

K. Alexander the First.—St Eustace de Morweill, Knight, was by K. Alexander the First made Grate Constable of Scotland in Ao. 1109. I find him witness in a donatione of this Kinges to ye monasterey of Dunfermling in Fyffe shyre, De Toftis Burgorum.

K. David ye First.—Eduard (of quhat surname doe I not find) is Constable of Scotland Ao. 1. reg. Da. 1. And him I find witness in a charter of donatione of this Kinges to ye monckes & monasterey of Cambuskenneth, called then Monasterio de Striueling. *Ex Regist. dicti Monast. fol. 167. p. 2.*

Humfrey De Morweill, Lord Lauderdaill, I find to be designet Grate Constable of Scotland, wich office is giuen to him heretably by K. David ye 1. Ao. 2. regni et Sal: 1124. He is witness in a donatione of this Kinges of ye landes of Kethick confirming yat gift of the saids lands to St Marey and ye monckes of Coupar by Malcolme Earle of Athole.

K. Malcolme ye 4.—In the begining of this Kinges rainge, Humphrey de Morweill, Lord Lauderdaill, was Grate Constable of Scotland, and he dyed in March 1156.

Richard de Morueill, Lord Lauderdaill, succett hes father Humphrey both in estait and office in anno 1156. Him I find a witness in a charter of K. Malcolme ye Fourth, of the lands and baroney of Settone in Lautheaine, ratified by the said King dilecto et fideli suo Christophero de Settone militi, apud Castrum Puellarum, without aney dait at all.

K. Wil-

K. William ye Lyone.—Heughe de Morweill, Lord of Lauderdaill, being one of the killers of Thomas Becket Archbishoppe of Canturbury, he then liuing at ye Englische courte, returns home prudently. His fathers death hapning shortly therafter, to him he succedeis both in estait and office in Ao. 1159. He foundit ye monasteries of Kilwining in Cuninghame ordinis Tyronensis, and yat of Drybrughe in Teuiottdaill ord. Præmonstratensis, and endowed them bothe werrey richeley, and dyed Ao. 2. regni Regis Villielmi.

Williame de Morweill, Lord Lauderdaill, succedit hes father, and was Grate Constable of Scotland in Ao. 1167: in ye beginning of wich zeir hes father departed this lyffe, wich was ye 2^d of K. Villiam. He dyed about ye latter end of ye rainge of K. Alexander ye 2^d. and was interrred in ye monasterey churche of Drybrughe in Teuiotdaill, wich hes father had foundit.

K. Alexander ye Second.—Allane Earle of Galloway, in right of hes mother Eua, ye only daughter and heire of William de Morueill, Lord Lauderdaill, wes Grate Constable Ao. 2^{do} regni Regis Alexandri 2^{di}, in Ao. Sal. 1215.

Roger de Quincey, Earle of Winchester in England, in right of hes wyffe Helena 2nd daughter to Allane Earle of Galloway, and one of ye coheirs, (Rege permittente, sayes my author) wes Grate Constable of Scotland, regnante Alex. 2^{do}.

Sr Alexander Settone Knight, Roger Earle of Winchester being recalled to England wnder ye paine of ye forfeiture of his landes: ther was by K. Alexander ye 2^d in his absence made Grate Constable of Scotland. Him I find wittness in a charter of donatione of ye landes of Immathe, given to ye monasterey of Coupar in Angus be Thomas de Galloway Earle of Athole, wich donatione is confirmed by K. Alex. 2^d. *Ex Regist. Monast. de Cupro*, fol. 7. pag. 2.

K. Alex.

K. Alexander ye 3^d—Sayer de Quincey, Earle of Vinchester in England, after his fathers death was Grate Constable of Scotland, Reg. Alex. 3^d to quhom he did forfeitt ye said office with his quhole landes holdin of this croune, for adhering to ye King of England, and sustining him against his leidge lord K. Alexander ye thrid.

Johne Comyon, Earle of Athole, and Lord of Strathbolgie, &c. immediatly after ye forfeiture of Quincey by K. Alexander ye 3^d wes invested in ye office of Grate Constable of Scotland; wich he possessed till ye Parl: decerned it to his cousin Alex^r Earle of Buchan.

Alexander Comyne, Earle of Buchan, in right of his wyffe ye youngest daughter of Roger de Quinci Earle of Winchester, retained ye office of Grate Constable, till by ye sentence of K. Alex^r 3^d; he was constrained to quyte it to William de Ferriers in Ao. 1270.

William de Ferriers, sone to ye countesse of Ferriers & Darby, who wes ye eldest daughter of Roger Quinci Earle of Winchester, hauing married ye relicte of Colbane Earle of Fyffe, did shew in his mother's right for ye office of Grate Constable, and by ye Kings sentence obtained ye same, 1270.— — —

VII.

FUNDATIO ABBACIÆ DE SCONA, ORDINIS SANCTI AGUSTINI,
PER ALEXANDRUM ISTIUS NOMINIS PRIMUM SCOTORUM
REGEM.

UNIVERSIS Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis et fidelibus Scotis, Francis,
Anglis et Gallowidensibus, clericis et laicis, totius terræ meæ, salutem.
Sciatis

Sciatis me fundasse Abbaciam in Thanagio meo de Scona, in honorem Dei Omnipotentis et Sti Michaelis Archangeli de ordine Sancti Agustini, pro salute animarum Malcolmi Regis patris mei, et Margaretæ Reginæ matris meæ, et pro salute Duncani Regis fratris mei, et Edgari Regis fratris mei, et Ethelredi Comitis fratris mei, et pro salute animæ meæ et Sybillæ Reginæ uxoris meæ, et omnium successorum meorum pietatis, Itaque studio et largitionis subscripta, concedo et pace perpetua confirmo Abbati et canonicis de Scona, terram de Scona ubi sita est Abbacia, cum Ecclesia ejusdem et molendinis, cum decimis oblationibus et omnibus justis pertinentiis suis, dedimus ita iis Dominia nostra de Raith et Kinfaunes, tenendum de nobis et successoribus nostris, in perpetuum, per rectas divisas suas, et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, libere, quiete, plenarie, et honorifice; Redendo inde annuatim quadraginta chaldas boni frumenti, et sexaginta chaldas boni brasii ordeï solvendas in grangiis suis de Raith et Kinfaunes, et faciendo forincicum servitium quod ad easdem terras pertinet; Salvis ejusdem canonicis secundis decimis suis a nobis et successoribus nostris in perpetuam elemosinam collatis. Dedi quoque dictis canonicis ut habeant decimam panis expensi in hospitio nostro et in hospitio Reginæ sponsæ nostræ; item rectitudines omnes in coquiniis et lardariis nostris et Reginæ sponsæ nostræ. Dedi quoque dictis canonicis omnes decimas villarum nostrarum de Blaire, libere, quiete, et honorifice. Dedi insuper et concessi iisdem canonicis, Innerbos cum quinque carucatis terræ, Bentorne cum tribus carucatis terræ, Forthrosie cum una carucata terræ, Kynnchtred cum una carucata terræ, Fingasc cum una carucata, Dufothyn cum tribus carucatis, Cloen cum tribus carucatis, Lyfte cum sex carucatis, Grudyn cum decem carucatis, Innergooren cum tribus carucatis et sex tofta, unum apud Edinbrughe, unum apud Stirlin, unum apud Innerkethyne, unum apud Perth, unum apud Aberdein, et duo retia super They, unum eorum in Kyncarrekyne, alterum in insula Regis, et unum rete in Forth apud Stirlin, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, libere, quiete, et in pace. Testibus Waltero Priore de Sancta Andræa, Constantino Comite de Fyffe

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Cancellario,

Cancellario, *Eustachio de Morveilla Constabulario*, Adam filio Comitis Galfredi de Kuningisburghe, Nesio filio Willielmi. Apud Forfar. Anno 3. regni Regis.

Concordat cum principali,
JA: BALFOURE, Lyone.

VIII.

GRANT OF THE HIGH CONSTABULARY.

ROBERTUS Dei gratia Rex Scottorum, omnibus probis hominibus suis totius terræ suæ, clericis et laicis, salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse, concessisse et hac presenti carta confirmasse Gilberto de Haya militi, dilecto et fidei nostro, pro homagio et servitio suo, officium Constabulariæ Scotiæ cum pertinentibus. Tenend: et habend: dicto Gilberto et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris in feode et hereditate, cum hostiliis ad dictum officium pertinentibus, libere, quiete, plenarie et honorifice; et cum omnibus aliis libertatibus, commoditatibus, asiamentis et justis pertinentiis ad dictum officium de jure aut consuetudine spectare valentibus. Faciendo nobis et heredibus nostris dictus Gilbertus et heredes sui servitium inde debitum et consuetum. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum nostrum est appensum.

IX.

HEC SUNT ORNAMENTA, IOCALIA ET VOLUMINA, QUE HABENTUR IN ECCLESIA COLLEGIATA BEATE MARIE ET SANCTI MICHAELIS DE STRIUELING, ET PONUNTUR SUB FIRMA CUSTODIA DISCRETI VIRI MAGISTRI DAVID TRAILLE SACRISTE DICTE ECCLESIE, QUARTO DIE MENSIS NOUEMBRIS DE ANNO DNI MILLESIMO QUINGENTE^o QUINTO.

[Then follows an enumeration of the vestments. De colore nigro. De blodio colore. De colore rubro. De sub albo colore. De colore viridi. De colore albo. De colore purpureo.]

Item, duo candelabra ærea aliquantulum magna. Item, octo fiole de stanno. Item, una parua campana pendens ante fores ecclesie. Item, tres magne campane que uenerunt ex ciuitate lundoniarum, ibi empte per dnm regem fundatorem ecclesie. Item, unum pulcrum horecudium completum, per dominū Jacobum pettygew fabricatum. Item, duo ly flacottis de stanno. Item, crux de stanno deaurato portans ymaginē crucifixi. Item, tria tintinabula. Item, una crux lignea rubri coloris habens hastam longam. Item, una hasta longa ad portandam ymaginē crucifixi extra ecclesiam. Item, duo magni ambones de lignis stantes in choro. Item, tria paria organorum, quorū unum ē de lignis, et duo alia de stanno siue de plūbo. Item, tria seruicialia ad supponendū missalibz in altari. Item, vna tabula cum tribz foliis, ubi depingunt ymago dne nostre gerētis filium suum in ulnis suis, et duo angeli portantes instrumenta musicalia. Item, vna tabula in qua scribitur qui pridie, &c. Item, vna magna archa clausa cum duabus feris pro ornamentis ecclesie seruandis. Item, ly bellis et ly traditor pro officio tenebrarū in septimana dominice passionis. Item, boxa correa apta ad seruandū evidencias ecclesie. Item, habentur in pictura multa arma regis et regie

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X.

SEQUITUR THESAURARIA ECCLESIE CATHEDRALIS ABBIRDONEN. VICESIMO TERTIO APRILIS; PER DECANUM ET CAPITULUM EJUSDEM, REPERTA ET VISITATA ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO QUINGENTESIMO DECIMO OCTAVO.

IN primis, decem calices argenti deaurati cum totidem pateriis una de que est cuprum. Crux magna argentea deaurata cum pede fixo. Alter crux processionalis similiter argentea, in qua est pars ligni sancte crucis. Una similiter crux argentea deaurata, in qua alius fuerit pars ligni crucis diui Andree Apostoli. Quarta, crux argentea cum quatuor vinct. ymaginibus cum ramis lapidis corilli. Annulus auri cum lapide coloris viridi. Monise auri, lapidibus ornatum preciosis. Annulus argenti in quo comprehenduntur ymagine crucifixi dive virginis et beati Johannis. Brachium argenteum cum reliquis beati Fergusii, similiter ornatum lapidibus preciosis. Eucaristia cuprea deaurata pro usu dicte ecclesie quotidiano. Jocale argenteum deauratum cum sanctorum variis reliquis, cristallo, viz. et lapidibus preciosis ornatum. Eucaristia argentea deaurata in solemnitatibus anni deferenda instar turris, ex dono bone memorie reverendique patris Henrici Lychton Abbirtonen. episcopi. Due thece ex auricalco deaurate pro custodia reliquiarum. Annulus argenti, in quo est pars lapidis columnne. Annulus etiam auri alius, concessus per quondam Elenam Lychton. Lapis crystallinus argentatus. Pix eburnea deargentata. Parva ymago crucifixi flagellati argenti, margaritis insculptis. Due corone argentate pro diva virgine et Jesu parvulo ejus filio, cum quibusdam in eisdem preciosis ut fertur lapidibus. Quinque burse seu marsupia ex auro contexta pro conservatione reliquiarum deputata. Quatuor phiole argenti pro ministerio mag-
ni

ni altaris, quarum uni deest cooperimentum. Tres ampulle argenti pro conservacione crismatis olei sancti et infirmorum, quarum una similiter caret cooperimento. Parva ymago beati Olavi argenti, septem decorata preciosis lapidibus. Duo lapides cristallini pro pedibus ymaginum. Scutum argenti cum ymaginibus diue crucis beatissime virginis et beati Johannis pro collacione pacis in missa, ex dono bone memorie ac reverendi patris Thome episcopi Abbirtonen. Duo candelabra argentea pro ministerio ceroferariorum ecclesie, ex dono ejusdem episcopi Thome. Peluis argenti cum lavachro deaurato, ex dono quondam bone memorie Gilberti Abbirtonen: episcopi. Due alie similiter pro elves. pro ministerio magni altaris, pulchre et honeste, ex simili dono supra dicti Domini Henrici Abbirtonen: episcopi. Unum coclear argenti pro ministerio dicti altaris. Duo thuribula argenti, ex dono Dominorum capituli residencium, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo sexto, ponderis centum et quadraginta unciarum, cum navicella et cocleari incensi, cum custodibus eorundem. Pulchra ymago argenti beatissime Dei genetricis Marie pietatis, ex dono venerabilis viri Magistri Andree Lyell thesaurarii Abbirtonen. Duo evangelaria, quorum unum argenteum, et aliud cuprum deauratum. Duo pectoralia capparum, quorum unum argenteum, et alter ex cupro deaurato. Cor argenteum ante divam virginem. Aspsorium argenti cum forpice pro cudendis panibus hostiarum, ex dono reverendi patris Willielmi Elphinstoun Abbirtonen: episcopi. Incus ferreus ex . . . capituli. Tria scrinia pro hiis jocalibus conservandis. Candelabra cuprea & ferrea pro usu quotidiano ecclesie. Patent cuilibet intuenti.

 XI.

DECRETUM DOMINORUM PARLIAMENTI.

THE DELIUERANCE OF YE LORDIS UPON YE PAYMENT OF YE SECUND
TENDIS OF WARDIS RELEWYS, AND UYIR ESCHAET OF YE KYNGS
GRACE WITHIN YE SCHIREFDOMIS OF ABBERDEIN AND BANFF.

JAMES, be ye grace of God, King of Scottis, To oure louittis ———
messingers ——— our Schireffs in yat parte coniunctlye and seueralye
specealy greting : For sa mekyll as it humyly menit and schawin to
ws be ane Reuerand Fadyr in God and our traist consuloure Gawyne
Bisshop of Abberdein, Yat quhair his predecessouris Bisshoppis of
Abberdein ar infest of auld of oure maste nobill predecessouris of guid
mynde, quhom God assolze, of ye secund tende penny of all wardis,
releuys, escheitts and casualiteys, yat happynit or myght happin in tymis
cumyng within ye boundis betuex ye vatteris of Spey and Dee ; and in
corroboracion yairof, and for ye weill and eys of ye Bisshoppis of Ab-
berdein, oure maist nobill fadyr, quhom God assolze, gef ane new in-
festment and chertuyr to umquhill ane Reuerend Fadir in God Willzam
yan Bisshop of Abberdein and his successouris, of the tend part of all
landys yat happynit to warde wythin ye saiddys boundis, haill and to-
gyddir, in ane competent place, during ye tyme of ye warld yairof, in
contentation of ye said secund teynd penny to be assignait to ye Bis-
shoppis of Abberdein be oure Shirreff of the schyre quhare ye said
warde landys lyis ; of ye quhilk gift and infestment ye said Reuerend
Fadir and his predecessouris Bysshoppis of Abberdein hes bein in pece-
abill possession wythout interruption, quhill now laitylly impediment is
maid to him of ye teynd parte of the wairde landys of Innerwgyrboyne,
in greit schayt to him, in contrair ye said infestment, and aganis iustice
gif

gif sa be. Oure will is heirfore, and we chairge zow straitly and comandys, yat incontinent yir oure letteris seyne, ze pass, and in oure name and autorite command and cherge oure Shirreff of Banf and his de-puttis, y he incontinent summonde of ye best and worthyast baronys fre-haldaris and wthyrys in our said shirrefdome of Banf, to compeire befoire him and retoure ye tent parte of ye said warde landys of Enrugyrboyne bay^r propirtee and tenandryis haill and togidder in ane competent place. And yat ye said Shireff and his deputtis, ken and assign ye samyn to ye said Reuerend Fadir, to be disponit be hym and his successouris at yair pleasoure, according to the said chartour and infestment. And yat oure said Shyrreff and his depputtis summond ye saiddys personis and inqueste to compeir befoir yaim, and delyuer in ye said matter as said is, ilk persone ondir the payment of xx^{ti} lib. to be inbro^r to our wys; and yat oure Shyrreff rais and inbring ye said unlawys, mak compt yairof to oure thesaurare in oure name, and incluys ye saiddys personys quhill thai delyuer retoure in ye said matter; and yat hee and his deputtis put ye delyuerance giffin to him in ye said matter to dew exequuicion, and keip and defend ye said Reuerend Fadyr in peceabill brouking and josing of ye said wairde landys, ondir ye paine of refounding to him and his successouris of all dampnages and schaythis yat thai sall happin to sustein in default of putting of the said delyuerance to dewe exequucion, of his and yair awyne propir guyddys. The quhilk to doe we commit to zow coniunctlye and seueralye oure full poware, be thir oure letteris, delyuering yame be zow, dewly exequut and indorsatte, agane to ye beraire. Giffin ondyr oure signet at Edinburgh, the xxv daye of Aprylle, and of oure reyng ye nynte zeir.

Ex deliberacione Dominorum Consilii.

L. CHEPMAN.

XIV.

K. J. A. G. HIS CHARECTER.

1. King's character

THIS Kinges charecter is much easier to take then his picture, for he could euer be hardlie made to sitt for the takeing of yat, wich is ye reasone of so few good peeces of him : Bot his charecter was obvious to euey eye.

He was of a middle stature, more corpulent throghe his clothes than in his body, zet fatt enouch, his clothes euer being made large & easie, ye doubletts quilted for steletto prooffe, his breeches in grate pleits & full stuffed. He was naturalie of a timorous dispositione, wich was ye gratest reasone of his quilted doubletts. His eyes large, euer roulling after aney stranger cam in his presence ; in so much as maney, for shame, haue left ye roome as being out of countenance. His beard wes werey thin ; his toung too large for his mouthe, vich euer made him drinke verely uncomelie, as if eatting his drinke, wich cam out into ye cup in each syde of his mouthe. His skin vas als softe as Tafta sarsnet, wich felt so, because he neuer washt his hands, onlie rubb'd his fingers ends slightly vith ye vett end of a napkin. His legs wer verely weake, hauing had (as was thought) some foule play in his youthe, or rather befor he was borne, yat he was not able to stand at seuin zeires of age : that weakness made him euir leaning one other mens shoulders. His walk was euer circular ; his fingers euer in that valke fiddling about his cod peece. He vas werey temperate in his exercisses and in his dyet, and not intemperat in his drinking. Howeuer, in his old age, and Buckinghames iorriall supperes, qubeh he had aney turne to doe with him, made him sometimes ouertakin ; wich he wold ye re-

rey

rey nixt day remember, & repent vith teares. It is trew he dranke we-
 rey often, vich was rather out of a custome then aney delight ; and his
 drinkes wer of yat kynd, for strenth, as Frontiniack, Canarey, Heigh
 cuntry wyne, Tent and strong ale. Yat he had not a werey strong
 braine, might haue dailie beine ouertakin ; altho he seldome dranke at
 aney one tyme aboue foure-spoonfulls, maney tymes not aboue one or
 tuo. He was verely constant in all thinges (his fauorites excepted) in
 vich he loued change ; zet neuir cast doune aney (he once raised) from
 the height of gratnesse throgh the vounted neirnesse and priuacey,
 unlesse by ther auen default by opposing his change, as in Somersets
 case ; zet had he not beine in yat foule poysoning business, and so cast
 doune himselue. I doe werelie beleive not him nather : for all his other
 fauoreitts he lefte grate in honor, grate in fortoune, & did much loue
 Mountgomery, & trusted him more at ye verely last gaspe, than at ye
 first minut of his fauoritschipe. In his dyet, apparrell and jorneyes, he
 was verely constant : In his apparrel so constant, as, by his good vill, he
 wold never change his clothes till almost vorne out to raggs ; his fashon
 neuer : in so much as, one bringing to him a hat of a Spanish black, he
 cast it from him, sweiring he nather loued them nor ther fashons. Ane
 other tyme, bringing him roses one his shooes, he asked if they wold
 make him a ruff footed Done ? one zard of sex pennie ribband served
 yat turne. His dyet and journies was so constant, yat ye best obseruing
 cowrtier of our tyme was wount to say, wer he a sleep sevin zeires, and
 then awakned, he vould tell quher ye King eurey day had beine, and
 euery dish he had had one his table.

He was not verely uxorious (though he had a werey braue Queen)
 that neuer crossed hes desaignes, nor intermedled with stait affaires,
 bot euer complayed with him (euen against the natur of aney bot of a
 milde spirite). In the change of fauorittes, he was euer best quhen
 furthest from hes Queen ; and yat was thought to be ye first grounds of
 his remoues, vich afterwards proued habituall. He was unfortunate in
 the marriage of his daughter, & so was all Chrystendome besydes ; bot
 sure

sure the daughter was more unfortunat in a father, than he in a daughter. He naturally loued not ye sight of a souldier, nor of aney valiant man; and it was ane observation, yat S^r Robert Mansell vas the onely valiant man he euer loued, and him he loued so intirely, that for all Buckingham's gratnesse with ye King, & his hattred of S^r Robert Mansell, zet could not yat alienat the Kinges affections for him; in so much as, quhen, by the instigatione of Cottington (then ambassador in Spaine) by Buckingham's procurement, ye Spanishe ambassador came with a grate complaint against S^r Robert Mansell, then at Angiers, to suppress ye pyratts, yat he did support them, having neuer a frind ther (though maney) yat durst speake in his defence, ye King himselue defendit him in these wordes: " My Lord Ambassador, I can not beleue this, for I made choysse myselffe of him out of these reasons: " I know him to be valiant, honest, & noblie descendit as most in my " kingdome, and will neuer beleue a man thus qualified vill doe so " basse ane acte. " He naturally loued honest men yat wer not ouer actiue, zet neuer loued aney man hartily wntill he had bound him wnto him by giuing him some suite, wich he thought bond ye others loue to him againe. Bot yat argued no generous dispositione in him, to beleue yat aney thing bot a noble mynd seasoned with vertue could make aney firm loue or union; for mercenary myndes ar carried away with a grate prize, bot noble myndes alienat with nothing bot publick disgraces.

He was wery witty, and had als maney redey vitty jests as aney man liuinge, at vich he wold not smyle himselffe, bot deliuer them in a graue & serious maner. He vas wery liberal of quhat he had not in his awen gripe, & vold rather pairt with 100 lib. he neuer had in his keiping, then one 20 schilling pece vithin his awen custody. He spent much, & had much usse of his subjectes purses, wich bred some clashings with them in ye Parliament, zet wold alwayes come off & end with a sweet & plausable close: and treuly his bountey was not discommendable; for his raising fauoritts was the worst. Rewarding olde servants, and reteining his natiue countrey men, was infinitely more to be commended

commended in him then condemned. His sending ambassadors wer no lesse chargeable, then dishonorable and unprofitable to him & his whole kingdome; for he was euer abused in all negotiations; zet he had rather spend ane hundereth thousand pound on embassies to keip or procure peace with dishonor, then ten thousand pound one ane armye yat wold haue forced peace with honor. He loued good lawes, & had maney made in his tyme, & in his last Parliament: for ye good of his subjectes, & suppressing promotters and progging fellowes, gaue way to yat nullum tempus, &c. to be continued to sextie zeires; wich was mor beneficiall to ye subiects in respect of ther quiets, then all ye Parliaments had giuen him during his quhole reign.

By his frequenting sermons, he appeared religious. Zet his Tuesday sermons, if ze will beleue his awen countrey men that liued in thosse tymes quhen they wer erected & wnderstood, ye cause of erecting them wer dedicated for a strange peece of deuotione.

He wold make a grate deall too bold with God in his passion, both in cursing and swearing, and one straine higher, verging one blasphemie: bot wold in his better temper say, he hopped God wold not impute them as sins, and lay them to his charge, seeing they proceded from passione. He had need of grate assurance, rather then hopes, yat wold make daylie so bold with God.

He was werrey crafty and cunning in pettey thinges, as the circumventinge aney grate man, the change of a fauorite, &c. in so much as a werrey wise man was wount to say, he beleued him ye wisest foole in Christendome, meaning him wise in small thinges, bot a foole in weighty affaires.

He euer desired to prefer meane men in grate places, yat quhen he turned them out againe, they should haue no frind to bandy with them; and besydes, they wer so haitted by being raissed from a meane estaite to ouertope all men, yat euery one held it a pretty recreatione to haue them often turnid oute. Ther wer liuing in this Kings time, at one instant, tuo Treasurers, thre Secretaries, tuo Lord Keepers, tuo Admiralls,
thre

thre Lord Chieffe Justices, zet bot one Therfor, this King had a pretty faculty in putting out & in. By this you may perceave in quhat his wisdoome consisted : Bot in grate & weighty affaires euen at his witts end.

He had a tricke to cousin him selffe with bargains underhand, by taking 10,000 lib. as a bribe, quhan hes Counsell was traitting with customers to raise them so much more zeirly : this went into his priuy pursse, quherein he thought he had ouereached ye Lords, bot cousind him selffe : bot wold als easily breake ye bargaine, upon the nixt offer, saying he was mistaken and deceaued, and therfor no reasone he should keepe ye bargaine. This was often ye caisse with ye farmers of ye customs.

He was infinitely inclined to peace, bot more out of feare then conscience ; and this was the gratest blemishe this King had through all his reign, otherways might haue ranked with ye werey best of our Kinges. Zet some tymes wold he show prettey flashes of valour, wich might eassily be decerned to be forced, not naturall : and being forced, could haue wished rather it wold haue recoiled back into himselffe, then carryed to yat King it had concerned, least he might haue beine putt to ye trayell to manteine his seeming valour.

In a word he was, take him altogether, and not in peeces, suche a King, I wishe this kingdome haue neuer aney worsse, one ye conditione not aney better : for he liued in peace, dyed in peace, & lefte all his kingdomes in a peaceable conditione, with hes awen motto,

BEATI PACIFICI—

FINIS.

THE DIAREY

OF

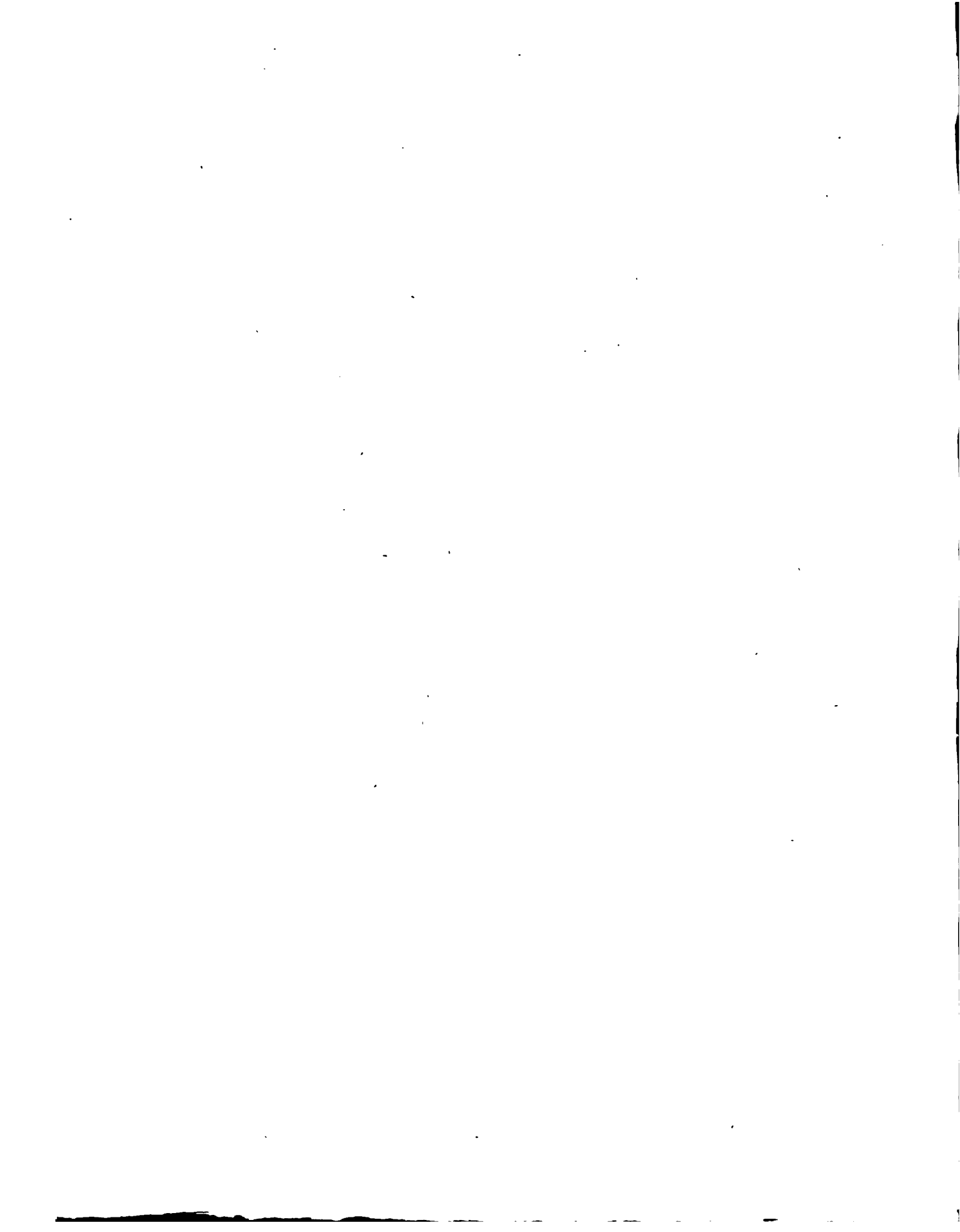
ROBERT BIRREL,

BURGES OF EDINBURGHE.

CONTAINING

DIVERS PASSAGES OF STAITE, AND UTHERS
MEMORABLE ACCIDENTS.

FROM THE 1532 ZEIR OF OUR REDEMPTIONE, TILL YE BEGINNING
OF THE ZEIR 1605.



THE DIAREY, &c.

THERE hes beine in this kingdome of Scotland, ane hundereth and fyve kinges, of quhilk ther wes slaine fyftie sex.

Robert ye 2^d ye first of the Steuarts, wes crowned in the zeir of God 1371.

1371.

James the 1. wes slaine at Perth by Robert Grahame and Robert Steuart, 1436.

1436.

James ye second wes slaine at Roxburgh Castell, (alias March-mound), 1460.

1460.

James the 3^d slaine at Bannockburne by Home and Hepburne, in anno 1488.

1488.

James ye 4th slaine at Floudown, in anno salutis 1513.

1513.

The Duck of Albany, yat wes governour in ye minority of King James the 5th wes beseidgett in anno 15

15

Queine Magdalene came to Scotland, 8 Junii, in anno 1537 ^a.

1537.

Marey de Lorene came to this countrey, 1 Junii 1538 ^b.

1538.

The 24 of Auguste, in the zeir of God 1542, wes foughten the feild of Solew Moss ^c.

1542.

The 14 of December, King James the 5th deceisset at Falkland, in anno 1542 ^d.

The 27 of Februarie, the feild of Ancrum Moore wes foughten, in anno 1544 ^e.

1544 Feb. 27.

A ij

The

^a 19th May, Pinkerton's hist. of Scotland, ii. 341.

^b 10th June, Pink. ii. 352. and the authorities there quoted.

^c The battle of Haddenrig was fought 24th August, Lealy, p. 456, edit. Rome 1578; Solway Moss, 24th November, p. 459.

^d 13th Dec. Buchanan, Hawthornden.—14th, Pinkerton.

^e Lealy, p. 477.

- 1546 June 30. The 30 day of Junii, the cardinall slaine at St Andrews, in anno 1546 ^e.
- 1544 May 5. The 5 of May, the toune of Edinburghe brunt by Englishmen, in anno 1544.
- 1547 Sep. 10. The battle of Pinkie foughten one the 10. day of September, in the zeir of God 1547.
- 1548 July 17. The 17 day of Julay, a feild called Twesdayes chaisse, in anno 1548 ^f.
- 1549 June 29. The 29 of June, the inch betwixt Leith and Kingorne, wes voune frome the Englishmen by the Frenchemen^s; and, one this same day, Bruchty Castell wes voune also, in anno 1549 ^h.
Pebleis brunt by Englishmen, in anno 1549.
- 1554 Apr. 12. The 12 day of Apryll, Queine Marey received ye government frome Duck Hamiltone, in anno 1554.
- 1557 Apr. 7. The 7 of Apryll, the peace wes proclaimed betwixt Scotland and England, after the weir called the 2 zeires weires; and the fort of Heymouth wes builded, and the Frenchemen wes in it, in anno 1557 ⁱ.
- 1560 Apr. 6. The 6 of Apryll, the toune of Leith wes beseidgett, quhilk wes keipett by Frenchemen, bot wes forced to rander ye fame, and so gat lieve to goe with bage and baggage, after yat the Englishmen had foughten them sundrey tymes, in anno 1560 ^k.
- 1561 Aug. 19. The 19 of Auguste, Queine Marey landit at Leith, quho wes stollen out of France by certaine Lordis, in anno 1561.
- 1562 Oct. 28. The 28 day of October, wes the Earll of Huntley slaine ^l at the battell

^e Maitland justly remarks, that almost every author gives a different date.

^f The seige of Hadingtoun was layed too by the Frenchmen, quhilk indurit ane haill zeir. In the quhilk tyme wes ye Twesdayes chaisse, quher money of England wer takin and slaine; and thereafter, the Gouvernour held ane Parliament in the Abbey of Holyrud-hous.—*George Mariorybankes Analls of Scotland, from the zeir 1514 to the zeir 1591, MS. Advoc. Libr. ad ann. 1548.*

^g Lesly, p. 503.

^h Lesly, p. 505.

ⁱ Lesly, p. 531.

^k Tanta jam penuria rerum premebantur Galli, tam ii, qui Leythum propugnabant, quam qui in insula Inchekeitho erant, ut equinam carnem, in delitiis maximis, haberent. *Lesly.*

^l Trodden to death, Robertson, edit. 1759, 2 vol. 4to, i. 249.—*Lives Offic. of State*, p. 87.—*Lesly*, p. 587.

battell of Corrochi, and his sonne Johne beheadit at Aberdeine, in anno 1562^m.

1562.

The 4 day of Augusteⁿ, Matthew Earll of Lennox came to Edinburghe; also his sonne Henrey, quho mariet ye Queine upon ye 29 day of Julay, in the palaice of Holyroudhous, and was called Henrey the 2^d in anno 1565.

1565 July 29.

The 9 day of March, Seingeour David, surnamed Risius, ane Italiane, quha wes the Queine's secretary, a man verey skilfull in music and poetry, wes slaine in her Majestie's presence by the Lord Ruthuen, and uthers his complices, quha wer all banished therefor in anno 1566^o.

1566 Mar. 9.

Upon the 19 day of Junii, at 8 houres in the morning, Prince James wes borne in the Castell of Edinburghe, and, upon the 22^d day of Auguste, he wes conveyed to Striveling, in anno 1566.

— June 19.

At the same tyme, the abbote of Kelso, named Ker, wes slaine by the laird of Cesfurd, zounger, hes awen kinsman, and hes freindes.

The 10 day of Auguste, Henrey Zaire hangit at the crosse of Edinburghe, and then quartred, for being at ye slaughter of Seingeour David ye Italiane.

1566 Aug. 10.

The 7 of October, Sir Symeon Prestone of Craigmillar chosen pro-uoost of Edr.

— Oct. 7.

The 8 of October, the Queine went oute of Edinburghe to Jedworthe, to hold ane justice aire.

— — 8.

James Earll of Bothuell wes deidly woundet in the hand, by Johne Elette,

^m Sir James Balfour's Annals of Scotland, 2 vol. fol. MS. v. 1. p. 305.

ⁿ Queen Mary sends for the Earl of Lennox, 1564; Balf. An. i. 309.

^o ----- These Lords entered (or as others relaite ye storie) rushed together (and the Kyng w^t them) in to the Queene's dnyng rowme at supper tyme, shee sitting at table w^t ye Countesse of Argyle; assaulted the fellow w^t there naked swords, as he tasted meat coming frome ye Queene's table at ye cup boorde (as ye servants of ye privie chamber uses to doe) befor hir face, being great w^t chylde, trembling w^t feare, and setting a pistoll to hir breast, so y^t shee was in danger of present abortion; and pulling the wretch out of hir hands (who gript fast unto hir) violentlie out unto ye utter chamber, he all ye tyme crying most pitifullie to ye Queene, Justitia, justitia, Madame! save ma vie, save ma vie! and there they most cruellie w^tout pitie killed him, shooting ye Queene in an upper parlor ---
Patrick Anderson's hist. of Scotland, 3 vol. folio, MS. Advoc. Libr.

Elette, alias Johne of the Park, quhas head wes sent unto Edinburghe thereafter °.

- 1566 Oct. 25. The 25 of October, vord came to the toune of Edinburghe, from the Queine, yat her Majestie wes deadly seike, and desyrit ye bells to be runge, and all ye peopell to resort to ye kirk to pray for her, for she wes so seike that none lipped her life.
- Nov. 2. Upone ye 2 day of Nouember, Count de Bryan, ambassador from the Frenche Kinge, came to Edinburghe, and remained till ye 12 day of December, and then he departed to Striveling.
- Dec. 10. The 10 day of December, the Earll of Bedford, ambassador from the Queine of England, came to Edinburghe, and ther remained till the day of December; then he departed to Striveling, very well accompanied. Both these ambassadors came to the Prince's baptizing.
- — 17. The Prince wes baptizid upone the 17^p day of December, in the chappell royall of Striveling, and wes named Charles James, James Charles.
- — 25. The 25 of December, Count de Bryan, ye Frenche ambassador, departed homeward out of Edinburghe.
- 1567 Jan. In the beginning of Januarii, the Earll of Mortone, the Lordis Lindesay and Ruthuen, and ther complices, wer relaxit frome the horne, for the slaughter of David Risius, the Quein's secretarey.
- — 6. The 6 of Januarii, the Earll of Bedford departed from Edinburghe homevard for England.
- — 13. The 13 day of Januarii, the Queine and Prince came to Edinburghe out of Striveling; at wich time, K. Henrey wes layand seike in Glasgow of the small poks, bot some sayed he had gottene poyson.
- — 20. The 20 day of Januarii, the Queine departit out of Edinburghe to Glasgow to visitt the King.
- — 31. The last of Januarii, the K. and Queine came to Edinburghe out of Glasgow, the King being caried in ane chariott, and took his lodgeing in the Kirke of Feild.

This same day, the French ambassador came to Edinburghe, and the Duck of Savoy's also.

One

• *Vid.* Robertson, i. 323.

° 15th, according to others.

One the 9 day of this moneth, being Sonneday befor Fasteryng's 1567 Feb. 9.
even; the K. wes murdered in his lodgeing in the Kirke of Feild, about
midnight or therby; the said lodgeing pertining to Sir James Balfour,
Provost of ye said kirke. The hous wes raisett up from the ground
with powder; and the King's chamberman, named Johne Tailzeour, wes
found with him lyand in ane zaird dead under ane tree; and the King,
if he had not beine creuelly vyrriet, after he fell out of the aire, with
his awen garters, he had leived ^a.

The 10 day of this moneth, the ambassadors of France & Savoy — — 10.
came to the house quher the K. wes lyand, and requyred a sight of him,
bot wes refusit therof by the shouldiours.

The 11 day of this monthe, the ambassadors departed homeward — — 11.
from Edinburghe.

The 15 day, K. Henrey wes buried verey secretly in the night at — — 15.
Holyruidhous ^r.

The 21 of this moneth, a small Frenche shipe, with sex Scotsmen, — — 21.
perished at the Holy Iyland: the rest eschaped narrowly with their
lywes.

The 19 day of this moneth, the Prince wes convoyed oute of Eden- — Mar. 19.
burghe to Striveling Castell, and deliuered to the Earll of Mar, Lord
Erskyne, till he came to the age of 17 zeirs.

The 21 of this moneth, the Castell of Edinburghe wes randred to — — 21.
Cockburne of Skirlinge, at ye Quein's command. This same day, ther
rais ane vehement tempest of vunde, which blew a verey grate shipe out
of the rode of Lieth, and sicklyk blew the taile from the cocke wich
standes one the tope of ye steiple away frome it; so the old prophesy
came trew—

Quhen Skirling sall be capitaine,
The cocke sall vant his taile.

The 23 of March, ther wes ane solemne saule mass with a dergie — — 23.
soug afternoone, and done in the chapell royal of Holyroudhou, for
the said Henrey Steuarte and hes saule, by the papists, at her Majestie's
command.

The

^a Several authors place those events upon the 10th.

^r Balf. An. i. 314.—*Vid.* Keith, p. 368, note.

1567 Apr. 12. The 12 day of Apryll, James Hepburne Earll of Bothuell did underlay the law for the slaughter of K. Henrey Steuarte, and ther wes one his assayze, Earlls, Lordis, and small Barons or gentlemen. The Earlls wer, Errole, Craufurd, Rothas, Cassillis, and the Earll of Montrois, quho wes chancelor, quha referred all to ye Queine *.

At this tyme, after King Henrie's murther, ther wes daily placketts or challenges sett upone the Abby yett of Holyroudhous, and upone the crosse, tolbuith, and ports of the toune of Edinburghe, to feight the Earll of Bothuell, yat he wes ye Kinges murtherer; bot no mor ansuer wes made, than the discharging of them by strait proclamations at the Quein's command.

— Apr. 16. The 16 day of Apryll, ther wes ane Parliament haldin at Edinburghe, quherin the Quein's Majestie, with consent of the Estaits, restored ye Earlls of Huntley & Sutherland to their former dignities, fame and revenewes.

— — 21. The 21 of Apryll, the actes of Parliament wer proclaimed at ye crosse of Edinburgh. The first act wes, the kirk should hold in yat same estait it wes into quhen her Majestie came in Scotlande; and ane vther acte wes, that if aney man should see aney plackets or sclanderous lybells upone the crosse, tolbuith, or Abbey yetts, and did not destroy them, should suffer death; vith sundrey uther actes. Sicklyke, upon the same day, James Murray and Henrey Swanton wer summoned to underlay the law for putting one of plackets upone the crosse, tolbuith, or Abby yetts.

Also the same day, the Queine raid to Striveling to visitt ye Prince.

— — 24. Upon the 24 of Apryll, her Majestie, upon comeing back from Striveling to Edinburghe, at the bridge of Craumont, the Earll of Bothuell,

* This paragraph seems to be singularly erroneous. The numbers in the text are, 5 Earls, 4 Lords, and 4 gentlemen. The assize consisted of Andrew E. of Rothas, George E. of Caithness, Gilbert E. of Cassillis; Lord John Hamilton, commendator of Arbroath, son to the Duke; James L. Ross, Robert L. Semple, John Maxwell L. Herries, Lawrence L. Oliphant, Robert L. Boyd; John Gordon of Lochinvar, James Cockburn of Langton, John Somerville of Cambusnethan, Mowbray of Barnboug, and Ogilby of Boyne.

uell, being well accompanied, raveshett ye Queine, and so took her yat 1567.
same night to ye castell of Dumbar (not against her awen will).

The Earle of Bothuell had to his vyffe a good modest and vertuous voman, sister to ye Earll of Huntley, zet by moyen wes devorcit from her, alledgeing in his lybelled summones, yat they wer so neir of kin and blood, yat it could not be a lawfull mariage ^t.

The 12 day of Maii, James Hepburne Earll of Bothuell, by the — May 12.
Quein's grace, with advysse of her counsel then present, wes creatt and proclaimit Marquess of Fyfe, and Duck of Orkney.

The 15 of Maii, the Queine wes married to the Duck of Orkney, in — — 15.
the chappel royall of Holyrudhous, by Adam Bothuel, abbote ^u of Holyrudhous; and hes text wes ye 2^d of Genesis.

The 11 day of Junii, the Queine being in Borthuick castell, upone — June 11.
ye suddaine, certaine of ye nobility besett the castell round about in armes, verey well provydit. The principal of these wer, the Earles of Athole, Glencairne, Mortone, Mar, with Lordis of Home, Lindesay, Semple, Ruthuen, Sanquhair. The chieffe of the small barrons and gentlemen yat accompanied them, wer, Tullibairdin, Drumlanricke, Cessfurd, Drumquhaill, Coldinknowes, Lochleuin, Ker of Saldomesyde, Grange, and the tutor of Pittcur, with diverse uthers. They desyred ye Earll Bothuell might be delivered to them; but the Lord Borthuick ansuered, that he wes fled to Dumbar. Therafter, they desyred the Queine to come and assist them in perseute of her husband's murther, and she altogether refusit.

This same 11 day of June, ye said Lordis, with ther assistants, came to Edinburghe, being Thursday, at four houres in ye afternoon, quher ther wes proclamations at the crosse, yat all trew subjects vuld assist to persew the murther of ye King.

B

The

^t *Vid.* Robertson's Appendix, No. 31.

^u Robertson terms him Bishop of Orkney, i. 359. He was elected Bishop of Orkney 8th October 1562. He exchanged the bishoprick for the abbacy of Holyroodhouse, before 1569; Nisb. Herald. ii. 243.

- 1567 June 12. The 12 day of Junii, ye Queine and Duck rode to Dumbar, and sent proclamations throughe ye countrey, to raise in feare of weir, to assist her against these quho ver to persew her, and her husband ye Duck of Orkney.
- — 14. The 14 day, the Queine came to Settone, with 4 companies of shouldiours, and sundrey Earlls, Lords, and Barrons. The Lords in Edinburghe haveand intelligence therof, strake the alarum incontinent, and from thence marched to Rastalrigg Links, quher they rested till ye next morning.
- — 15. The 15 day, being Sonneday, the armies came vithin view. The one stood upone Carberrey Hills, with 4 regiments of shouldiours, and sex feild peices of brasse: the uther army stode over against it, messingers going betwixt them all day till neir night; dureing which parley, the Duck fled secretly to Dumbar, and the Queine came and randred herself prisoner to ye Lordis, quho convoyed her to Edinburghe to the Provost's lodgeing for yat night; St. Symeon Prestone of Craigmillar being Provost for ye time.
- At yat same time, Capitane Andrew Lammie, hes ensigne being of quhyt taffitae, had painted one it ye creuell murther of K. Henrey, and layed doune befor her Ma^{tie} at quhat time she presented herself as prisoner to ye Lordis; at the sight quherof, ther wes such lamentatione amongst the haille gentlemen and shouldiours, to see her defend him quho wes the creuell murtherer of her awen deir husband.
- — 16. The 16 day, the Queine wes convoyed to Lochlewin castell, quher she wes vardit.
- — 17. The 17 day of June, Capitane Villiam Blacketer wes apprehendit and taken, quho wes suspecte to participate of the Kinges murther.
- — 23. The 23 day, ane ambassador came from France, quho desyred to speak with the Queine, quha wes refusit, because he vuld not let the Lordis see his commissione; and he, getting this ansuer, depairtit homeward upon ye 26 day thereafter.
- — 24. The 24 day of Junii, Capitane Villiam Blacketer wes drawin backward

in

in ane cairte frome ye tolbuith to the crosse, and ther wes hangit and 1567.
quartred, for being on the King's murther.

The 12 day of Julay, ther came heir ane ambassador from England, — July 12.
quhose name wes Nicolas Throgmortone; and one this same day, ane
publick fast wes proclaimed, to continew till ye 21 day.

The 26 day of Julay, the Lordis past to Striveling, and tooke with — — 26.
them ye croune, suord, scepter, and robes royall, accompanied vith ye
most of ye nobility, and ther productit ye Quein's commissione and con-
sent, subscribed vith her awen hand, yat ye Prince James, her sonne,
should be crowned king of Scotland.

And upone the 29 of Julay, the Prince ves crowned king of Scot- — — 29.
land, at tua afternoone, in the kirke of Striveling, in anno 1567.

The 2 of Aguste, proclamacione made by the heralds of hes Ma- — Aug. 2.
jestic's coronacione, villing all hes subjects to live in ye feare of God,
and in hes obedience, under all heighest paine and chaarge yat might
follow therafter.

The xi day of Aguste, James Steuarte Earle of Murray came to — — 11.
Edinburgh, quha had beine in France; and ther wes in hes companey
a French ambassador.

The 19 of Aguste, ye shippes loused for Orkney to persew ye — — 19.
Duck. The principal men yat wes in ye fleett, wes, Tullibardyne,
Grainge, and Haliburtone tutor of Pittcur. The shipe called Vnicorne
perished in Orkney, and the uther 3 returned saue hame againe upon
the 13 of September therafter.

The 22 of Aguste, James Earll of Murray wes made and proclaim- — — 22.
ed Regent vith grate solemnity, by the heralds at the crosse, till ye
King should atteine to ye age of 17 zeirs compleit.

The 1 day of September, ther wes ane proclamacione, for sua meikle — Sept. 1.
as certaine insolent persons vald not give obedience to ye King and hes
Regent; therfor, all maner of men to be in readines upone ye nixt
varning, with provision of 20 days victualls.

As also this same day, ther ves ane uther proclamacione concerning

1567. the cunzie, with ye suord one ye one syde therof, and ye croune one ye tope of it, with this motto about it around—*Pro me, si merior in me.*
- Sept. 4. The 4 of September, James Adamsons headit, and Johne Blaketer hangit, at ye crosse of Edinburghe, for piracie.
- — 5. The 5 of September, the castell of Edinburghe randred be Sir James Balfour of Burlie, and therafter ye Regent gave ye same to S^r James Kircaldy of Grange.
- — 21. The 21 day, 4 companies of shouldiours, under ye command of ther capitanes, Cunynghame, Murray, Melvil, and Haliburtone, vent to besiege the castell of Dumbar, vich ves kept for the resaitt of Hepburne Duck of Orkney.
- — 26. The 26 of September, four of the best double cannons ves carried to Dumbar, vith 6 smaller pices, with pouder and bullet, and uther provisione, to seige ye said Dumbar; and ye nixt day therafter, my Lord Regent vith his companey followed; and, upone the last day, the said castell wes randred and given over to ye said Regent, upone conditions; and immediatly therafter, commandiment wes given for demolishing it.
- Oct. 10. The 10 of October, ther wes ane proclamatioun to meit ye Regent in Peibleis, upone ye 8 of Nouember nixt, for ye repressing of the theives in Annandaill and Easdaill; bot my Lord Regent, thinking they wald gett advertisement, he preventit the day, and came over the vater secretly, and lodgit in Dalkeith; this upone ye 19 day; and upone ye morrow he departed towards Hauick, quher he came both secretly and suddently, and ther tooke 34 theives, quhom he partly caused hang, and partly droune, 5 he lett frie upone cautione; and, upone the 2^d day of Nouember, he brought uther ten of them vith him to Edinburghe, and ther putte them in irons.
- — 26. Upon the 26 day of October, ane rair and vounederful accident fell out by Sathan's instigatione. Ane gentleman, called George Hamiltone, being maried upone ane Jeane Vitherspoune, he had a brother called Peiter Hamiltone, quho lay in inseft vith hes brother's vyffe; and sua he and she conspyred the gentleman's death, named George Hamiltone of Bathgate;

Bathgate; and s^{ua} Peiter, vith hes complices, murthred hes brother, 1567. and lefte hes seruant Johne Cochrane sore voundit; and, in tyme of ye murther, the dead father fell over the credell quher hes awen chyld wes lying sleiping, and smothered the poore infant. Peiter being apprehendit vith hes complices, ane Hamiltone a trumpetour, and a zoung man callit Steuarte, ver all 3 brought to Edinburgh, ye 4 day of Nouember, and ye ladey vith them. They wer arraigned for the said murther; and, one the 5 of Nouember, ye said Peiter Hamiltone wes headit at ye crosse of Edinburgh, and ye 2 zoung men hangit ther; and, upone ye 6 day of ye same month, the said Jeane Vitherspoune haueing confeste hoordome, incest, and murther of her awen husband, she wes brunt.

The 24 of Nouember, at 2 afternoon, ye laird of Airthe and ye laird of Weeims mett upone ye heigh gait of Edinburghe; and they and ther followers faught a veray bloudey skirmish, quher ther wes maney hurte one both sydes vith fhote of pistol. —Nov. 24.

This same nyght, ane vyffe in Craumont creuelly vyrriet her awen husband; bot God releived him that he dyed not. }

Upone ye 27 of Nouember, ther wes a strait proclamatioune, discharging ye vearyng of guns or pistolls, or aney sicklyke fyerwork ingyne, under ye paine of death, the King's guard and shouldiours only excepted. — — 27.

The 15 day of December, ye Regent held a Parliament at Edinburghe; ye Earll of Argyll bore ye suord, Huntley the scepter, and Angus ye croune, being bot a chyld of 14 zeirs of age or therby. At this Parliament, the tounes of Dundie and Perth strave for the 2^d place amongst the burrowes, vich wes lyke to make a very grate dale of busines, had not the fame beine mediat for ye present by some descreitt men, quho dealt in the meatter. —Dec. 15.

The 20 day, ye Lord Regent raid to ye Parliament hous, and ves much troubled to compose these tuo turbulent tounes of Perth and Dundie. — — 20.

The

- 1557 Dec. 29. The 29 day, wich wes the last day of ye Parliament, James Hepburne Lord Hailles Earll Bothuell Marquess of Fyffe and Duck of Orkney, wes forfaulted, togidder vith ye laird of Ormestoune, and uthers divers quho had beine at ye King's murther.
- — 31. The last day of December, Robert Jacke merchant and burges of Dundie, ves hangit and quartred for fals cunzie, called hard heads, quhilk he had brought out of Flanders.—And this for ye zeir 1567.
- 1568 Jan. 3. The 3 of Januarii, Johne Hay of Fala zounger, and Johne Hepburne of Bollone, and ane Powrie and ane Dalgliesh, seruitors to ye Earll of Bothuell, ver hangit and quartred, and ther bodies brunt for murther of ye King.
- — 17. The 17 of Januarii, a play made by Robert Semple, and played befor the Lord Regent, and divers uthers of the nobilitie.
Meffen execute.
- — 28. The 28 of Januarii, Hercules Meffen, baxter in Edinburghe, execute for bringing home of fals cunzie out of Flanders.
- Feb. 18. The 18 of Februarii, Peiter Lockhart and Alexander Anderfone, men of Kyll, ver brunt one the Castell Hill, for burning of corns pertaining to Villiam Cathcarte.
- — 22. The 22 day of Februarii, Sir Villiam Steuarte wes inaugurat Lyone King of Armes in the kirk, after sermone in ye forenoone, in presence of ye Regent and Nobilitie.
- — 23. The 23 day, ane smith, named Vallace in Caldermure, ves apprehendit, quho did confes yat he murthered ane Vilsone priuily some 2 moneths since or therby, for wich he wes hangit, and hes head put on the Vestporte.
- Mar. 8. The 8 day of March, ye Regent went to Glasgow, and ther held ane justice aire, quher ther ver execute about ye number of 28 persons for divers crymes.
- Apr. 20. The 20 of Apryll, tuo veemen in Rastalrig neir Edinburghe, eat ane hemlock root, and dyed therof immediatly.

The

The 22 of Apryll, Malie Zounger hangit herselve in her awen hous in Barclayes closse. 1568 Apr. 22.

The 2 day of Maii, the Queine came oute of Lochleuin by the convoy of George Douglas, the laird's zounger brother. Ther mett her, after she came out of Lochleuin, certaine Lords; as, namely, Settone, Herreis, and the Bischope of S^t Androis, vith uthers ther complices, and convoyett her to Hamiltone, quher ther wes a grate maney conveynit vith diligence. — May 2.

The Regent being in Glasgow, conveynit a grate armye of all these yat vald assist him, vith grate suddentie as ves possible, and ther raised men of weir on both sydes: during vich tyme, ther wes proclaimed in Edinburghe a grate faste for ye space of 8 days.

The 13 of Maii, being Thursday, both the armies mett upone Goned Muir, besyde a hill called Langsyde: and ther mett togidder one the Queines syde, the Earll of Argyll, and ye Hamiltons led the avant garde. — — 13.

My Lord Home led the avant guard of the Regent's armye, and ves hurte in the face vith ane speare. The Regent, at the pleasour of God, obtened ye victory. In this batell, ther wes slaine about ye number of 7 score and 15 persons; and these all one ye Quein's syde, except tuo only: but ther wer diverse hurte and voundit, quho dyed afterhend. In the midst of the batell, the Queine, despairing of ye victory, fled, accompanied vith the Maister of Maxwell, and his companey of Gallo-way men, quho tooke away ther fellows horses yat as zet endured the brunt of ye batell. Ther wes taken prisoners one the King's syde, Lord Settone, shriffe of Aire, laird of Trabrone, laird of Innerweike.

The 15 day of Maii, the keyes of Hamiltone and Draphane ver deli- — — 15.
vered to my Lord Regent.

The 18 day of Maii, being Tuesday, the Lord Regent came to E- — — 18.
dinburghe.

The 20 day, being Thursday, Hamiltone laird of Innerweike, vith — — 20.
9 uthir gentlemen quha ver taken in the batell, did underlay the law,
and

1568. and ver convicte by ane assyze, and, after ther hands wes bound, zet obtained all of them remissione from ye Regent.

The same day, the Qucine entred Carleill in England. Her convoys ver, the Lords Fleeming, Leuingstone, and Maister of Maxwell.

— May 21. The 21 day, being Fryday, the Regent raid to Striveling to the chrystening of ye Lord Erskine's chyld.

— — 27. The 27 of Maii, being Thursday, the spoyles of the castells of Hamiltone and Draphane came to the castell of Edinburgh.

— — 28. The 28 of Maii, the Regent returned to Edinburghe.

— June 3. The 3 day of Junii, being Thursday, James Hendersone of Fordell had hes place of Fordell brunt by ane suddaine fyre, both the old worke and the new.

— — 10. The 10 day of Junii, Morreis Souttarke was hangit at the crosse of Edinburghe, for takeing of ye Regent's vages, and then past to ye Quein's syde at the batell of Langsyde.

— — 11. The 11 day of Junii, being Fryday, the Lord Regent past out of Edinburghe to Biggar vith 2000 men; and the 12 day of this same moneth, ye place of Skirlinge, by the Regent's command, ves blowin up vith gunpoudèr, and destroyed; at the quhilk tyme, ye laird therof wes in England.

— — 14. The 14 day of Junii, ye Regent caused blow up, vith gunpouder, ye

— — 27. castell of Kenmure, belonging to ye laird of Lochinvarre: and ye 27 day of ye same moneth, ye Regent returned to Edinburghe.

— July 5. The 5 day of Julay, the Regent raid to S' Androis, and caused drouin a man called Alexander Macker, and sex more, for piracie.

— — 15. The 15 of Julay, Tourane Murray, brother-german to the laird of Tullibairdyne, was shote and slaine out of ye place of Aughtertyre in Stratherne, be one vode Andrew Murray and his confederatts, quho kept ye said place certaine days, and slew some 6 perfons more, zet made escaipe at yat present.

— — 24. The 24 day of Julay, the Regent past to Striveling.

The

The 2 day of Aguste, the peste wes knowen to be in James Dal- 1568 Aug. 2.
gliesh's hous.

This same day, about 2 in the afternoone, S^r William Steuarte,
Lyone K. of Arms, departed out of Edinburghe to Dumbrittane castell,
being suspecte of conspiracey against the life of ye Regent the Earll of
Murray.

The 9 of Aguste, ye Regent came to Edinburghe, and ye Persone — — 9.
Knowes taken for conspiracey against ye said Regent.

The 16 day of Aguste, the Parliament raid, which wes the first day — — 16.
therof; the Earll of Mar bore ye croune, Glencairne the scepter, and
Mortone ye suord; the towne of Edinburghe not being in armes yat
day.

The 18 day, being Vedinsday, the Lords raid also to the tolbuith; — — 18.
the shouldiers and toune both in armes: and on Thursday they raid in
lyke manner as the day befor; ye toune in armes.

The 22 day of Aguste, being Sonneday, S^r David Lindesay ves with — — 22.
grate solemnity inaugurate King of Armes, ye most of ye nobility being
present at the ceremonie with my Lord Regent. He wes proclai mit
S^r David Lindesay of Ratheillet, Knight, Lyone King of Armes.

The 24 day, being Tuesday, the last day of ye Parliament, the — — 24.
Lords raid to ye Parliament Hous, for ye forfaultrey of such as did not
compeir at ye Parliament.

The 13 day of September, ye Lord Regent raid to ye faire to Jed- — Sept. 13.
burgh to apprehend the theives; but they being advertised of hes com-
ing, came nocht to ye faire; sua he wes frustrat of hes intentione, ex-
ceptand three theives quhilk he tooke, and caused hang vithin ye toune
ther.

The 3 day of Januarii, Johne Andrew, tailzeour burges of Edin- 1569 Jan. 3.
burghe, with hes vyffe, children, and servants, ver takin prisoners by
the Hamiltones and ransomed, and sua sett at liberty.

The 8 of Januarii, Johne Auld, miller at the Vater of Leith, drowned — — 8.

1569. In the North Loche, passing over at 4 houres at even; and ane uther with him in grate danger of hes lyffe.

— Jan. 14. The 14 of Januarii, Robert Hepburne, sonne to ye laird of Waughtone, came to the hous of Waughtone, and brake ye stabills, and tooke out 16 horses: the laird of Carmichall being capitane and keiper of the said house of Waughtone. They issued out of the place, and slew three of them; and divers ver hurt of bothe ye parties.

— — 17. The 17 of Januarii, the castell of Draphane randred for laick of victualls, by Johnstoun of Vesterhall, being capitane therof, quho randred it to ye Hamiltouns.

The same night, Roslinge surprisit and voune by the laird and hes seruants from ye laird of Lochinories seruants, Syme of Panango being capitane therof.

— Feb. 26. The 26 of Februarii, the Earle of Murray, Regent, came home out of England, quho had beine ther since the 21 of September last.

1569 endit vithoute aney notable passage more, in that the warding of Duck Hamiltone in the castell of Edinburghe in strait prisone.

1570 Jan. 23. The 23 of Januarii, James Steuarte Earle of Murray, the good Regent of Scotland, wes slaine in Linlithgow, by James Hamiltone of Boduel Haughe, quho shote the said Regent with a gun out at ane window, and presently thereafter fled out at ye backsyde, and leaped one a verey good hors, which the Hamiltouns had ready vaiting for him; and, being followed speedily, after yat spure and vand had failed him, he drew forth hes dager, and strooke hes hors behind, quhilk caused the hors to leape a verey brode stanke; by quhilk meines he escaipit, and gat away frome all ye rest of the horses.

— — 27. The 27 day of Januarii, Mathew Steuarte Earle of Lennox, ves proclaimit Regent, and ye Earle of Mortone hes Lieutenant. This Mathew Earle of Lennox, halding ane Parliament at Striveling, quher the zoung King wes present, he made ane oratione to the hail nobility, being sitting in ye Parliament. Ye chyld King looking upward to ye
roofe

* 12th July, Robertson, v. ii. p. 8.—27th Jan. Balf. An. i. 327.

roofo of the hous, he saw ane holl throughe the sclaitting; he said, I 1570.
think ther is ane holl in this Parliament; sua that shortly therafter hes
Maiestie's vords came true.

The first of Apryll, Dumbartane castell voune by the said Regent 1571 Apr. 1.
and hes armies. Hes chieffe commanders wer, Thomas Craufurd, and
Dauid Home.

Betwix ye Regent and ye Queine's factione, the first of Maii, ves — May 1.
Lusilaw foughten.

The 14 of Maii, ane Parliament haldin in the Ganongaitt, in Villiam — — 14.
Cocker's hous neir S' Johne's crosse, by the King's folks: Also at ye
same tyme, ane Parliament hald in the tolbuith of Edinburghe. Ther
wes maney forfaulted at both ye Parliaments.

The 16 day of Junii^w, ane skirmish betwix ye Earll of Mortone up- — June 16.
one ye Kinges pairt, quho came out of Leith, and the Earll of Huntley,
with the Hamiltons, quha keiped Edinburghe, one the uther syde. At
ye same tyme, quhen the tuo armies wer standing upone ye fieldes, the
Earle of Mortone standing at ye Halkhill, the Hamiltones, Homes, &c.
standing at ye Quarrell Holes, ther wes ane English embassadour quho
traiuelled betwixt them, to haue gotten them stayed from batell; bot
they being of contrarey opinions, vold not be stayed from ye batell.
In ye end, they ioyned both togider; sua that the Earll of Mortone pute
the Queines folk backe sua far, yat they wer forced dishonourably to
flee, and, in ther flight, maney of Huntley and Hamiltones men ver
elaine and hurte. Amongst ye chieffe men yat ver slaine of ye Hamil-
tons, wes Gauine Hamilton and 3 or four uther captains, with numbers of
comon shouldiours; and ye Lord Home ves taken prisoner.

In the moneth of Aguste^x 1571, about the tyme of the riding of — Aug.
the Parliament, ther came to Striveling, or day light, befor euer the
Regent, nobility, or toune of Striveling vist or trew, the Earle of Hunt-
ly the Quein's lieutenant, Claude Hamiltone, with the lairds of Buc-
cleugh and Farniherst; and by day brake wer going throughe the
c ij toune,

^w This, among others, is apparently placed by Robertson in May.—ii. 16.

^x Sept. 3. Robertson, ii. 19.

1571. toune, crying, God and ye Queine; sua that the King's peopell, vith ye Regent and nobilities and ye shouldiours, raise in such a steir, yat they could not vine togider, because the streits ves full of enimies; and quher they could find aney of the Regent's peopell, vithout mercey they killed them. In the end, ye Regent being taken by the laird of Buccleugh prisoner, ane unhappy fellow lifted upe his jack taill, and shot him through ye body, he being sitting behind Buccleugh one hes hors back; and immediatly the Earll of Mar wes proclaimed Regent.
- 1572 July 31. The last of Julay 1572, the toune of Edinburgh ves randed to ye King and his Regent, quha placed ther sex companies of old shouldiours for keiping of the same in tyme coming.
- Aug. 24. Upon the 24 day of Agustē, ves yat inhumane, bloody, and cruell massacker at Pareis in France, quherin ye noble Admirall wes slaine, at ye mariage of ye King of Nauar vith ye King of France hes sister. At this horrible murthering of trew Christians, it wes said yat ye streitts of Pareis rane bloud a quhole day and night, which, if be true, it is a horror for all posterity of the bloody dangers and hellish inhumanity.
- Also at this tyme, ye Duck of Northfolk and ye Earle of Northumberland, wer both beheadit in Inland for treasone.
- Oct. 28. The 28 of October, ye Regent the Earle of Mar departed out of Scotland.
- Nov. 24. The 24 day of Nouember, James Douglas Earle of Mortone, quha wes the King's lieutenant, wes chosen, and solemnly proclaimed Regent, in place of Johne Erskine Earle of Mar, quha had laitly left the countrey.
- 1573 Jan. 1. In the first of Januarii, the castell of Edinburghe wes beseidget.
- May 2. Upone the 2 day of Maii 7, the Englisch cannone, vich ves sent by Queine Elizabeth for ye aide and helpe of ye King and hes Regent, in number 20 grate peices, began to shoute at ye castell of Edinburghe, being 2 steillit at foure several places, viz. 5 at Egers hous in the Castell Hill, 5 at the Grayfriar church zaird, 5 at Scotts land neir ye West
Porte.

7 *Vid.* Robertson, ii. 40.8 *Quas.* Steittit, or-stated.

Porte, and uther 5 bezond the North Loche : they shote so hard continually, yat ye 2^d day they had beitt doune quholly 3 touers. The laird of Grainge, called Kircaldy of surname, quho wes capitaine thereof, vold not giue over, bot shote at them continually, both with grate shote and small ; so yat ther wes a verey grate slaughter amongst the English canoniers, sundries of them having ther legges and armes torne from ther bodies in the aire by the viholence of the grate shote. At last, the Regent continuing his seidge so closse and hard, the capitaine being forced by the defendants for laick of victualls, randret ye same, after a grate maney of them ver slaine. The castell wes thus randred to ye King and hes Regent the Earle of Mortone, the 29 of Maii in this zeir 1573, quha continued Regent, and kept ye cuntrey in grate justice and peace all ye tyme of hes government.

The 3 day of Aguste, the laird of Grange, surnamed Kircaldy, quho wes capitane of the castell of Edinburghe, wes hangit at ye crosse of the said toune, for keiping of the said castell against ye King and hes Regent. — Aug. 3.

Ane man named Black Ormistoune, wes hangit at ye crosse of Edinburghe for being present at ye murther of King Henrey. 1574.

The 10 day of Marche, the King, with hes nobility, deprived the Earle of Mortone frome hes Regency, and tooke the government upone himself ; and ther wer 16 counsellors chosen to sitt vith his Maiestie in the tolbuith of Edinburghe. 1578 Mar. 10.

The xxvi day of Apryll ^a, the Earle of Mortone and the Earle of Mar, vith ther freinds, surprysed ye castell of Striveling, to have had out ye King, quho wes haldin in by ye capitane ; at wich surprys ye capitaine's sone wes slaine.

The 18 day of Aguste, ye Lordis of ye King's secret counseill made proclamatione at the crosse of Edinburghe, yat all hes Maiestie's subiects yat wes of age betwix 16 and 60, should be redey to pas forward with them to relive hes Matie out of Striveling ; or utherwayes, if aney man

^a Blank in the original, and supplied from other authorities.

1578. man vald not goe, to be repute partackers in the contrair. The Lords passing forward to ye forsaid effecte, ther wes a batell sett at Falkirk, both the parties being in the feilds. Ther wes ane embassadour of England, and ane of France, quho went betwix them and aggreit both ye parties. At that time, the motto one the ensigns one the King's syde wes, Capitane I am, Libertie I crave, Our lyves sall we loss, Or yat we sall have.
- 1579 May 10. The 10 of Maii, the castell of Hamiltone wes castin doune.
- Sept. 8. Esme Steuarte Lord Obigney, landit at Leithe ye 8 of September, quha wes created Duck of Lennox therafter.
- 1580 Jan. 1. Upone ye first day of Januarii, ye Earll of Mortone wes putt in varde in ye castell of Edinburghe for conceilling the King's murther, and zit neur consentit to it, bot fled from place to place quhen he heard word it wes to be done, for feir yat they quho wes upone the conspiracey, viz. the Queine and the Earl of Bothuell, should urge him to subscryue to ye same; notwithstanding yat he had faughten maney tymes in perseuing for the murther, these yat had consentit to it, and acted ye same, zit he wes beheidit for conceilling of it. And in this same moneth, ye said Earl of Mortone ves takin out of ye castell of Edinburgh, and convoyet to ye castell of Dumbartane ^b.
- 1581 May 9. Upone the 9 Maii in this zeir, the Earle of Mortone ves brought out of Dumbartane castell to Edinburghe, and being accusit for committing ye King's murther, ves convicte be ane assyze; and one the second day of ye moneth of Junii therafter, wes beheidit at ye crosse of Edinburghe.
- 1582 Aug. 23. The 23 of Aguste ^c, the King's Maiestie being in the place of Ruthven, he wes presumptuously holden in ye place by the Lord therof against his vill, quhill the said Lord Ruthven, and hes complices, caused hes Matie to expell the Duck of Lennox, and banische him out of ye realme, quha at yat same tyme vent to France. This ves a verey grate presumptione in a subiecte to hes Prince.

Upone

^b Jan. 1. 1580, Balf. An. i. 348;—1581, Robertson ii. 65.
^c 22 Augt. Robertson, ii. 77;—23 Augt. Balf. An. i. 352.

Upone ye 24 of December, the Duck of Lennox entred in Beruick to goe through England to France; and being arrived in France, ther-
after tooke seiknes, and departed this mortall lyffe, 5 Junii 1583. 1582 Dec. 24.
1583 June 5.

The 18 of Apryll, ye Earles of Angus, Mar, and ye Master of Glamis, with some kirkmen and ther complices, quho had beine exyled, came home and vent to Striveling, they being all of ane factione, and tooke in the toune and castell, and bult forts, sua yat no man could travell or pas ye river of Forth, for ye bridge ves stoppit. 1584 April 8.

Upone the 27 of Apryll, ye King and the Earlls of Craufurd and Arrane, with divers of ye new maid Lordis and courtiers, brought frome Edinburghe 3 regiments of shouldiours, and vent to Striveling, quha looked yat ye said toune and castell should haue beine haldin against hes Matie; bot quhen he came, they yat ver vithin fled, sua yat hes Maiestie entred and tooke ye toune and castell without stroke of suord; and hes Maiestie lodgit this night in the castell. — — 27.

The 4 day of Maii, William Earle of Gowrie ves beheidet in Striveling after he wes convicte, for presuming to detein his Maiestie prisoner in his awin hous of Ruthven, the 23 of Auguste 1582; and ther ves execute with him Archibald Douglas beheadit, and M^r Johne Forbes hanget. This executione ves done ye forsaid day betwix 8 and 9 houres at night. — May 4.

The 8 day of Aguste, the castell of Edinburghe ves givin in keiping to James Stewarte, Earl of Arrane, and he made capitane therof. — Aug. 8.

Upon the 4 day of Maii, ye pestilence begune in Edinburghe, and ves first knawin to be in Symeon Marcerbank's hous; quhilk pest continued till Januarii thereafter: the hail peipell quhilk wer abill to flee, fled out of ye toune; nevirtheles, ther dyed of peipell wich ver not abill to flee, 14 hundreth and some odd. 1585 May 4.

Upone the 1 of Nouember, ye King's Maiestie being in Striveling, the nobilitie quho ver exyled, viz. Angus, Hamiltone, Mar, Bothuell, Glamis, came to Striveling with ther hail forces, thinking they had beine longe exyled fra hes Maiestie's presence, and yat by the counsell of new come — Nov. 1.

1585. comè courtiers, desperatly surprysit ye toune of Striveling, and vane ye castell, and ver receivit in favour with hes Maiestie; many wer fled from ye King, bot ye Lords remainet lyk loyall and trew subiects, bot not veill to them quho wer the contrivers and causers of the exyle.

1586 May 13. Upone the 13 of Maii, the King being in Holyruidhous, convenit ye haill lords and noblemen yat had feid; and ther, in the palace of Holyruidhous, he caused ye haill noblemen yat had deidly feid at uthers, to aggre togidder; and after they had shoken hands togidder, and drunken ane to ane uther, for confirming of ye said aggrement and freindschipe, and also, yat the haill cuntrey might the better understand yat it wes hes Maiestie's vorke, caused them to come from ye palace of Holyruidhous, euery one in uthers hands, and hes Maiestie vith them, to ye crosse of Edinburghe, quher ye city made them a verey sumptous banquet; at quhilk tyme, ther wes much ioy and solemnity, with mutuall salutations of good vill one to ane uther; hes Maiestie drinking peace and happines to them all, yat ye lyke ves nevir befoir sein in Edinburghe.

1587.

The 24 of Maii, the Earlls of Huntly, Craufurd & Bothuell, ver accusit upone treasone for insurrectione against the King's Maiestie; bot ther ves no such thing in ther heids at yat tyme.

1588 July 30. The 30 day of Julii, S^r Villiame Steuarte ves slaine in the Black friar vynde be the Earl of Bothuell. The cause he slew him for wes, yat upone a tyme befor, ye Earle and he being at words, S^r William bad ye Earll kis his; the Earl heiring yat base and despytful ansuer, ther made a voue to God, yat he should kis hes to hes no grate pleasour: sua therafter rancountering the said S^r Villiam in ye Black friar vynde by chance, told him he vold now kis his, and vith yat drew his suord; S^r Villiam standing to hes defence, and hauing his back at ye vall, ye Earle made a thruste at him vith his rapier, and strake him in at the back and out at the belley, and killed him.

In this zeir of God 1588, Philipe, the King of Spaine, the 2 of that name, having an armado, vich wes maney zeirs in preparing, came to sea,

sea, and thinking to have landit one the vest pairts of Scotland, and so 1588.
 past into England, ves of intentione to have subdewed both ye king-
 domes, and to have destroyed both man, vyffe, and children; bot ye
 grate God of armies destroyed them vith stormey tempests, yat verrey
 few of them escapet undrowned, but some few yat ver drivin in upone
 the vesterne isles. This wes named by the Spaniards and ther adhe-
 rents, ye Invincible Armado, and, for a tyme, put all this part of
 christendome in a steir.

The 18 of Junii, the Earll of Marishall wes sent ambaffador to Den- 1589 June 18.
 marke, for ye King's marriage.

The 22 of Oötober, the King's Maiestie tooke iorney by sea, and — Oct. 22.
 loused from Leith about 10 houres at evin, and sailed to Noruay.

Upon the 23 of November, hes Maiestie ves mariet upone Anna of — Nov. 23.
 Denmarke, in the toune of Upslo in Noruay. This vord came home as
 certainty to ye Duck of Lennox, and Earle of Bothuell, quho wer lefte
 to governe the countrey in hes Maiestie's absence. The King's Maiestie
 traviled togider vith his Queine, beiyng in vinter, frome Denmarke, quher
 he remained till Maii therafter, in anno 1590.

Upone the first day of Maii 1590, ye King's Maiestie and Queine 1590 May 1.
 landit at Leith from Danmarke.

The 7 of Maii, Anna of Denmark wes crowned Queine of Scotland — — 7.
 at Holyrudhous.

The 19 day of Maii, the Queine made her entrey in Edinburghe, — — 19.
 vith grate triumphe and ioy, pageants being erected in every place, a-
 dorned vith all things beffitting: zoung boys, vith artificiall winges, at
 her entrey, did flee touards her, and presented her tuo siluer keyes of
 ye city. The castell shott of all her ordinance 5 several tymes, and at
 night the toune ves putt full of bonefyres.

The 22 day of Junii, the Earle of Bothuell brak ward out of ye 1591 June 22.
 castell of Edinburghe, quha had beine ther in prisone some 20 dayis
 befor, for alledgit vitchcraft, and consulting vith vitches, especially vith
 ane Richard Grahame, to conspyre the King's death; and, upone the

1591 June 25. 25 of Junii, ye said Earle Bothuell wes forfaulted, and intimatione made therof by opin proclamatiōne at the crosse of Edinburghe.

The same 25 of Junii, Euphane M^cKalzen ves brunt for vitchcrafte.

— Sept. 6. The 6 of September, ane proclamatiōne at ye crosse of Edinburghe, yat ther should be four-pound pices made, new halfe marke pices, and new-48 pices, for seruing of hes Maiesties leidges.

— — 27. The 27 of September, ^d the Earle of Bothuell made a steir in the Abbay of Holyruidhous, quho came in over ye hous in ye south syde of the palace, and the said Earle taking too grate presumptiōne, he, with hes complices, strake vith ane hammer at his Maiesties chalmer dore, and, in the meine tyme, the haill noblemen and gentlemen of hes Maiesties hous raise, quho thought to have taken ye said Earll Bothuell and hes complices: the said Earle fled: zet he returned at the south syde of the Abbay, quher the said Earle and hes complices slew hes Maiesties maister stabler, named Villiam Shaw, and ane with him, named M^r Peiter Shaw. Bot the King's folks tooke 8 men of Bothuell's factiōne, and, on the morrow, hangit them all vithout ane assyze, betwix the girth crosse and ye Abbay gait.

— Dec. 28. The 28 of December, ye King's Maiestie came to S^t Geill's kirk, and ther made ane oratione anent the fray made by Bothuell, and William Shaw's slauchter, hes maister stabler.

1592 Feb. 7. The 7 of Februarii, ^e the Earle of Huntlie came to the hous of Dunibirsell in Fyffe, quher the Earll of Murray, vith a few number, wes for the tyme, being his awen hous. The chieffe man yat ves vith him, ves Dumbar, shriffe of Murray. The Earll of Huntley sett ye said hous on fyre; the Earll of Murray being vithin, vist not quhither to come out and be slaine, or be burned quicke: zet, after advysment, this Dumbar says to my Lord of Murray, I vill goe out at ye gait befor your Lordshipe, and I am sure the peopell will chairge one me, thinking me to be zour Lordshipe; sua it being mirke vnder night, ze sall come out
after

^d December, according to others.—27th Sept. Balf. Ann. i. 368.

^e Feb. 8. Robertson, ii. 176.

after me, and look if yat ye can fend for zour self. In the meine tyme, 1592.
 this Dumbar, tutor to ye shriffe of Murray, came furth, and rane desperatly among the Earle of Huntley's folks, and they all rane upone him, and presently slew him. During this broyle vith Dumbar, the Earle of Murray came running out at ye gaitt of Dunibirsell, quhilk stands besyde ye sea, and ther satt him doune among ye rockes, thinking to have beine saue; bot unfortunattly the said Lord's cnapsull tippet, quherone ves a silk stringe, had taken fyre, vich betrayed him to hes enemics in ye darknesse of ye night, himselue not knowing the same; they came doune one him on a suddaine, and ther most creuelly, without mercey, murthered him. f

At quhilk tyme, one Capitane Johne Gordone takin upon the 12 of Februarii; himselue wes heidit, and hes man wes hangit.

The last of Februarii, Richard Grahame wes brunt at ye crosse of Edinburghe, for vitchcrafte and sorcery. — Feb.

The 18 of Marche, ane proclamatioun that ye zoung of Earle of Murray should not perseu the Earll of Huntley, in respecte he being vardit in ye Blacknes for ye same murder, he wes villing to abyde ane trial, saying, yat he did nothing but by hes Maiesties commission, and sua ves nather airt nor pairt of ye murther. — Mar. 18.

The 12 of Maii, the Earle of Bothuell and hes complices ver denunciit rebels, and summond to ye Parliament, quhilk ves to be haldin at Edinburghe ye 12 day of Julay, quherin the said Earll, with all his quhole complices, wer all of them forfaulted. — May 12.

Upon ye 17 of Julay, the Earll of Bothuell, with hes complices, made a fray at Falkland, hes Matie being ther, and thereafter hes Matie came over the vater; and, upone ye 26 day of this same moneth, hes Matie made an oratione concerning the same in ye grate kirke of Edinburghe. Immediatly after ye fray, Bothuell and hes men came over ye
 D ij vater,

f The Queine, more rashlie than wyslie, some few dayes before, had commendit (him) in the King's heiring, with too mancy epithetts of a proper and gallant man.—Balf. An. i. 369.

1592.

vater, and ther ver 18 of them taken in Cader mure, and in other pairts neir Cader mure, laying sleiping for vant of rest and interteinment; and immediatly after ther taking, they wer all brought to Edinburghe, and hangit. At ye same tyme, ye lairds of Nidrie and Samuelstone, ver takin by Johne Lord Hamiltone, and vardit in the castell of Draphane, and came to Edinburghe, thinking to haue gottin grace to them from hes Matie: he came doune to hes Matie's ludgings at the Netherbow, and, going into M^r Johne Laing's hous quher hes Maiestie ludgit, the guard standing above ye port vith ther hagbutts, guns, and uther veapons, the forsaid guard seeing my Lord Hamiltone, for the honour of his Lordshipe, shott ane volley at my Lord: ther wes ane man speiking to hes Lordshipe, shott through the head, ane uther by him shott through the legge, and ane bullet strooke the lintell of ye gait iust above my Lord's head quher he stode, zet no more harme done; so yat by meir accident ye said Lord Hamiltone had most haue beine slaine, and not through aney ciuil vill. The Lord Hamiltone seeing yat he could gett no grace to ye said tuo gentlemen, he sent vord to hes bastard sone S^r Johne, quho convoyett ye said tuo gentlemen away, and vent vith them himselfe for ther more saftey.

- July 31. The last of Julii, Francis Hay Earll of Errole, ves put in vard in the castell of Edinburghe, for papistry.
- Oct. 18. The 18 of October, ye Earll of Angus vardit for papistry.
- Nov. 7. The 7 of Nov^r, hes Maiestie did receive again ye laird of Nidrie in his fauor, and restorit him to his former dignity and estait.
- — 17. The 17 of Nouember, ye lady of Bothuell ves received into his Maiesties fauor.
- — 18. The 18 of Nouember, ane proclamatioune, yat no man receive the Earle of Bothuell, and siclyke, yat all these yat had received hes Maiesties fauor, quho had beine vith ye Earle of Bothuell, should not come neir his Matie vithin 20 miles, under the paine of death.
- — 23. The 23 of Nouember, ane proclamatioune, yat no man should resett ye Countesse of Bothuell, giue her enterteinment, or to haue aney commerce

merce or society with her in aney cais, quha had beine bot so laitly received in his Maiesties fauor befor, viz. one ye 17 day of ye same monethe. Behold ye changes of courte. 1592.

The last of Nouember, Johne Cohoune ves beheidit at ye crosse of Edinburghe, for murthering of his awen brother the laird of Lusse. — Nov. 30.

The 2 of December, Capitane James Steuarte came to ye King, quho had beine banished since ye road at Striveling befor, which wes aboute ye 1 day of Nouember 1585. — Dec. 2.

The 17 of December, ye ministers wer accusit by the King for opin treasone in speiking agains hes Maiestie; zet hes goodness past it ouer at yat tyme. — — 17.

The last of December, M^r George Ker ves brought to Edinburghe out of Calder, and putt in vard, for carrying of letters out of ye cuntrye frome ye papists to ye King of Spaine. — — 31.

The first of Januarii, the Earll of Angus ves commandit to vard in his awen lodgeing, and straitly keipit till ye morrow, and then ves convoyit to ye castell of Edinburghe, for sending letters to Spaine to ye Spanish King with M^r George Ker. 1593 Jan. 1.

The 3 of Januarii, ane proclamatiōe to resist ye papists, and all men to stand to ye religione presently professed vithin this realme, in vich hes Maiestie hes beine brought up frome hes zouth: and siclyk chairgeing all suspected papists to come and subacryue ane band yat they sall not live as papists, bot in religione conforme to yat presently professed. — — 3.

The 8 day of Februarii, the Earlls of Huntley and Errole ver denunciit rebels, and put to ye horne, for not compeiring to subscryue ye band concerning religione. — Feb. 8.

The 14 of Februar, S^r Alex^r. Stewart and M^r Johne Grahame slaine be S^r James Sandilands at ye fitt of Leith wynd. — — 14.

The 15 of Februar, the Earle of Angus brake ward out of ye castell of Ed^r. quha had beine in sen the first of Januar befor, for sending l^{res} to Spaine. — — 15.

The

- 1593 Feb. 17. The 17 of Februar, Daid Grahame beheidit at the crosse for opin treasone, callit Lord of Fentries.
- Mar. 15. The 15 of Marche, the King's Maiestie came fra ye northe, q' he had beine sex veiks befor, and causit cast doune the palace of Strabogie, and ane place callit ye Slains, ane place callit the Newtown, and ane place for the tyme quhilk belongit to M^r Walter Lyndesay, callit the Brumhous, vith ane hous of Sir Joⁿ. Ogilvy's, callit ye Craige. His Maiestie had vith him 5 bandis of men of weir out of Ed^r. Capitanes George Todridge, James Inglis, James Williamson, and C. Daidson and Geddes.
- — 20. The 20 of Marche, ane proclamatiōne at the crosse, charging the Earles of Huntlie, Angus, Errole, w' diverse gentlemen and Irishmen of the iyles, to compeir to the parliament for divers points of treasone.
- May 18. The 18 of Maii, ane suddaine shower of rain and haile, the said day being Monday, the chapmans standis and stuillis came sweming doune the streit of Ed^r. lyke as they had beine selling doune the vater.
- — 19. The 19 of May, Katherine Muirhead brunt for vitchcrafte, quha confest sundrie poynts y'of.
- June 4. The 4 of Junii, the laird of Johnestoun brake ward out of the castell of Edinburghe.
- — 20. The 20 of Junii, M^r George Ker brake ward out of ye castell.
- July 21. The 21 of Julii, the Parliament haldin; the Earll of Bothuell defaulted, and hes armes rivin at the crosse of Ed^r. be the heraldis.
- — 24. The 24 of Julii, at 8 hours in the morneing, the Earle of Bothuell, the laird of Spott, M^r Villiam Leslie, and M^r Joⁿ Colvill, came into the King's chalmer weill provydit with pistol; this Earle and hes complices, came not yis way provydit with pistollis and drauin suordis to harme the King's Maiestie aney wayis, bot becaus he could not get presence of his Maiestie, nor speich of him, for the Homes, quho wer courtiers with the King, and enimies to the said Earle of Bothuell, sua they came in into hes Maiestie's chalmer, resolving yameselues not to be haldin back, till they sould haue spoken vith him: and sua after yai came in, hes Maiestie wes coming frae ye backstair and his breiks in hes hand in ane feir;

feir; howbeit he needit not. Ye forsaide Bothuell and hes complices fell 1593.
upone yair knies, and beggit mercie at hes Maiestie; and his Maiestie
being wyse, merciful, a noble Prince of grate pitie, not desyrus of
bluid, grantit yame mercie, and receivit yame in hes favour; and at 4
hours afternoone, causit proclame yame hes frie leidges; and upone ye
27 day, ye same proclamacione of ye Earll of Bothuell's peacè wes re-
newit at ye crosse vith heralds and trumpettis sounding for ioy.

The 10 of Aguste, ane new alteratione offerit againe. — Aug. 10.

The 20 of September, ye said Earle Bothuell chargit by ane procla- — Sep. 20.
macione at the crosse, yat he sould not come vithin 10 myles of ye
King's Maiestie, under the paine of deathe.

The 11 of October 3, the King's Maiestie ryding to ane day of law, — Oct. 11.
the excomunicat Lordis mett him, q^m he receavit in his favor, viz.
Huntlie, Errole, Angus, S^r James Chissim, vith sundrie uthers.

The last of October, ane conventione haldin at Leith, for the same — — 31.
purpos concerneing Angus, Huntlie, and Errole, and yair complices.

The 2 of November, ane proclamacione yat na man truble ye said — Nov. 2.
papist Lordis, bot to receive yame and interteine yame as his faithful
and trew subiectes, as yai will be ansuerabill to him.

The 7 of November, Smetoun hangit for braking of ward with M^r — — 7.
George Ker out of ye castell of Edin^r.

The same 7 of Nouember, ane proclamacione yat na man sould re-
pair to the toune of Ed^r without leive grantit be his Maiestie; quhilk
proclamacione greived the toune of Ed^r, specially the ministers.

The 27^h of No^r ane proclamacione of the act of absolution in fauors — — 27.
of the papist Lordis.

The 7 of December, the Lord Maxwell slaine be the laird of Johne- — Dec. 7.
stoun.

The 11 of December, the Earle of Bothuell put to the horne; quhilk — — 11.
day the said Earle Bothuell and Ker of Cessfurd met and faucht tua
for tua.

The

³ Robertson says, Oct. 17. as he was marching on an expedition against the borderers,
ii. 183.

⁴ Or 26th.

- 1593 Dec. 27. The 27 of Decr the Earle of Bothuell, nor the laird of Johnestoun, na man sould receive yame, nor give yame interteinment.
- 1594 Jan. 7. The 7 of Januar, the 4 penny plakis proclaimed : the 19 day of the same, 4 penny plakis dischairgit.
- — 22. The 22 of Januar, the act of absolutione quhilk wes maid, null and to no effect.
- Feb. 4. The 4 of Februar, ane proclamatioun for new cunzie, viz. 5 pund pices of gold, and 50 sh. pices of gold ; and of silver, 10 sh. pices, 5 sh. 30 penny pices, and 12 penny pices.
- — 19. The 19 of Februar 1594, Prince Henrie wes borne, at the pleasour of Almighty God, quhilk day befell on Tuysday.
- Mar. 13. The 13 of Marche, his M. came to M^r Robert Bruises preiching, being Sondag, q^r M^r Ro^t Bruis said to hes M. yat God wald steir up ma Bothuells nor ane, yat wes ma enimies to him nor Boduell, if he revengit not his and faught not Godis quarrell and batells one the papists, befor he faucht or revenge hes awen particular.
- April 3. The 3 of Apryll, the King being ludgit in Robert Gourlay's ludging, he came to the sermone, and ther, in presence of the haill peipell, he promest to revenge God's cause, and to banische all the papists, and y^r requystit the haill peiple to gang with him against Boduell, quha wes in Leith for the tyme. The same day, the King's Maiestie rais and the toune of Ed' in armes. The Earle of Bothuell, quha wes in Leith, heirng that his Maiestie wes coming doune, with the toune of Ed', he rais with his five hunder hors, and rode up to the Halkhill besyde Lesteric, and ther stood till he saw the King and the toune of Ed' approaching neir him. He drew hes companie away throw Duddingston. My Lord Home followit till the Wowmet, at qlk place, the Earle Bothuell turnit, thinking to have a het at Home ; bot Home fled, and he followit ; zit be chance little bluid. The King's Maiestie flue himself, seeing the said chaice.
- — 5. Siclyke the King, upone the 5 day, raid out to have tane Bothuell, bot gat him not.

The

The 29 of Apryll, W^m Hegie hangit for receiving the Earl of 1594 Ap.29.
Bothuell.

The 17 May, my Lord Home maid hes repentance into ye new kirk — May 17.
befor ye Assemblie upone hes knies.

The 8 of Junii, the Parliament haldin; at qlk tyme, the Earles of — June 8.
Angus, Huntlie, Errole, M'Leane, Mackoneill, and Achindoune, wer
all forfaulted.

The 30 day of Aguste, ye Prince baptized and named Henrey Fre- — Aug.30.
deric, by the grace of God.

The 16 day of September, ane proclamatione yat nae man resett nor — Sep.16.
interteine the Earle Bothuell.

The 17 of September, Allan Orme hanget for interteining the Earle — — 17.
of Bothuell.

The 24 of September, Johne Gibsone hanget, and James Cochrane — — 24.
hanget, for enterteining the Earle of ye Earle of Bothuell.

The 15 of October, the Capitane of Blacknes hangit, for receiuing — Oct.15.
and interteining the Earle Bothuell.

The 3 of October, the battell of Glenlivit foughtin betwix the Earl — — 3.
of Argyll, Generall for the King, agains the Earles of Huntlie and
Atholl, and ther associates. The chieffe, of not, yat wes slaine one Hunt-
lie and Atholl's syde wer, ye laird of Gight, Assinlie, M' William Gor-
done, the Guidman Derth and hes sone. This Derth wes brother to
Abergeldie. Thrie brethren of Tillachoudy, and ye zoung laird of
Drumdelgie ^h.

✱ R

The

^h At this tyme, yair wes grate appeirance of troubells in Scotland, throughe ye forfault-
ed Earlls of Huntley and Errole, quha, with ther complices, gadret ane grate pouer of
men against ye Earll of Argyle, being ye King's Lieutenant, and faught ane grate batell
in ye north, neir Strathbolgie, at ane pairt callit ye Ledderfute; wich batell wes callit by
soume, ye feild of Glenliuet, & by uthers ye batell of Belrinnes.—*Marioreybankes A-*
nalls, ad. ann. 1594.—There is, in the Advocates Library, a MS. poem in 280 lines of
Scottish verse, intituled, *The Batell of Belrinnes, foughtin betwixt Archibald E. of Argyll*
against Francis Earll of Errole and George Earll of Huntlic, in anno 1594. W. 3. 19. In
the same volume, there is an account of this battle in Latin, in 18 or 20 folio pages. The
writer has been completely ignorant of the language.

- 1594 Dec. 4. The 4 of December, ane proclamacione charging all men not to haue to doe w^t the Earle Bothuell.
- The same 4 of December, Capitane Baillie hangit for counterfetting the Great Seall agains the merchants.
- 1595 Jan. 13. The 13 of Januar, George Muir hangit for slaing of twa ministers, viz. M^r David Blayth, and ane Aikman.
- — 19. The 19 Januar, the zoung Earle of Montrois fought ane combate w^t S^r James Sandilands at the Salt Trone of Ed^r. thinking to have revengit the slauchter of hes cusine M^r Johne Grahame, quha wes y^r slaine with ane shot of ane pistol, and four of hes men slaine with suords, viz. Johne Craufurd, Johne Grahame, George Dundass, and Alexander Boner.
- Feb. 14. The 14 of Februar, ane of the keipers of the wardes in the castell of Ed^r. hangit for letting the Earle of Angus out of ward.
- — 18. The 18 of Februar, Hercules Stewart hangit, and ane Johne Syme, for bearing companie and interteining his awen brother and the Earle of Bothuell.
- — 23. The 23 of Februar, the Earle Bothuell excommunicate.
- Mar. 10. The 10 of Marche, ane horrible tempest of snaw, quhilk lay upone the ground till the 14 of Apryll yrafter.
- May 26. The 26 of Maii, Johne Gilchryst, Hendersone, and Huttoun, all thre hangit for making of fals writtis, and pressing to warifie the same.
- June 11. The 11 of Junii, ane callit Cuming the Muncke, hangit for making of fals writtis.
- July 19. The 19 of Julii, James laird of Indermarchie, and his servant, heidit, as partakers of the murder of the Earle of Murray and Patrick Dumbar, in Dunibirsell in Fyfe, quha wer slaine the 7 of Februar 1591.
- Aug. 14. The 14 of Aguste, Christian Johnestoun, ane widow in Ed^r. revest be Patrick Aikenhead. The toune wes put in ane grate fray be the ringing of the commone bell. The said Christian wes follout and brocht back fra him, sua yat the said Patrick got no advantage of her.
- Sept. 15. The 15 of September, Johne Macmorrane slaine be the shott of ane pistole out of the schooll. This Johne Macmorrane being baillie for the tyme,

tyme, the bairns of the said gramar schooll came to the tounes counsell 1595Sept.15
conforme to yair zeirlic custome, to seek the priuiledge, quha wes re-
fusit; upone the qlk, ther wes ane number of schollaris, being gentel-
mens bairns, made ane mutinie, and came in the night and tooke the
schooll, and prouydit yameselfis w' meit, drink, and hagbutis, pistolet,
and suord: they ranforcit the dores of the said schooll, sua yat yai re-
fusit to let in y' m' nor nae uthir man, w'out they wer grantit ther
privilege, conforme to y' wontit use. The Prouost and Baillies and
Counsell heiring tell of the same, they ordeinit John Macmorrane baillie,
to goe to the gramar schooll and take some order yrwt. The said Johne,
with certein officers, went to the schooll, and requystit the schollaris to
opin the doreis: yai refusit. The said baillie and officers tooke ane geast
and rane at the back dore with the geast. Ane schollar bad him desist
from dinging up the dore, utherways, he vouit to God, he wald shute
ane pair of bulletis throw hes heid. The said baillie thinking he durst
not shute, he, with his assisters, ran still w' the geast at the said dore.
Ther came ane schollar callit William Sinclair, sone to William Sinclair
chansler of Carnes, and with ane pistolet shott out at ane window, and
shott the said baillie throw the heid, sua yat he diet. Pntlie the hail
tounesmen ran to the schooll, and tuik the said bairns and put yame in
the tolbuith: bot the hail bairns wer letten frie w'out hurte done to
yame for the same, w'in ane short tyme yairafter.

The day of September, the Ladie Bothuell receivit in fauor w'
the King in Glasgow.

The 4 of Oct', S' Johne Maitland deceasit, being chansler, and quha — Oct. 4.
had bein chansler sen the Parliament haldin at Linlithgow in December
the zeir of God 1585.

The 20 of October, Gilbert Lauder slaine in Linlithgow be the — — 20.
Cranstouns.

The 22 of Nov', 4 heralds sitting drinking, tua of yame fell in words, — Nov. 22.
viz. Johne Purdie and Johne Gladstanis. The said Johne Gladstanis
stikit Johne Purdie at the table; and the said Gladstanis being apprehendit,
E ij hendit,

1595 Nov. 25. hendit, he wes beheidit upone the 25 day of the same moneth of Nov', for the same slaughter.

— Dec. 3. The 3 of Dec', the Ladie Bothuell banishit zet anes againe. Bot w'in sex dayis yrafter, the said Ladie purchest ane letter of peace sub' be his awen Maiestie's hand.

In this pnt zeir of God, the dearthe of victuall increased, and yair wes sic famine in yis countrie, the lyk wes nevir heard tell of in aney aidge befor, nor nevir red of since the world wes maid, as ze sall heir : In yis moneth of Octoiber and Nouember, the quhyt and malt at ten lib: the boll ; in Marche yrafter, the ait maill 10 lib: the boll, the humbell corne 7 lib: the boll.

In the moneth of Maij, the ait maill 20 lib: the boll in Galloway. At this tyme, ther came victuall out of uthir partis, in sic aboundans, that betwixt the first of Julii and the 10 of August, thair came into Leith thre scoir and sex shippes laden w' victuall ; nevirtheless, the ry gave 10 pund 10 sh: and x1 the boll. The 2 of September, the ry came down and wes sauld for 7 lib: the boll, and new ait maill for vii sh: the peck, and 7 sh: and 6d: the peck. The 29 of Oct', the ait maill came up again at 10 sh: the peck. The 15 of Julii, the ait maill at 13 sh: and 4d: the peck ; the pease maill at x1—the peck.

In this zeir, Clement Oor, and Robert Lumsden his grandsone, bought beforhand from the Earle Marishall the beir mail ourhead for 33 sh: and 4d: the boll.

In the zeir of God 1597, sic increas of sawing, that the lyk hes not bein hard of befor. Ane man of Libberton, callit Douglas, had of ten peckis of beir sawen 31 thrieff, and everie thrieff had ane boll of beir and ane peck.

1596. Here we come to our former purpos againe in the zeir 1596.

— Jan. 5. Ane proclamacione the 5 of Januarii, declaring perpetuall peace betwix Scotland and England, and yar nane of the borderers invaid ane anuther, under the paine of death. Siclyke at yis tyme, the generall musters proclaimed to be haldin the 2 of Februar nixt.

The

The 12 of Januar, ane proclamatioun, declaring hes Ma: hes appointed aught Lordis for heiring of the checker comptis, and taking order with the enormities and disorders in yis countrie. These Lordis, all callit Octavians, viz. Alex' Seytoun of Pluscartie, Walter Stewart of Blantyre, M' Johne Lindsay, M' Thomas Hamilton, M' James Elphinston, M' Johne Skeine, M' James Craigie of Killatie, and M' Peiter Zoung of Seytoun. 1596 Jan. 12.

The 2 of Marche, Campbell of Arkinles wes tane for the slaughter of Campbell laird of Cadder; and one the 4 day, he tholit ane assyze, and continuit day till day, till the 8 of Apryll, he wes conveyit to the Blacknes till ward, and at length he wes maid frie. — Mar. 2.

The 15 of March 1596, the King's M: made ane orisone befor the Generall Assemblie, w' maney guid promises and conditionis. I pray God he may keip yame, be content to receive admonitionis, and to be collectit himself and his haill houshold, and to lay aside hes awen authority royall, and to be as ane brother among yame, and to see all the kirks in this country weill plantit with ministers. Ther are in Scotland 900 kirks, of the quhilk ther are 400 without ministers or readers. — — 15.

The 6 of Apryll, 3 men hangit, viz. Patrick Douglas, Patrick Boyd, and ane Syme. This Douglas wes a thieff or murderer, and brunt; and had continuit long unsuspected to be our man. — April 6.

The same 6 of Apryll 1596, the laird of Buccleugh past to the castell of Carleill w' 70 men, and tuik out Will: Kynmonth out of the said castell: the said Will: lyand in ironis w'in the irone zett. Yis he did with shouting and crying, and sound of trumpet, puttand the said toune and countrie in sic ane fray, that the lyk of sic ane wassaledge wes nevir done since the memorie of man, no in Wallace dayis.

The 7 of Apryll, the toune of Calles in France won by the Spaniards, be the treasone of the merchantis w'in the said toune of Calles. — — 7.

The 14 of Apryll, M' William Schaw wes stricken throw the bodie w' ane rapier, be Francis Moubray, sone to the laird of Barnbogle. — — 14.

The

- 1596 May 31. The last of Maii, ane proclamatiōne, chargeing all men betwixt 60 and 16 to be in readines betwixt that and the first day of August, to pas w' the King to the Iyles.
- July 1. Thair wes, betwixt the 1 of July and the vi of Aguste, to the number of 66 schippes lost in Leith haven w' victuall.
- — 12. The 12 of Julii, Colonell Stewart made be opin proclamatiōne Lieutenant, to pas to the Iylis.
- In this moneth of Julii, great troubill fell out betwix Scottis and Englishmen on the Border, nochtheles of the charge giuen in the contrair in the moneth of Januar befoir.
- — 15. The 15 of Julii, 7 men hangit for reif, spulzie, and murder.
- Aug. 13. The 13 of Aguste, the Earles of Huntlie and Angus receivit be the King in Falkland.
- — 19. The 19 of August 1596, the Quein's M: deliuered of ane woman child, callit Elizabeth.
- The 18 of August, Colonell Stewart tuik iourney out of Ed' to Glasgow, frae yat to goe to the Iylis. He had w' him 3 companies of men of weir.
- Sept. 8. The 8 of September, thrie zoung men challengit for braking of M' Johne Laing's hous. Some men sayis they did it mor for inuy than povertie; for they wer craftsmen. Y' names wer, Robert Horne, Dauid Hislope, and Thomas Porteous. They wer hangit at the crosse on the 15 of September w' grate lament.
- — 20. The 20 day of September or y'by, the Earle of Errole, Francis Hay, came hame to Scotland, and landit at Stanehiue.
- At this tyme, ane conventiōne haldin at Dumfermling, for the Papist Lordis, bot continuit to the 28 of Nouember, to be haldin at Ed'.
- Nov. 2. The 2 of Nouember, the Princes came out of Dumfermling to the Abbay of Holyruidhous.
- — 18. The 18 of Nouember, M' David Black minister accusit befoir the King and secret counsell.

The

The 21 of November, M^r Peiter Galloway commandit out of the pulpit, and out of the chapell royall in the Abbay. 1596Nov.21.

The 24 of Nouember, the Papist Lordis commandit to pas out of the countrie, or else to mak satisfaction to the Kirke. — — 24.

The 27 day of November, ane proclamatiōne, discharging all conventions or convocations of the King's leidges, w^out hes Maiesties libertie. — — 27.

Ane uther proclamatiōne, charging David Black, minister at S^t Androis, to compeir befor the secret counsell the last day of No^r. for matters of treasone.

The 28 day of No^r. the Princes bapteisit, callit Elizabeth be the grace of God, first dochter to hes Maiestie. — — 28.

The 8 of December, the Ladie Huntley came to Ed^r. — — Dec. 8.

The 10 of December, ane proclamatiōne discharging the former proclamatiōne qlk wes made the 27 of No^r. concerning the convention of the ministers. — — 10.

The 13 of December, commanding the ministers of aney shyre or parochin to pas out of the toune within 48 hours, under the paine of treasone. — — 13.

The 17 day of December 1596, being Fryday, hes Maiestie being in the tolbuith sitting in session, and ane convention of ministers being in the new kirke, and some noblemen being conveyit w^o yame, as in special Blantyre and Lyndesay, ther came in some divilish officious persone, and said that the ministers wer coming to take hes lyfe; upone the qlk, the tolbuith dores wer shut and steiket; and yair arise sick ane crying, God and the King, uther some crying, God and the Kirk, that the hail commons of Ed^r. raise in armes, and knew not quherfor allways. Yair wes ane honest man, quha wes deiken of deikens, hes name wes Johne Watt, smythe. This Johne Watt raisit the hail craftis in armes, and came to the tolbuith, quher the entrie is to the checker hous, and yair cryed for a sight of hes Maiestie, or ellis he sould ding up the zet w^o foir hammers; sua that nevir ane w^oin the tolbuith sould come out w^o yair lyfe. At length, hes M: lookit our the window, and spake to the
commonis,

1596. commonis, quha offerit to die and liue with him ; quhilk commonis of Ed' offerit to die all in ane moment for hes M: weill fair : sua hes M: came doune after the tounesmen wer commandit of the gait, and wes convoyit be the craftis men to the Abbay of Holyruidhous, q' he stayit yat night ; and, upone the morne, he rode out of the toune, and sent back the chairges, as ze sall heir heirafter. This tumult bred grate troubill betwixt his M: and the toune of Ed'.¹

— Dec. 18. The 18 of this same December, ane proclamatiōe dischairging the session, commissaries, justices or sheriffs, to sit or doe justice ; and siclyke, dischairging all maner of personis, barons or gentilmen, to pas out of the toune w'in 6 houres, under the paine of horning ; and siclyke, calling the ministers seditious persones in the proclamatiōe.

— — 20. The 20 day, ane charge to the provost and balzies, to take and apprehend M' Robert Bruce, M' William Watsone, M' Walter M'Canquell, M' James Balfour, and M' Michael Cranstoun, with uys, coming to the number of ten, and put yame in ward in the castell of Ed' : As also, they wer chargit to compeir befor the King and counsell the 23 in Linlithgow, to be accusit as seditious and reasoris of tumultis, and convocating of his leidges ; and the 25 day, the ministers put to the horne with some tounesmen.

— — 22. The 22 day of December, Stephin Brunfield slaine upone Sanct Leonardis Craigis, as apeirs be James Carmichael, second sone to the laird of Carmichael.

Upon the Sabbath day y' after, nae preiching in Ed', nather befor noon nor afternoon, the lyk hes not bein sene befor.

— — 27. The 27 of December, four proclamations. The first, that nae man resett nor intercommon w' the ministers, nor w' the burgess quha are put to the horne. The second, concerning M' David Black, and hes accusations and answers ; and yat, since hes committing in ward, he sent letters to make sedition. Thirdly, that the ministers sall have no stipends.

The

¹ *Vid.* A full account of this in a History of Scotland, MS. Adv. Lib. A. 4. 35. folio, *ad an.* 1596.

The last day of December, the King came to the Abbay, and pntlie 1596 Dec. 31.
 command wes givin, by opin proclamacione, that on the morne the
 Earle of Mar sould keip the West Port, my Lord Seytoun the Nether
 Bow, my Lord Livingstoun, Buccleugh, Cessfurd, and sundry uthirs,
 to keip the Hiegate. Upone the morne at yis time, and befoir yis day,
 yair wes ane grate rumour and word among the tounesmen, yat the
 King's M: sould send in Will Kinmond the comone theiff, and so ma-
 ney Southland men, as sould spulzie the toune of Edr: Upone the
 qlk, the haill merchants tuik yair haill geir out of yair buiths or chops,
 and transportit the same to the strongest hous that wes in ye toune, and
 remained in ye said hous yair w^t yame selfis, y^r servants, and looking for
 nothing bot yat yai sould haue bein all spulzeit. Siclyke the haill crafts-
 men and comons conveinit themselves, y^r best guides, as it wer 10 or 12
 householdis in ane, quhilk wes the strongest hous, and might be best
 keipit from spulzeing or burneing, w^t hagbut, pistolet, and uther sic
 armour, as might best defend yameselfis: Judge, gentill reider, giff
 this wes playing. Thir noblemen and gentilmen, keipers of the portis
 and Hie Gaitt, being sett at the places foirsaid, with pike and speir and
 uyr armour, stude keiping the foirsaid places appointit, till hes Maiestie
 came to S^t Geilles kirk, M^r David Lindesay making the sermone. Hes
 M: made an orisone or harang, concerning the sedition of the seditious
 ministers, or as it pleased him to terme yame.

The same day, being the 1 of Januar, David Edmonston of the 1597 Jan. 1.
 Wowmit slaine be Thomas Christoun be the shott of ane gun. The
 session in Perth, and the provost and the bailzies, summond to byde
 tryal.

The 10 of Januar, 3 proclamations at the crosse. The first, yat the — — 10.
 Session sould sit down in Perth the 1 of Februarii: The 2. chaiging
 the provost and balzies and counsell, and deikens of craftis, to enter in
 ward in Perth the same first of Februar, ther to byde tryal for the
 fault commitit be yame the 17 of December: The 3. yat giff the minis-
 ters speik aney thing of the King or counsell, they sall be tane out of
 the pulpit and put in prisone, till yai be punishit; or ellis the heirers to
 incur the paine of lyfe, landis and geir.

- 1597 Feb. 4. The 4 of Februar, ane proclamation, that the Session sould sit in Leith, and to begin on Monday the 7 day.
- — 6. The 6 of Februar, being Sunday, M^r David Lyndesay made ane sermone befoirnoone, and afternoone ane uther to the comons of Edinburghe in the grate kirk.
- Mar. 5. The 5 of March, sundrie proclamations concerning the ministers and the papistis, and of the personis appoyntit to traite w^t the Earle of Huntlie concerning Dunibirsell; and the ministers inhibit not to excommunicate w^tout the advyse of the General Assemblie, and yat yai speik not of the King, nor court, or secret counsell with diverse injunctiōns: and nae man to troubill the Earle of Huntlie, nor nane of his.
- — 10. The 10 of March, the haill counsell and committie of Ed^r, wer denuncit rebels, and put to the horne, because William Mould compeirit not in Perth, w^t the rest of the commissioners. Tua men slew another, the 11 of Marche. Williame Gluffer, and James Hepburne, slew ane anuther at the single combat on the hill callit Sanct Leonardis Craigis: the said tua ver buriēt on the morne y^rafter.
- — 15. The 15 of Marche, ane singill combat foughtin betwixt Adam Bruntfield and James Carmichael. The said Adam Bruntfield challengit James Carmichael for murthering of his umqle brother Stephin Bruntfield, Capitane of Tantallon. The said Adam purchasit ane licence of hes M: and faucht the said James on Barnboughe Links ^k, befor fyve thousand gentilmen; and the said Adam being bot ane zoung man, and of a mein stature, slew the said James Carmichael, he being as abill a lyke man as wes living.
- — 18. The 18 of Marche 1597, M^r William Leslie hurt in the Canongaitt be three brether of the Frenches.
- — 22. The 22 of Marche, the tounē of Ed^r relaxit fra the horne, and receivit into the King's favour againe, and the Session ordainit to sit doune in Ed^r the 15 of May yrafter.

The

^k Yai mett in ane small inche be ye sie neir to Barnbugell, my Lord Duke and sundrie utheris being thair judges. History of Scotland, Adv. Lib. A, 4. 35.

The 23 of Marche, the King drank in the counsell hous w' ye bail- 1597 Mar. 23.
lies, counsell and deikens. The said baillies and counsell convoyit hes
M: to the West Port therafter. In the mein tyme of yis drinking in the
counsell hous, the bells rang in the steipell for ioy of yair agrement:
the trumpetis sounded, and drums and quhistles playit w' maney uther
instruments of musicke, as might be playit one; and the toune of Ed',
for the tumult raising the 17 of December befoir, wer ordainit to pay to
hes Maiestie threttie thousand merks Scottis.

The 13 of Apryll, Patrick Cuninghame heidit for slaughter of George — Apr. 13.
Preston of Haltries. This same Patrick confessit that he slew the laird
of Lag, vith ane shott out of hes awen hand.

The 20 of Apryll, Serlie Bui came to ye toune, ane hyland man. — — 20.

The 22 day, the ministers relasit simpliciter frae the process of horn- — — 22.
ing, vizt. Messrs Robert Bruce, James Balfour, William Watsone, and
Walter M'Canquell.

The 4 day of Maii, James M'Oneill, alias Serlie Bui. The 7 day — May 4.
of Maii he went homeward, and, for honour of his bonyalla, the ca-
nons shott out of the castell of Edinburghe.

The 23 day of Maii, ther wer sex proclamations at the crosse of — — 23.
Ed'. 1. The gold and silver cryed doune. 2. That no wares be brought
out of England. 3. That the wool be not transported. 4. That 2 pen-
ny peices of copper be cunzied. 5. Yat ther be a new custome takin of
all goods either importit or exportit. 6. Anent ye order of home bring-
ing of bulzeon to the cunzie hous by the merchants.

The 25 day of Maii, ane proclamacione, heightening the custome to — — 25.
30d of every pund, vich extends to the 8 penny, and especially of English
goodes.

The 6 of Junii, ane proclamacione, yat no man take upone hand to — June 6.
give out money aney deirer, nor ten for the hundreth, or victuall ac-
cording therto, under ye paine of confiscacione of all ther goodes, and
punishing of ther bodies as usurers, yat does in the contrarey.

- 1597 June 18. The 18, Archibald Wauchope of Nidrie slaine be the laird of Edmonstoun in Scletter's close.
- — 19. The 19 day, Sybella Dewar spous to Johne Baillie, drounit herself in the Northe Loche.
- — 23. The 23 of Junii, ane proclamacione for taking of the cunzie hous.
- July 13. The 13 of Julii, ane feight or combat betwixt the laird of Drumlanrick and the laird of Johnestoun and y' assisters. Johnestoun had ane servant slaine, callit Adam Andersone.
- — 21. The 21 and 22 dayis of Julii, proclamations discharging the hail office men of the cunzie hous, as the master, warden, sayer, sinker, and prenters.
- — 24. The 24 of Julii, the King gave the ministers leive to preich.
- — 27. The 27 of Julii, George Heriot maid the Quein's goldsmythe, and intimat at the crosse be opin proclamacione and sound of trumpet; and ane Clei the Frencheman dischairgit, quha wes the Quein's goldsmythe befor.
- Aug. 1. The first of August, the Earll of Angus relaxit fra the horne and excommunication.
- — 4. The 4 of August, the Earles of Angus, Huntley, Errole, wer relasit fra the horne w' ane herald and 6 trumpettis.
- — 6. The 6 of Auguste, the pest began in Leith.
- — 15. The 15 of Auguste, Patrick Schilich hangit for being at the raid of Leith with the Earle of Bothuell, qlk wes the thrid of Apryll 1594.
- Oct. 7. The 7 of October, the laird of Buccleugh deliverit in Ingland.
- Nov. The day of November, the Earle of Cassilis mariet upone Fleeming, quho wes Chansler Maitland's wyfe befor.
- Dec. 6. The 6 December, the Earles of Huntlie and Errole came to Edinburghe.
- — 7. The 7 day of December, being the first day of the Parliament, Archd: Jarden, servitor and mr: stabler to the Earle of Angus, wes slaine negligently be Andro Stalker, goldsmythe at Nidrie's wyndheid. The said Andro wes apprehendit and put in prisone. The zoung
men.

men of the toun being all in armes, as yai use to be in the tyme of the Parliament, yai came to his M: and desyrit grace for the zoung man quha had done ane reckles deid. The King's M: desyrit them to goe to my Lórd of Angus the man's mr: and satisfie and pacifie hes wrath, and he sould be contentit to grant hes lyfe. James Williamsone being capitane to the zoung men, came to my Lord of Angus, offerit him yair manreid to be readie to serue him giff he had to do: upone the qlk, he grantit yame hes lyfe, and sua the said Andro wes releisit out of prisone upon the reid-day at evin. 1597 Dec. 7.

The 12 of December, the Earlis of Angus, Huntlie, and Erroll, restorit, and bure the honours frome the Parliament house to the palais of Holyrudhous. — — 12.

The 19 of December, Home of Wedderburne and Thomas Fowlis, made thesaurer, comptroller, and collector. — — 19.

The 16 of Janaur, Thomas Fowlis conceivit seiknes. 1598 Jan. 16.

The 8 of Februar, Johne Windiezetts, Johne Moscraip, Alexander Lowrie, Johne Halliday, and cap^t. James Lowrie, all hangit at the crosse for counterfeiting fals wreituis, quhilk wes grate pitie to sie. — Feb. 8.

The 17 of Februar, the King being in the grate kirk of Edinburghe at the sermone, M^r Patrick Gallaway red out ane tikit, the forme or maner of the devisioun of the four kirkis of Ed^t. ane quarter of the toun to everie kirke. — — 17.

The said 17 of Februar, betwix 9 and 10 in the morneing, ane grate darknes be reasone of eclipses, sic ane darknes hes not beine sene, for the haill pipell wⁱn Ed^t. yat knew not quhat it wes, thought yat it had bene Duimsday. Merchantis and utheris yat wer ignorant, steikit ther buith doris and ran to the kirke to pray, as gif it had bene the last day.

The 20 day of Februar, Thomas Dobie drounit himself in the Quarrel holes besyde the Abbay, and upone the morne, he wes harlit throw the toun backward, and therafter hangit on the gallows. — — 20.

The 12 of Marche, the convention or assemblie in Dundie. — Mar. 12.

The 14 of Marche, the Quein's brother came to Ed^t. Hes styll, the Duck of Holsten. — — 14.

The

- 1598 Ap. 18. The 18 of Apryll, Ed' wes devydit in four quarters to be four parochines.
- — 19. The 19 of Apryle, M' Ro': Bruce receavit and admittit.
- — 26. The 26 of Apryle, M' James Balfour maid mariage and baptisme in the Littil Kirk, qlk wes ye first yat wes done in yat kirk.
In ye beginning of yis moneth, the societie begun to y^r: work at the Gray Friar kirke.
- May 2. The 2 of Maii, the Duck of Holsten got ane banquet in M'Morran's ludging given by the toun of Ed'. The King's M: and the Queine being both y^r: ther wes grate solemnitie and mirrines at the said banquet.
- — 27. The 27 of Maii, the laird of Johnestoun his pictor hung at the crosse with hes heid downwart, and declarit ane mansworne man; and upone the 5 of Junii, he, and hes complices, wer put to the horne, and pronuncit rebellis at the crosse be opin proclamatioun.
- June 3. The 3 of Junii, the Duck of Holsten, the Quein's M: brother, tuik schipping at Leithe: to his bonalay, 60 shott of ordinance shott of the bulvarke of Leithe.
The same 3 of Junii, Robert Cathcart slaine pisching at the wall in Peibleis wynd heid be W^m Stewart, sone to S' W^m Stewart. The same Robert Cathcart wes at the slaughter of the said S' W^m Stewart befoir, sua yai yat slayis will be slaine. The said S' William Stewart, qⁿ he wes slaine, wes in the Earle Bothuell's companie.
In yis zeir of God, the ait maill sold for 6 sh: the peck, and 5 sh: and 6d. the peck.
- — 26. The 26 of Junii, ane conventioun haldin, at qlk ther wes maid certaine actis: 1. Concerneing the agrement of the deidlie feids. 2. Of yame yat wer put to the horne for slaughter. 3. Ane act for the 9 Barones that had tane the Iyles in few. 4. Y' the Monday sould be a day of absteyning from work. 5. That nae man speik for the laird of Johnestoun, nor speik w' him, nor haue to doe w' him. 6. The Earll
of

of Angus maid lieutenant and wardene of the border. 7. That the debt 1598 June 26.
awand by hes Maiestie to Thomas Fowlis, be payit in 6 zeirs, viz. 30
thousands merkis everie zeir. 8. The Bischope of Glasgow restorit to
hes liweing of the bischopric of Glasgow.

The last of yis Junii, ane suddaine fyir in Leithe. — — 30.

The 10 of Julii, ane man, sume callit him a juglar, playit sic sowple — July 10.
tricks upone ane tow, qlk wes festinit betwix the tope of S^t Geills kirk
steiple and ane stair beneathe the crosse, callit Josias close heid, the lyk
wes nevir sene in yis countrie, as he raid doune the tow and playit sa
maney pavies on it.

The 3 of Aguste, ane tumult or faucht in the border be deceit of — Aug. 3.
Inglismen: q^a the Scottismen wer at the hunting, yai wer sett on be the
Inglismen, q^r yair wes 6 Scottismen slaine, and 40 gentlemen tane be
the Inglismen.

About yis same tyme, Neil M^cLane slaine, and twentie of hes narrest
freindis, and hes awen sone, be M^cConnell, yai being at ane tryst under
trust.

The 23 of October, ane proclamatioun of the laird of Merkistoun, — Oct. 23.
that he tuik upone hand to make the land mair profitable nor it wes be-
foir, be the sawing of salt upone it.

The 28 of October, Colonel S^t William Stewart, with hes complices, — — 28.
maid saill out of Leithe to the Iyles and Lewis, &c.

The conventioun the last of October. Hes M. with hes Estaitis, de- — — 31.
cernit ane act concerning the papistis and jesuitis, yat nae persone inter-
tein yame. Ane uther concerneing yame yat made excus for deidlie
feids, yat yai wald not come and receive the communion, nor be an-
nuellie with them, bot remainit obstinat from the Lordis. 3. Concern-
ing horneris, yat yai sould be put in ane table, and yair names writtin
and hung at the mercat crosse of the heid burgh of schyr; w^t sundrie
uther circumstances. 4. The forreine cunzie to have na passage as of
befoir; the Frenche crowne 111. 4.; the Inglishe teston 13. 6.; the
ryal of 8. 4. 3. 4. ⁱ

The

ⁱ The Frenche crowne at 3 lib. 4 sh.; the Englische teston at 13 sh. 4d.; the Spanische
recall of 8 at 43 sh. 4d.—Balf. An. i. 385.

- 1598 Nov. 1. The first of No': the tolbuith alterit; and upone the 4 day, being the Sabbath, ther wes preiching in it, and baptisme: the same alteration wes alterit to the former estait w'in fyve zeir after.
- — 6. The 6 of No': the King came to Ed': to sie the Magistratis chosen, and chusit Alexander Seton Lord Fyvie, and president of Scotland, Provost of Edinburghe: Baillies, viz. William Hamiltone, Johne Moristone, James Foreman, and Johne Lowrie.
- — 19. The 19 and 20 of November, the Lordis Supper ministred in all the 4 several parioch kirks of Ed': quhilk wes the first tyme after the alteration of the tolbuith.
- 1599 Feb. 5. The 5 of Februar, Lentrone began, bot wes stayit, be reasone of the banquet and mariage of the Earle of Sutherland and M': of Forbes w' twa dochters of the Mr of Elphingston.
- — 12. The 12 of Februar, the laird of Riccarton stricken throw the bodie be the twa brether of the Borthicks.
- — 15. The 15 of Februar, twa men hangit at the crosse for fals l^{ies}.
- — 16. The 16, James Corbet wryter, hangit in lyke maner.
- 1600 Mar. 20. The 20 of Marche ¹, the assemblie haldin at Montros; sex ministers chosen to be upone the secret counsell, and to have vot in Parliament.
- — 27. The 27 of Marche, the convention at Perth.
- Ap. 2. The 2 of Apryll, being the Sabbath day, Robert Achmutie, barber, slew James Wauchope at the combat in S' Leonard's Hill, and, upone the 23, the said Rt put in ward in the tolbuith of Ed': and in the meine tyme of hes being in ward, he hang ane cloke w'out the window of the ironehous, and another w'in the window y', and saying yat he wes seik, and might not sie the light: he had aquafortis continuallie seithing at the irone window, quhill at the last the irone window wes eiten throw; sua, upone a morneing, he caused hes prentes boy attend quhen the toune gaird should have dissolvit, at qlk tyme the boy waitit one and gaif hes Mr ane token yat ye said gaird wer gone, be the schaw or waiff

of

¹ Robertson, ii. 213. dates this 28th March.—20th March, Balf. An. i. 386.

of hes hand-curche. The said Rot: hung out an tow, q'on he thought 1600.
to have comeit doune; the said gaird spyt the waiff of the handcurche,
and sua the said Rot: wes disappoyntit of hes intentione and devys;
and sua, on the 10 day, he wes beheidit at the crosse upone anc scaffolt.

The 2 of Julii, the laird of Johnestoun restorit to hes honours at — July 2.
the crosse of Ed', be the proclamacione of a herald and 4 trumpettis.

The same 2 day, Johne Kinland of Waristone murderit be hes awin
wyff and servant man, and her nurische being also upone the conspiracy.
The said gentilwoman being apprehendit, scho wes tane to the girth
crosse upon the 5 day of Julii, and her heid struck fra her bodie at the
Cannagait fit, quha diet verie patiently. Her nurische wes brunt at the
same tyme, at 4 houres in the morneing, the 5 of Julii.

The 11 of Julii, the laird of Carmichael buriet, quha wes slaine be — — 11.
the Armstrangis and Carliles; he doing and executing his office of war-
denrie, upone the 16 of Junii befor. ^m

The same 11 of Julii, newis came out of Flanders, of ane batell
fouchten-at Newport, or betwix it and Slus, upone the 23 of Junii be-
foir, q' ther wes slaine 4 thousand Scottis and English, and siclyke slaine
of . Spanzeardis 7 thousand men.

The 19 of Julii, Colonell Edmont landit at Leithe, and haldin at — — 19.
great reputatione for hes wisdome and activitie in the waris of Flanders.

The 21 of Julii, at 9 houres at evin, a combat or tuilzie betwix twa — — 21.
brether of the Dempsters, and ane of yame slaine be Johne Wilson, and
being tane wi hait bluid, he wes execut at the flesche-stocks, qr: he
had slaine the man the nicht befor.

The 5 of Auguste, his M: the King being invitit be the Earle of — Aug. 5.
Gowrie to banket w' him at the said Earle his hous at S' Johnestoun.
The said Earle and hes brother bearing, or haveing malice and deidlie
hatred in their hairtis agains the King y' naturall prince, yai had deuyisit
ane way to have tane hes lyff; bot the Lord preventit ther intencion.
The maner of the conspiracie wes—Quhen they fund occatioun that hes
M: haill nobillis and courtiers wer gone furthc, the twa brether desyrit

G

his.

^m Vide Hist. of Scotland, Adv. Lib. A. 4. 35. ad an. 1600.

1600.

his M: to goe and sie yair cabinet. His M: a blist soul, thinking of no euil, went w' yame, q' they enterit in gripis wt him w' dageris to have slaine him. The King of kingis, the grate God, gave him strenthe; sua that he twist the Mr: of Gowrie under hes feit: and befoir the Lord hes brother came to hes M: he cryit our ane window, Treasone! Treasone! In the meine tyme, the foirsaid twa brether, had ane man standing behind the tapestrie in armes with ane twa handit sword in his hand, quha wes ordeinit, giff yair sould come aney helpe, he sould come furthe and keip the dore till the murder sould be done; bot it pleisit God yat he wes maid powerless, and could not steir out of the place qr: he stuid. In the meine tyme that hes M: and the twa brether are at the wrestling, Thomas Erskine and Johne Ramsay, hes M: page of honour for the tyme, came rinning up to the cabinet qr: yair pntlie: wes hard payment: at the last, the twa brether conspyreris of hes M: baith wer stikit; and the Lord preservit the holy innocent prince.

— Aug. 6.

The newis came to Edr: the 6 day of August, that hes M: had escapit sic ane danger, q'at yair wes sic ioy yat the canons shott, the bellis rang, the trumpettis soundit, the drums strak. The toune rais in armes with schutting of muskettis, casting of fyir workes, and banefyirs set furth, in sic maner the lyk wes nevir sene in Scotland, ther wes sic dancing and mirrines all the nicht.

The same day, in lyk maner, the Earle of Montrois being chanseler, the Master of Elphingston thesaurer, Sir David Murray comptroller, S' James Elphingston collector, w' sundrie uther nobillis, went to the crosse of Edin': and yair hard Mr: David Lindesay mak ane orisone, and the haill peiple sett down on yr: knies, giving thanks to God for the King's deliuerance out of sic ane grate danger.

— — 11.

The 11 day of Auguste, being Monday, the King came ouer the water. The toune, with the haill suburbis, met him upone the sandis of Leithe in armes, w' grate ioy, and schutting of muskettis, and shaking of pikes. He went to the kirk of Leith to Mr: David Lindesayis orisone. Y'after, the toune of Edr: haveing conveinit up to Edr:, and standing at
the

the hie gaitt, hes M: past to the crosse, the crosse being hung wt: tapes- 1600.
trie, and went up y'on wt: his nobillis. M' Patrick Gallaway being yair,
made ane sermone upone the 124 psalm; he declarit the haill circum-
stances of the treasone proposit by the Earle of Gowrie and hes brother,
qlk the King testifiet be hes awen mouth sitting upone the crosse all the
tyme of the sermone.

The next day following, at 6 houris at evin, the fyve ministers of — Aug. 12.
Edr: banischit be opin proclamation and sound of trumpet at the crosse,
for not affirming the King's words qlk he ratifiet at the crosse. Thair
names, M' Robert Bruce, M' James Balfour, M' William Watstone,
M' Walter M'Canquell, M' John Hall, and chargit yame yat yai come
not w'in ten myles of hes M:, nor w'in ten myles to Edr, and charging
yame not to teich and preich, under the paine of death.

The 13 day, ane proclamacione dischairging the session of the kirk — — 13.
to sit w' the elders and deikens, under the paine of horneing and de-
nouncing yame hes Maiesties rebellis.

The 13 day, ane uyr proclamacione chairging the haill name of
Ruthuen not to come neir the King, under the paine of treasone.

The 22 of August, ther wes execut in Perth 3 of my Lord Gowrie's — — 22.
servants, viz. Mr Thomas Cranstoun, George Crainginget, and ane cal-
lit Barron.

The 28 of August, the haill freindis, tutors and curators, and bairnis, — — 28.
pretending any right to the earldom of Gowrie, summoned to compeir
to the Parliament the first day of Nouember.

The 29 of Aguste, Adam Boswell slaine be George Porteous, be the — — 29.
schott of ane pistoll; ye said George wes beheidet at the crosse the next
day y'after, q' baith heid and hand wes straken aff him at ane stroke.

The 10 and 11 days of September, the ministers accusit befor the — Sept. 10.
King and counsell in Stirling, at qlk tyme yai had leive to come hame,
bot not to preich w'in the toune.

M' Robert Bruce commandit to remain in Earth. Thairafter, the
said M' Rot: Bruce commandit off the countrie, zit he remainit the

1600. space of 4 dayis, and then he wes chargit that he come neyther in Scotland, Inglan, nor Ireland.
- Sept. 30. The last of September, the King commandit the fyft day of August sould be keipit as ane solemne day, with preiching and prayer, and thanksgiving, for hes preservation frome the treasone of Gowrie and hes brother, and his complices.
- Oct. 8. The 8 day of October, Francis Kinnaird hangit at the crosse for treasone agains his M:, for making of plackets and wredits, &c. sic as—
- — 9. The nynt of October, ane proclamation chairging all thame of the name of Ruthuen to pas out of the countrie, in speciall Alex^r: father brother to the said Earle, and the said Earle and his twa brether.
- Nov. 3. The 3 of Nouember, Mr: Robert Bruce tuik sea, and maid sailt at 10 houres at evin, after he had gotten sundrie chairges to pas out of the cuntry, under the paine of treasone.
- — 8. The aucht of November, Archibald Napier slaine be fyve of the name of Scot and Thomas Crichton, ryding hame to hes awen hous to the Wowmit.
- — 15. The 15 of November, being the ryding day of the Parliament, the Earle Gowrie and hes brether, and hes father's brether, w' twa uthers, and his of thair dependers, all forfaulted.
- The same day, Sr: Thomas Erskine maid Lord of Dirletone, Johne Ramsay and Hew Nares knyghtit, and Sir Thomas Erskine's man made gentleman.
- — 19. The 19 of Nouember, the Earle of Gowrie and his brother harlit to the gibbit, and hangit and quarterit; and y'after, yair twa heidis set upone the heid of the prisone hous, yair to stand quhyll the wind blaw yame away.
- Nov. 20. The 20 day of Nouember, the Quein's M: deliverit of ane chyld at the pleasur of Almightye God; at qlk tyme the canons schott for ioy.
- Dec. 19. The 19 of December, yair wes banischit of ye ministrie, Mr Wiliame Vatsone, Mr James Balfour, Mr Valter M^cCanquell.

The

The 23 of December, the Kingis 2 sone wes baptizit, and namit Charles; and immediatly y'after, wt: grate triumphe, wes by hes father created Duck of Albaney, Marques of Ormond, and Earle of Ross; at vich tyme the canons schott for ioy. 1600 Dec. 23.

The 26 of Decr., the King maid a grate feast; and to honour ye mor, he solemnly created ye Lord of Livinston Earle of Linlithgow, ye Lord Setone Earle of Winton, and the Lord Cessfurd Earle of Roxburgh, and sundrey gentlemen he knyghted also. The quhole canons of the castell wer lykeways shott off. — — 26.

The 15 of Januarii, ther wes ane proclamacione, yat ye King sould have 12d Scottis one everie pynt of wyne sold in taverns; the lyk of wich imposte had not bein hard tell of befoir. 1601 Jan. 15.

The 12 of Februarii, a convention of the estaitts haldin at Edinburgh; in vich convention, yair wes grantit be the haill estaitts ane taxation of 20 thousand crowns, to give the Earle of Mar quha wes going ambassador to England. — Feb. 12.

The *xiv* of Februar, the newis came of the Earle of Essex, Northampton, and Ruthland.

The 14 of Februar, the Earle of Essex beheidit. — — 14.

The 16 of Februar, ane proclamation, that the new actis maid at the convention, that nae wool be transportit out of the countrie, and yat nae clothe come hame nor hattis nor schanks, nor naything of wool. — — 16.

The 22 of Februar, ane storm of snaw begane, qlk continuit ten days; the like winter wes nevir sene. It begane the first of November, and lastit qubill the first of Maii. — — 22.

The 10 of Marche, the vintenars of wyne put to the horne for non payment to the King of 12d of the pynt of yr wyne sauld wthin the tavernis, conforme to the act of conventione. — Mar. 10.

The same day, William Blaketer hangit at the crosse for manifest theft and persecuting.

The 19 day of Marche, ane proclamacione, that nae vintenars sould sell wyne better chepe nor 6 the pynt, under the paine of confiscacione of — — 19.

1601. of the wyne ; notwithstanding, the ventinars willinglie sold the wyne for 5 the pynt, and payit the impost.
- Mar. 31. The last day of Marche, James Wood of Bonnytoun, and his guid brother Williame Wood, tholit ane assyze for being at the mess in Andro Napier's hous, but continuit the execution.
- Apr. 17. Upone the 17 of Apryll, Johne Watt deit suddentlie in the feild callit the Burrow-muir ; and Alexr: Shuman being besyde, it wes alledgit yat he had feld him. The said Alexr: wes accusit and cleangit be ane assyze, and the said Johne buriet upone the 28 of Apryll.
- — 27. The 27 day of Apryll, James Wood of Bonnytoun beheidit at the crosse at 6 houres of the morneing, for breaking the place of Bonnytoun, qk apperteinit to hes father, and sould have beine hes awen.
The same day, Archibald Cornell, toune officer, hangit at the crosse, and hung on the gallows 24 houres ; and the caus qrfore he wes hangit—He being an unmerciful, greiddie creatur, he poyndit ane honest manis hous, and, amongst the rest, he poyndit the King and Quein's picturis ; and quhen he came to the crosse to compryse the same, he hung yame up upone twa nailis on the same gallows to be comprysit ; and yai being sene, word zead to the King and Queine ; qrupone he wes apprehendit and hangit.
- May 7. The 7 of Maii, twa men wer hangit on the Castell Hill : the ane callit Williame Crichton, for theft ; and the uther Alex^r Smythe dager-maker, for opining of the lockis to the laird of Bonytoun.
- — 15. The 15 of Maii, the assemblee of the ministers haldin in Brunt-ylan, qr the King made ane orisone, with ane solemne wow to doe justice.
At yis tyme, the tolbuith alterit againe.
- — 29. The 29 of Maii, M^r Alexander Drumaquham, George Douglas of Bangor, Richard Maxwell, Thomas Johnestoun, brunt for fals cunzie ; and Cuthbert Home and Williame Moffat hangit for theft.
- — 31. The last day of Maii, the Earle of Mar, ambassador, came home out of England ; bot non knew quherfor he wes sent, nor quhat he got.
The

The 6 of Junii, Thomas Glas brunt for fals cunzie; ane uyr man hangit for theft and murder wt: Mr: Wm: Balfour. 1601 June 6.

The 22 of Junii, ane fyir in Glasgow, qlk did grate hurt and skaith. — — 22.

The 19 of Julii, the laird of Gight maid grate slaughter in Torr, ane toune of the Earle of Errole's. — July 19.

The 5 day of August, keipit holy day, with preiching baith befor noon and afternoon in all the kirks of Edr: banefyirs sett out grate merthe and ioyfulnes for hes M: preservation from sic ane danger as the Lord preservit him frae the lyke. — Aug. 5.

The same night, at euin, ane hous brunt at the Cannagaitt fit, besyde the grass crosse.

The 19 of Septr, James Rofs slaine be Johne Ramsay, some tyme millar at Melvill mylne. — Sept. 19.

The 4 day of November, being ane fair day in Ed: ane combat foughten betwixt the Kiers and the Turnbolls, qr yair wes grate bluid. — Nov. 4.

The 14 of November, Thomas Armstrong and Adam Steill, alias callit the Peckit, wer baith hangit at the crosse. This Thomas had his hand strak aff with ane stroke befor he wes hangit, becaus he wes at the slaughter of James Carmichael. This Pecket wes ane of the maist notabill thieffes that evir raid. — — 14.

The 8 of December, ane combat foughten in Carrik betwixt the Earle of Cassillis and the laird of Bangaine. — Dec. 8.

The 16 of December, Cuninghame of Tourlands beheidit at the crosse for treasons. — — 16.

The 16 of December, Andro Turnbull beheidit at the crosse for slaughter of Thomas Keir.

The 14 of Januar, ane Moray brunt for fals money, or cunzie, and ane Drummond hangit for oppression and theft. 1602 Jan. 14.

The 18 of Februar, hes M: had ane thrid sonne borne, at the plesur of Almightye God, being Monday. — Feb. 18.

The xiv of Februar, twa brether hangit, viz. David Volume and his brother, for oppression and spuilzie.

The

- 1602 Feb. 19. The 19 of Februar, Johne Archibald, w' his familie, wer taken out to the Burrow-muir, being infectit wt: the pest.
- May 2. The 2 of Maii, being the Sabbathe day, his M: thrid sone wes baptizit Robert, in the town of Dumfermling. He wes stylit Duke of Kintyre, Marques of Wigtoun, Earle of Carrik, and Laird of Annerdaill.
- — 13. The 13 of Maii, Thomas Kennedie sometyme tutor of Cassilis, slaine be Thomas Kennedie, brother to the laird of Bagene.
- — 15. The 15 day, the Lordis satt doune in session, bot wer forcit to ryse for feir of the pestilence.
- — 20. The 20 day of Maii, ane solemne day of fasting and thanksgiving for hes merciful deliverance of the pest.
- — 27. The 27 day of Maii, Rot: Duck of Kintyre deceasit in Dumfermling.
- June 13. The 13 of Junii, newis came to Scotland of the conspiracy of the King of France, be the Marques or Duck de Birone.
- July 2. The 2 of Julii, ane cruel man hangit for setting on ane wöman's bare on ane girdill quhen it wes red hot. His name wes Alexr: Rowan.
- — 3. The 3 day, Johne Stewart beheidit at the crosse for cutting off ane man's privat members.
- — 20. The 20 of Julii, Alexr: Reid, printer in the cunzie hous, hangit for cunzeing of twa peices of silver upone the right and trew irones.
The same 20 day of Julii, M' Henrie Blythe, minister at Holyruidhous, put in ward for speiking of the bluid and slaughter committit by David and George Lindesayes, and Wm: and Rynds, against David Ogilvie and William Innes, on the Sabbath befor the 19 of Julii.
- Oct. The day of October, Patrick Brysone slaine in the Cannagate be ane James Stewart of Buquhane, quha wes apprehendit and wardit in Sir James Ballendine's hous, quher he remainit still till the 26 of November, on the qlk day he brake ward out of Sr James Innes hous.

In the month of November, the King's M: wes at Dunse, qr: he 1602 Nov.
gart hang maney theives.

The 17 of November, Williame Weillie, son to umqle: Weillie of — — 17.
Nidrie, tane in Leithe, hes M: being on the sands in the meine tyme
playing himself.

The 18 day, ane proclamacione made, yat all yame of the name of — — 18.
Ruthven sould change yair names, and yat yai come not neir the King
be 10 myles, under the paine of treasone.

The 19, William Byschope convictit be ane assyze; and, upone the — — 19.
20, he wes behedit at the crosse.

The 2 of Januar, being the Sabbath day, ane zoung man, callit 1603 Jan. 2.
Johne Johnstone, hangit himself in hes awen gartin.

The 3 of Januar, Johne Hailie of Millstanes slaine at the Salt — — 3.
Tron, be Williame Home hes guidfather. This William of Balla wes
of the hous of Cowdenknowis.

The 8 of Januar, certain stabillis and houses brunt at the Nether- — — 8.
bow, on the north syde of the gait besyde the Netherbow Port, occu-
pyit by James Wright stabler.

The 12 of Januar, my Lord Maxwell brak ward out the castell. — — 12.

The 17 of Januar, ane proclamacione, yat nane intertein nor resett — — 17.
my Lord Maxwell, nor nane of hes, under the paine of treasone.

The same day, Syming Zairne dischargit to be transportit out of the
realme.

The 19 day of Januar, ane Thomsone hangit for fals cunzie. — — 19.

The 20 of Januar, Johne Ramsay hangit, and his heid and hand — — 20:
struckin aff him, for the slaughter of his mr: James Rofs. Yis Ram-
say wes ane myllar at Mylland mylne, and held the same of James Rofs.

The 30 of Januar, Francis Moubray brake ward out of the castell, — — 30:
and he fell owir the wall, and brake hes craige: yrafter he wes traillit
to the gallows, and hangit; and yrafter wes quarterit, and his heid and
4 quarteris put one the 4 portis.

The 9 of Februarii, the laird of MacGregor, wt 4 hunder of hes — Feb. 9.

H.

name

1603. name and factioun, enterit in the Lennox, qr: he maid spulzie and slaughter to the number of 60 honest men, besyde wemen and bairnis : he spared nane qr he came.
- Feb. 13. The 13 of Februar, the agrement betwix the Marques of Huntlie and the Earle of Argyll, and the Earle of Moray and yr: complices.
- Mar. 18. The 18 of Marche, James Douglas of Spott restorit by opin proclamatione at the crosse.
- — 19. The 19 of Marche, the word came hame yat the Queine of England being seik, lost hir speiche.
- — 24. The 24 of Marche 1603, Queine Eliz: depairtit this lyfe, at the plesur of Almightye God, that day following, upone Furisday, scho did reign in her tyme in peice and in grate love wt: hir commons of Ingland ane godlie, wyse, and loweing princes to her subiectis, as euir liweit in Ingland.
- The same 24 of Marche 1603, after her M: depairting, the King of Scotland wes proclaimit at Lundone, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland.
- — 27. The 27 day, being Saturday, the porteris sone of Berwick came to hes M: to the Abbay of Holyrudhous wt: the keyis of Berwick.
- — 31. The last day of Marche, being Furisday, the nobilitie, at least the maist pairt of yame, came, accompanyit wt: 7 nobellmen of Ingland, to the crosse of Edr: and the secretar Sr James Elphingston red, and Sr David Lyndesay proclaimit or: blissit King James the Sext, King of Ingland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faithe.
- April 3. The 3 of Apryll, being Soneday, hes M: came to the grate kirk of Edr. quher he made ane orisone or harrang to the peipell, in presence of the noblemen of England yat wer yair for ye tyme.
- At yis tyme, quhen he had made hes orisone in the grate kirk, hes Maiestie maid guid promises; as, namelie, the defending of the faithe, and yat he sould come and wisit his peipell and guid subiectes in Scotland everie thrie zeirs.
- — 5. The 5 of Apryll, being Tuesday 1603, hes M: tuik iourney to Berwick: at qlk tyme thair wes grate lamentatioun aud murning among the

the comons for the los of yair daylie sicht of yair blissit Prince. At 1603. yis tyme, all the haill comons of Scotland yat had red or understanding, wer daylie speiking and exponeing of Thomas Rymer hes prophesie, and of uyr: prophesies qlk wer prophesied in auld tymes; as, namely, it wes prophesied in King Henrie the 8 dayis—Hempe is begun, God giue it long to last: Frae Hempe begun, England may tak rest. To make it yat it may be understood—H, for Henrey; E, for England; M, for Mary; P, for Philipe King of Spaine, that mariet with Queine Marey; and E, for guid worthie Queine Elizabeth: sua it is come yat England may take rest; for yair is no mor England, bot Grate Britaine. Siclyke it wes spoken in Scottis—Ane Frenche wyfe shall beir a sone, shall bruik all Britaine be the sie. For it is trew, that King James the 6 hes mother, wes ane Frenche wyff, in respect scho wes mariet to the Prince of France, quha wes so stylit. Yai wer mariet, Dolphin and Dolphines of France, and King and Queine of Scotland. It wes lykeways writt in ane uther prophesie—*Post Iaco, ia et ia, coyne, quinto et filius solo regnabat utroque* ^a.

The 6 day, being Wednesday, his M: enterit in Bervick, qr he wes resaut wt: grate ioy and schuting of canons, and depairtit yr frae to Newcastle. — April 6.

The 21 of Apryll, the cunzie hous dischairgit to worke. — — 21.

The 28 of Apryll, the Queine of England buriet. — — 28.

The 28 of Maii, the Queine and Prince came from Stirling. Yair wer sundrie English ladies and gentlewomen come to giff her the convey. — May 28.

The 30 day, being Tuesday, her M: and the Prince came to St: Geill's Kirk, weill convoyit wt coches, herself and the Prince in her — — 30.

H ij

awin

^a There is another prophesy somewhat similar, with the difference, that the one is sense, and the other seems nonsense:—*Post Jacobum, Jacobus Jacobum, Jacobus quoque quintus; at sextus Jacobus regno regnabit utroque.* However, we should hardly assert that it is positively nonsense. The darker ages delighted in cyphers; and this may imply something unknown at this day.

1603. awin coche, qlk came hame wt: hir out of Denmarke, and the English gentlewomen in the rest of the coches. They hard ane guid sermone in the kirk, and yairafter raid hame to Holyrudhous.
- June 1. The 1 of Junii, the Queine wt: the Prince tooke iourney to Ingland, and the nixt day after, the Princes tooke iourney.
- July 19. The 19 of Julii, ane Williame Watson, quha, under the color in calling himself the Mr of Forbes, proveit ane notable thief, and sua wes hangit at the West Port.
- — 20. The 20 day of Julii, the liberties of Edr. confirmit and resaut be the Provost Alexander Seytoun of Pleasance, and the Baillies and Magistratis, at the crosse, in presence of the most part of the Lordis of Counsell and Session.
- — 21. The 21 of Julii, James Reid brunt, for consulting and useing with sathan and witches, and quha wes notably knawin to be ane counsellor wt: witches.
- — 25. The 25 day of Julii, the King's M: and Queine crownit in Lundone, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland.
The 25 day, ane proclamation at the crosse of Edr for aprehending of the traitors, quha had devysit ane hic treasone and conspiracye against hes M: in St: Johnestown.
- Sept. 13. The 13 of September, James Johneston of Lochwood beheidit at the crosse of Edr: for oppreßion, slaughter, and raising of fyir, and uyr: maney crimes.
- Oct. 2. The 2 of Octr: Allaster MacGregor of Glanstrae tane be the laird of Arkynles, bot escapit againe; bot after taken be the Earle of Argyll the 4 of Januarii, and brocht to Edr: the 9 of Januar: 1604, wt: 18 mae of hes friendes MacGregors. He wes convoyit to Berwick be the gaird, conform to the Earle's promes; for he promesit to put him out of Scottis grund. Sua he keipit ane Hielandman's promes, in respect he sent the gaird to convoy him out of Scottis grund; bot yai wer not directit to pairt wt: him, bot to fetche him bak againe. The 18 of Januar, he came at evin againe to Edinburghe; and upone the 20 day, he

wes hangit at the crosse, and ij of hes freindes and name, upone ane gallows : himself being chieff, he wes hangit his awin hight above the rest of hes freindis. 1603.

The 12 of Januar, George Meldrum of Dumbreck beheidit for oppression and uther odious crymes. 1604 Jan. 12.

The 25 of Januar: ane Parliament proclaimit to begin the 10 of Apryll nixt ; zet it wes afterward continuit till ye 24 of yat moneth. — — 25.

The 18 of Februar: 9 of the name of MacGregor hangit, quho had hain lang in the tolbuith. — Feb. 18.

The of Marche, 7 MacGregors and Armstrangs wer hangit at the crosse. — Mar.

The 10 of Marche, twa notabill thieffes hangit at the crosse, ane Thomas Hardie, and ane Davidson. — — 10.

The of Apryll, ane proclamation for restraining of eiting of lambis till the sext of Aguste. — April

The of Apryll, ane servant woman of M^r Johne Halls minister, diet in hes awin hous, alledgit to be the pest, as God forbid : zet he and hes hous wes cleangit.

The 15 of Maii, thrie brether of the Betesones hangit at the crosse, quha wer notabill thieffes. — May 15.

The 2 of Junii, ane notable thieff, callit Robert Fleming, quha dwelt at the Hous of the Muir, hangit for theft, oppression, and resett of thieffes. — June 2.

The 8 of Junii, ane proclamatioun, the Parliament to be haldin in Perth the 3 of Julii nixt. — — 8.

The 16 of Junii, Robert Weir broken on ane cart wheel wt ane coultter of ane pleuche in the hand of the hangman, for murdering of the guidman of Warriston, quhilk he did 2 Julii 160—. — — 16.

The Parliament haldin at Perth the 3 of Julii, the Earle of Montois being viceroy. — July 3.

The 4 of Julii, ane grate fyir in Peibleis town. — — 4.

The 19 and 20, the plaige incresit in prime in the heat of Julii, and — — 19.

zet

1604. zet continuit. The same 19 of Julii 1604, ane hous over the Bowfit
tooke fyir. The comone bell rang and drum strak, qlk pat the town
in grate feir, becaus it wes in the nicht.
- Sept. 10. The 10 of September, the general mr: of the cunzie hous tuik ship-
ping to Lundone, for the defence of the Scottis cunzie befor the coun-
sell of Ingland, quha defendit the same to the uttermost; and the witt
and knowlege of the general wes wunderit at be the Englischmen.
The said general and mr: came hame the 10 of December.
- Oct. 2. The 2 of October, the baillies chosin be commissione of hes M: qlk
wes not sen the 17 of December 1596, the uther baillies left yair plaice,
quho wer men of guid report, viz. Peiter Dobie, Thomas Fischer, Da-
uid Aikenheid, and Johne Spair: and yir wer chosin, Rodger M'Nath,
W^m Nisbet, W^m Rige, and Thomas Spair.
- — 13. The 13 of October, the Chancellor tuik iourney out of Bervick to
Lundone, to the union. Bot came again, and so no union agreit.
- — 31. The last of October, a proclamatiōe direct frome hes M. that the
ministers shall not assembl themselves togidder, under the paine con-
tainit in the actis of Parliament.
- Nov. 19. The 19 of November, a proclamatiōe, yat thir countreys sall be no
mor called Scotland and England, bot Grate Britaine, conforme to the
prophesie, spoken of auld, yat ye lyon sall be lord of all.
- — 20. The 20 day, Johne Stewart hangit on the castell hill, for steiling of
two ky frome the laird of Braid.
- Dec. 22. The 22 day of December, William Ker hangit for opening of honest
mens lockis and dores, they being out of the town fled for the pest.
This W^m: wes ane smyth for hes occupation.
- 1605 Jan. 19. The 19 of Januar: James Zoung, player at cards and dyis, slaine in
the kirke be ane boy of 16 zeirs of aige, callit Laurence Man. Yis
Laurence wes beheidit one the castell hill the last day of the said Januar.
- Feb. The last day of Februar, Lord Fyvie, president, come to Edin-
burghe.
- Mar. 4. The 4 of Marche, the said Lord and uyr: wer made Earles, viz.
Lord

Lord Fyvie Earle of Dumfermling, Lord Home made Earle of Home, 1605.
 Lord Drummond made Earle of Perth, and with yame twelve knyghts.

The same 4 day, new cunzie proclaimed wt: grate solemnitie to pas — Mar. 4.
 throw all Grate Britaine.

The 12 of Marche, twa notable theiffes hangit at the crosse, callit — — 12.
 Ninian Armstrang, and hes fellow: the last's fault wes, in deforciang of
 the gaird in doing of yair office.

The 14 of Marche, 3 knight knightit in ye counsell hous of Edr: — — 14.
 viz. Hempfield, Nisbet, and Gideon Murray.

The 19 of Marche, the Maxwells came to the hous of Newbies, — — 19.
 and tuik the hous; and, in taking of the hous, sundrie wer woundit
 and hurt. They keipit the hous till the gaird and heraldis causit them
 to surrender.

The 17 of Junii, ane combat or tulzie foughten at the salt tron of — June 17.
 Edr: betwix the laird of Ogle, zounger, and hes complices, and the
 zoung laird of Pittarow, Wischart. The faucht lastit frae 9 hours at
 night till ij at night, twa hours. Yair wer sundrie hurt one both sydes,
 and ane Guthrie slaine, which wes Pittarow's man, ane verie prettie
 zoung man. The 18 day, they wer accusit befor the counsell, and
 wardit.

The 18 of the same moneth of Junii, William Thomsone, dager- — — 18.
 maker at the West Bow, slaine be Johne Waterstone, indweller yr:
 and cutlar: The said Johne wes behedit the 19, on the castell hill.

The 22 of Junii, a proclamatioun, that Ducks, Marqueses, Earls, — — 22.
 Lordis, and Barronis, sould schaw yair evidents, to the effect yai may
 knaw quha is maist worthe; and everie man to haue hes awen place in
 Parliament: and uther proclamations, yat yai compeir the first of No-
 vember, thair haill names being red out be the messenger. The thrid,
 concerning the robes or garments, be maid in red, and lynit wt: quhyte.
 The lyke wes nevir sene in yis countrie befor^a.

The

^a These wer ye first Parliament robes yat euer wer wused in this kingdome. Balf. An.
 i. 406. There were laws enacted in the reign of James II. to this effect; and one, 1587.

- 1605 July 1. The 1 of Julii, Sr George Home thesaurer, came to Edr: and upone the 2 day, he wes maid Earle of Dumbar, and Lord of Berwick.
- The same day, Wm Bell wes hangit for forceing of ane woman agains her will.
- — 12. The 12 of Julii, the King of France's gaird musterit verie brave- lie upone the linkis of Leithe, and resaut and sworne, and yrafter re- sauit yr pay.
- — 19. The 19 of Julii, Thomas Lowdown, indweller in the Merse, wes hangit at the crosse for oppression and thift.
- — 24. The 24 day, Henrie Lowrie brunt on the castell hill, for witchcrafte- done and committed be him in Kyle, in the parochin — — —

FINIS.

THE LATE
EXPEDICION IN SCOTLANDE,

MADE

BY THE KYNGES HYHNYS ARMYE,

VNDER THE CONDUIT OF

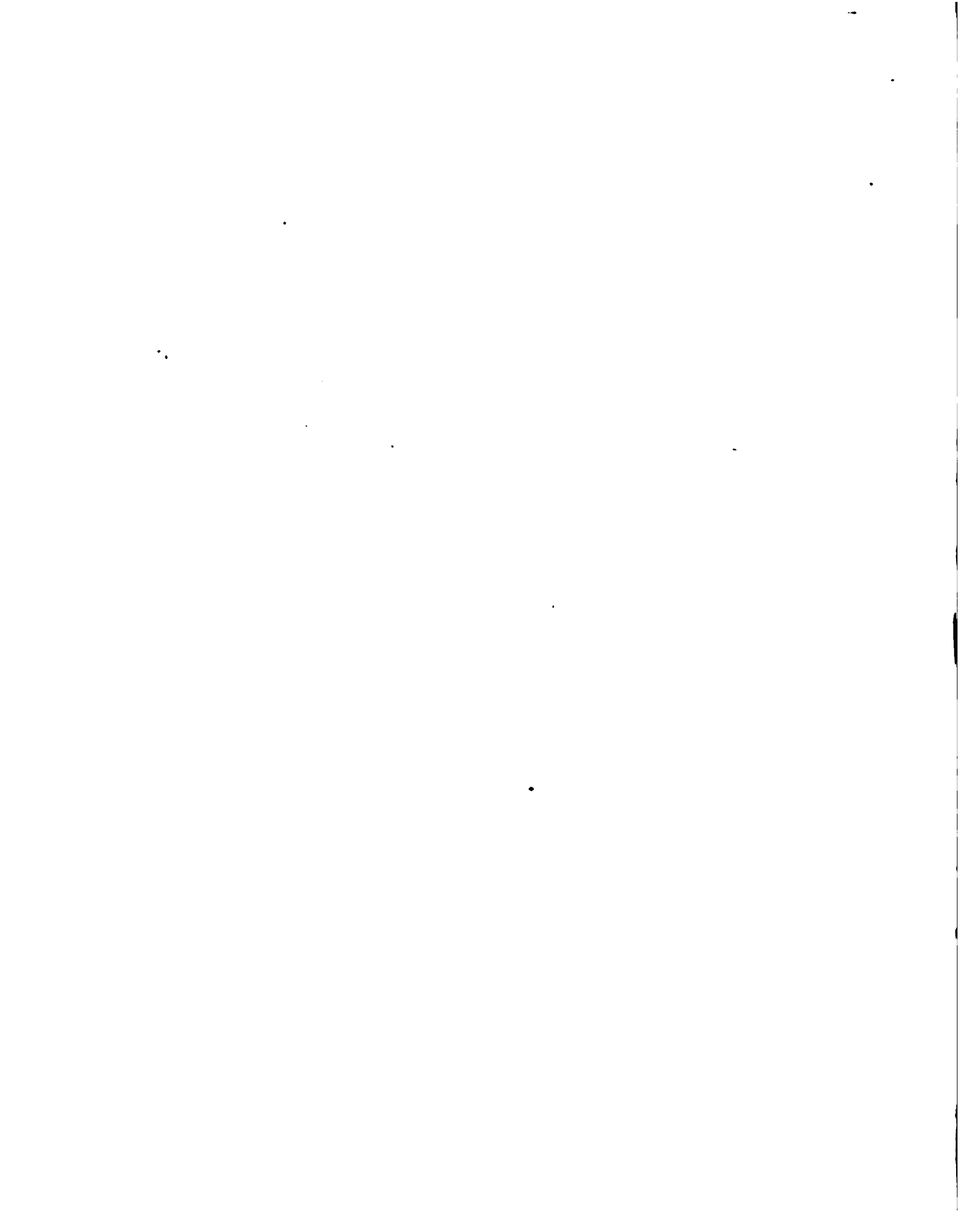
THE RYGT HONORABLE THE ERLE OF HERTFORDE,

THE YERE OF OURE LORDE GOD

1544.

LONDINI,

CUM PRIVILEGIO AD IMPRIMENDUM SOLUM.



THE LATE EXPEDITION IN SCOTLANDE,

SENT TO

THE RYGHT HONORABLE LORDE RUSSEL LORD PRIUIE SEALE,
FROM THE KYNGES ARMYE THERE, BY A FRENDE OF HYS.

AFTER longe soiornynge (my verie good Lorde) of the Kinges Maiesties armye at Newcastle, for lacke of commodious windes, which longe hath ben at north easte and easte north easte : moche to our greife, as your Lordshyppe, I doubte not, knoweth. The same, as God wolde, who doth all thynges for y^e best, the fyrste of Maye, the xxxvi. yeare of his Maiestyes mooste prosperous raigne, vired into the south, and south south weste, so apte and propice for our iorney, beyng of euery man so moch desyred, that it was no nede to haste them forwardes. To be breife, suche diligence was vsed, that, in two tydes, the hole flete, beinge two hundreth sayles at the least, was out of the hauen of Tynmouth, towards our enterprice.

The thyrde day after, we arryued in y^e Frith, a notable ryuer in Scotlande, hauyng thentry betwene two islandes, called the Basse, and the Maye. The same daye, we landed dyuers of our botes at a towne named S. Mynettes, on the northe side of the Frith, whiche we brente, and broughte from thense dyuers greate botes, that serued vs after to good pourpose for our landynge. That nyghte, thole flete came to an anker, vnder y^e island called Inchekythe, thre myles from the hauen of Lyth. The place where we ankered hath of longe tyme ben

called the Englysh Rode; y^e Scottes nowe taketh the same to be a prophesie of the thynges whiche is hapened.

The nexte daye, beyng the fourth daye of May, the sayde armye landed two myles bewest the towne of Lithe, at a place called Gran-tame Cragge, euery mā beyng so prompt therunto, that the hole armye was landed in foure houres. And perceyuyng our landyng to be so quyet, whiche we loked not for, hauyng our guides redy, we put our selues in good ordre of warre, marchyng forwarde towards the towne of Lythe in thre battaylles, wherof my Lorde Admyral ledde the vant-gard, Therle of Shrewesbury thareregarde, and Therle of Hertford, beynge Lorde Lieutenaūt, the battayll, hauyng with vs certen small pieces of artillary, whiche were drawn by force of men: whiche enterpryse, we thought necessarie to be attempted, fyrste of all other, for the commodityous lodgyng of our nauy there, & landyng of our artillarie, and vittayle. And in a valley vpon y^e right hande nere vnto the sayd towne, the Scottes were assembled to the nombre of fyue or syx thousande horsemen, besydes a good nombre of fote men, to empeache the passage of our sayd armye, in which place they had layd theyr artyllarie at two strayghtes, thorough the whiche we muste nedes passe, yf we mynded to acheue our enterpryse. And semyng at the fyrste, as though they wolde set vpō the vanwarde, when they perceyued our men so wyllynge to encounter with them, namely, the Cardynall, who was there present, perceyuyng our deuotion to se his holynes to be suche, as we were redy to watte our feete for that purpose, and to passe a forde which was betwene vs and them. After certen shotte of artyllary on bothe sydes, they made a sodayne retrete, and, leauyng theyr artyllary behynde them, fledde towards Edenborrowe. The fyrste man that fledde, was the holy Cardynall, lyke a valyaunt champyon, and with hym the gouerner, Therles of Huntley, Murrey and Bothewell, with dyuers other great men of the realme. At this passage was two Englishmen hurt with the shot of theyr artillary, & two Scottysshemen slayne with our artillary.

The

The vanwarde hauynge thus put backe the Scottes, and viii. peices of theyr artillary brought away by our hackebutters, who in this enterprise dyd very manfully employ them selues, we merched directly towards the towne of Lythe, whiche, before we coulde come to it, muste of force passe an other passage, whiche also was defended a whyle with certen ensignes of fotemen, and certen peices of artillary, who beyng sharply assayed, hauynge thre of theyr gonners slayne with our archers, was fayne to gyue place, leauynge also theyr ordinaunce behynd them, with whiche ordinaunce they slewe onely one of our men, and hurte an other.

And in this brunt the victory beinge earnestly followed, the towne of Lythe was entred perforce & wonne, with the losse onely of two men of owres, and hurte of thre, where the Scottes had caste greate trenches and dyches purposely to haue defended it. The same nyghte, the armye encamped in the said towne of Lith; and by reason of the sayde dyches & trenches, we made there a stronge campe. The morow, beinge the v. of May, we caused our shyppes laden with our greate artillary and vittayles, to be brought into the hauen, where we dyschargd the same at our pleasour. In the sayde hauen, we founde many goodely shyppes, specyally two of notable fayrenes; thone called the Salamander, gyuen by the Frenche Kyng at the mariage of his daughter into Scotlande; thother called the Vnicorne, made by the late Scottyshe Kyng. The towne of Lith was foude more full of ryches then we thought to haue founde any Scottishe towne to haue ben.

The nexte daye tharmye went towards Edenborough, leauyng the Lorde Sturton in Lithe with xv. C. men for the defence of the same. And tharmy beyng come nere vnto Edenborough, the Prouost, accompanied with one or two burgeases, and two or thre offycers at armes, desyred to speake with the Kynges Lieutenaunt, and, in the name of all the towne, sayde, that the keys of the towne shulde be delyuered vnto his Lordeshyp, condicionally, that they might go with bagge and baggage, and y^e towne to be saued from fyer. Wherunto answer was made by the sayd Lorde Lieutenaunt, that whereas the Scottes had so
many

many wayes falsed theyr faythes, and so manifestely had broken theyr promysse, confyrmed by othes and seales, and certified by theyr hole Parliament, as is euydently knowen vnto all y^e worlde, he was sent thither by the Kinges Hyghnes to take vengeaūce of their detestable falshed, to declare and shewe the force of his Hyghnes sworde to all suche as sholde make any resistēce vnto his Graces power, sent thither for that pourpose; and therefore, beyng not sent to treat or capitulate with them, who had before tyme broken so many treates: He told them resolutely, that onlesse they wolde yelde vp theyr towne vnto hym frankely without condiciō, and causē man, woman, and chylde, to yssewe into the feldes, submitting them to his wyll and pleasoure, he wolde put them to the sworde, and theyr towne to the fyre. The Prouost answeryng, that it were better for them to stande to theyr defence, then yelde to that condicyon: This was rather a false practise of the Prouost and the herauldes, therby tespye the force and order of oure campe, then for any zeale they hadde to yelde theyr towne, as it appeared after. Wheruppon cōmaundement was gyuen to the sayd Prouost and offycers at armes, vpon theyr perill, to departe. In the meane tyme, word was brought by a heraulde of ours, (whome the Lorde Lieutenaunt had sent to somone the castell), that the Erle Bothewell and the Lord Hume, with the nombre of two thousande horsemen, were entered the towne, and were determyned to the defense therof; vpon whiche knowledge, the Lord Lieutenaūt sent with diligence to the vanwarde, that they shulde merche towardes the towne. And Syr Cristofer Morrice, lieutenaunt of thordynaunce, was cōmaunded tapproche the gate called the Cany Gate, with certen batry peices, whiche gate lay so, that the ordynaunce must be brought vp a brode strete of the suburbes, directly agaynste the sayde Cany Gate, whiche was the losse of certen of our gonners: and before that any batry could be made by the sayd ordynaunce, dyuers of the capytains of the sayde vanward (the better to comforte theyr souldyars) assayled the sayde gate with suche corage, that they repulsed the Scottyshe gōners from the loupes of the
same,

same, and there slewe & hurte sundry of theyr gōners, and by force drewe one peice of artillary out of one of the sayde loupes. Our archers & hackbutters shotte so holly to the batylmentes of the gate and waule, that no man durst shewe himselfe at the defence of the same; by reason wherof, our gonners hadde good leysoure to brynge a canon harde to the gate, whiche, after thre or foure shotte, made entry to oure souldiars, who, at theyr breakyng in, slewe thre or foure hundreth Scottes of suche as were founde armed. In the meane tyme, Therle Bothwel and the Lorde Hume, with theyr cōpanye, fled, and saued them selves by an other waye issuinge but towards the castell of the sayde towne: ȳ situatiō wherof is of such strength, that it can not be approched but by one waye, whiche is by the hyghe strete of the towne, and the strongest parte of the same lyeth to beate the sayde strete, whiche was the losse of dyuers of our men with the shot of thordynaunce out of the sayde castell, whiche contynually beat alongeste the sayde hyghe strete. And cōsyderynge the strength of the sayde castell, with the situation therof, it was concluded not to lose any tyme, nor to waste and consume our munition about the siege therof. All be it the same was courragiously and daungerously attempted, tyl one of our peices, with shotte out the sayde castel, was stroken, and dismounted.

And finally, it was determyned by the sayde Lorde Lieutenaunt, vtterly to ruynate and destroye the sayde towne with fyer; which, for that the nyghte drewe faste on, we omytted thoroughly to execute on that daye; but settinge fyer in thre or iiii. partes of the towne, we repayred for that night vnto our campe. And the nexte mornynge very erly we began where we lefte, and continued burnynge all that daye, & the two dayes nexte ensuinge contynually, so that neyther within ȳ wawles, nor in the suburbes, was lefte any one house vnbrent, besydes the innumerable botyes, spoyles and pyllages that our souldyours brought frō thense, notwithstanding habundaūce whiche was consumed with fyer. Also, we brent thabbey called Holy Rodehouse, and the pallice adioynynge to the same.

In

In the meane tyme, whyle we held the countrey thus occupied, there came vnto vs iiii. M. of our lyghte horsemen from the borders by the Kynges Maiesties appoyntement, who, after theyr cōmynge, dyd suche exploytes in rydyng and deuastyng the countrey, that within vii. myles euery waye of Edenborrough, they lefte neyther pyle, village, nor house, standyng vnbrete, nor stakes of corne, besydes great nombres of cattayles which they brought dayly into the armye, & met also with much good stuffe, whiche thinhabitaūtes of Edenborrough hadde, for the sauetie of the same, conuayed out of ȳ towne.

In this meane season, Syr Nicholas Poyntz, by ordre of my Lord Lieutenaunt, passed the ryuer, and wan by force the towne of Kyng-horne, and the same brent, with certeyne other townes on that syde.

After this exploytes done at Edenborough, and all the countrey there aboutes deuasted, the Kynges sayde Lieutenaunt thynkyng the Scottes not to be condyngly ponished for theyr falshed vsed to the Kinges Maiestie, determyned not to returne without doynge them more dyspleasure, gaue ordre with ȳ saide Syr Cristofer Morice, for the reshypyng of the great artyllary, reseruynge onely certen small peices to kepe the felde, gyuyng also cōmaūdemēt to euery Capitayn to receiue vittayles out of the sayde shypes, for theyr companyes, for vi. dayes. And, for the caryage of the same, caused one thousand of our worst horsemen to be set on fote, and the same horses deuyded egally to euery Capitayn of hundredes, for the better caryage of theyr vittayles. The men that rode vpon the saide horses appoynted to attende vpon the sayde vittayls, which was done: besydes dyuers small cartes, which we recouered in the coūtry, the whiche, with such cattaylles as we had there, dyd great seruice in drawyng of our vittayls, tentes, and other necessaries. These thynges beyng supplied, the xiiii. day of Maye we brake downe the peire of the hauen of Lythe, and brent euery stycke of it, & toke forth the two goodly shyppes, manned them, and put them in ordre tattende vpon the Kinges Maiesties shippes; theyr balast was canon shotte of yrō, which we found in the towne, to the nombre of iiii. score thousande: the

IN SCOTLANDE.

the reste of the Scottishe shyppes mete to serue, we brought awaye, bothe they and our owne, almost pestered with the spoyle and botyes of oure souldyars and maryners.

That done, we abandoned our selues clearely from our shyppes, ha-uyng firme intent to retorne home by lande, whiche we dyd. And to gyue them better occasyon to shewe them selves in the felde agaynst vs, we lefte neyther pyle, village, towne, nor house, in our waye homewardes, vnbrent. In the meane tyme of the contynuaunce of our army at Lithe, as is afore sayd, our shyps upon y^e sees were not idle, for they lefte neyther shyppe, crayer, nor bote, belongyng to nether village, town, creke, nor hauen, of neither syde the frith, betwene Sterlyng and the mouth of the riuer, vnbrent, or brought away, whiche contayneth in length fyftie myles. Contynuyng of tyme, they also brent a greate nōbre of townes and vilages, on bothe sydes the said water, and wan a fortres situated on a strong island called Ynchgarue, which they rased, and destroyed.

The xv. daye of Maye, we dislodged our campe out of the towne of Lith, and set fyer in euery house, and brent it to the grounde. The same nyght we encamped at a towne of the Lorde Seton's, where we brente and reased his cheife castell, called Seton, whiche was ryght fayre, & destroyed his orchardes & gardens, whiche were the fayrest and beste in ordre that we sawe in al that coutry: We dyd hym y^e more despyt, because he was the cheife laborer to helpe theyr cardynall out of pryson, the onely auctour of theyr calamytie.

The same daye we brente a fayre towne of the Erle Bothewelles, called Hadyngton, with a great nonry, and a house of freres. The nexte nyght after, we encamped besydes Dunbar; & there the Scottes gaue a smal alarme to our campe; but our watches was in such a redynes, that they hadde no vauntage there, but were fayne to recoyle wout doynge of any harme. That nyght they loked for vs to haue burnt the towne of Dunbar, which we differred tyll the mornyng at the dis-
lodgyng

THE LATE EXPEDICION

lodgyng of our campe, whiche we executed by v. C. of our hackbutters, beyng backed with v. C. horsemen. And by reason we toke them in the mornynge, who hauyng watched all nyght for our cōmyng, and perceuyng our army to dislodge & depart, thought them selues saue of vs, were newly gone to theyr beddes; and in theyr fyrste slepes closed in with fyer, men, women, and chyldren, were suffocated and brent.

That mornynge being very mystic and foggie, we hadde perfite knowledge by our espyalles, that y^e Scottes had assembled a great power at a strait called the Pease. The cheife of this assembly was the Lordes Seton, Hume, and Bouclugh, wth them the hole power of the Marshe and Tyuidall. This daye, in our marchynge, dyuers of theyr prickers, by reason of the saide myste, gaue vs alarme, and came so far within our army, y^e they vnhorsed one betwene the vanwarde and the battayll, beyng within two hundreth fote of y^e Lorde Lieutenaunt. At y^e alarme, one of theyr best prickers, called Jocke Holly Burton, was taken, who confessed that the saide Scottishe Lordes were redy at the passage with y^e number of ten thousand good men. And for asmoch as the myst yet contynued, and dyd not breake, beyng paste noon, the vanwarde beyng within a myle of the sayde passage, enteringe into dangerous waies for an armye to marche in soche wether, that one coulde not escrye another twenty yardes of, we concluded, if the wether did not breake vp, to haue encamped our selues vpon the same ground, where we dyd remayne for the space of two houres. And about two of the clock at after noon, the sonne brake out, the fogge went awaye, and a cleare daye was lefte vs, wherof euery man receiued as yt were a newe corage, longynge to se the enemies; who being ready for vs at the said passage, & seing vs come in good ordre of battayle, as men determyned to passe throughe them, or to leaue our bones wth thē, abode vs but two shotes of a faucon, but skaled euery man his way to the high mountaines, which was harde at their handes, and covered with flockes
of

of their people. The passage was soche, that hauynge no lette, it was thre houres before all the armye coulde passe it. The same night tharmye encamped at a pyle called Ranton, viii. myles from our borders, whiche pyle was a very yll neighbour to y^e garison of Berwick. The same we reased and threwe downe to the grounde.

The next daye, being the xviii. of Maye, tholle armye entred into Berwicke, and ended this viage wth the losse vnneth of forty of the Kynges Mayesties people, thankes be to our Lord. The same day, at the same instāt that y^e army entred into Berwyck, our hole flete & nauye of shyppes, which we sent from vs at Lyth, arryued before Berwycke: as God wolde be knowē to fauour our maister's cause, who euer p^rserue his most royal Maiestie wth lōge & prosperous life, & many yeares to reygne in thēperial seate of the monarchie of all Bretayne.

¶ *The names of the cheife borroughes, castelles, and townes, brente and desolated by y^e Kinges army, beyng late in Scotlande, besydes a great nombre of villages, pyles, and stedes, whiche I can not name.*

The borow & towne of Edenborough, wth thabbey called Hollyroode house, and the Kynges palice adioynynge to the same.

The towne of Lythe brent, and the hauen and pere destroyed.

The castel & village of Cragmyller.

Thabbey of Newe Bottell.

Parte of Muskelborowe towne, wth the chapel of our Lady of Lawret.

Preston towne, and the castell.

Hadington towne, with the freres and aunry.

A castell of Olyuer Sancklers.

The towne of Dunbarre.

Laureston, wth the grawnge.

Drylawe.	Markle.
Wester Crag.	Trapren.
Enderlegh, the pyle, } & the towne. }	Kirkland hyll.
Broughton.	Hatherwike.
Chester Felles.	Belton.
Crawnend.	East Barnes.
Dudistone.	Bowland.
Stanhows.	Butterden.
The Ficket.	Quickwod.
Beuerton.	Blackborne.
Tranent.	Raunton.
Shenstone.	Byldy, and the } towre. }

¶ Townes & villages brent by the flete upon the see, with a great number of pyles and villages, whiche I can not name nor reberse, which be all deuasted and layd desolate.

Kinkorne. S. Minetes. The Quene's Ferry.
Parte of Petynwaynes.
The brent islande.

OTHER NEWE PROSPEROUSE ADUETURES, OF LATE, AGAINST THE
SCOTTES.

AFTER the tyme that the Erle of Hertford, Lieutenaunt to the Kynges Maiestie in the north parties of the realme, had dissolued the armye whiche lately had bene within Scotland, & repayred to the
Kynges.

Kynges hyghnes: The Lorde Eure, with many other valiant wise gentylmen abyding in the marches of the north parte, intendinge not by idelnes to surcesse in occasiōs cōuenient, but to proue whether the Scottes had yet learned, by theyr importable losses lately chaūced to them, to tēder theyr own weales, by true and reasonable vnytynge & adioynng them selues to the Kynges Maiesties louyng liege people, toke consultation, by the aduyse of Syr Raufe Eure, his sonne, & other sage forwarde gentylmen, vpon the ix. day of June, at a place named Mylnefeld, from whence, by comen agrement, the said Lord, with a good number of men, made such hast ito Scotland, that by iiii. of the clocke after the next mydnight, he was marched win a half myle from ȳ towne wher vnto they tended, named Jedworth. Mayntenant, after theyr cōmyng, a messenger was sent to the Prouost of the said towne, lettyng hym to know, that the Lord Eure was come before the towne, to take it into the Kynges allegiaunce by meanes of peace; yf therunto ȳ Scottes wold truely agre; or els, by force of armes, to sacke ȳ same, if therin resistēce were fōūd. Wherunto the Prouost, euen lyke to proue him selfe a Scot, answered, by waye of request, that they myght be respected vpō theyr answer vntyll ȳ noon tyde, or els to mayntene theyr towne with defence; hauyng hope ȳ in tractyng & dryuyng of tyme, they myghte worke some old cowardly suttelte. But vpon declaratiō made, the snake crewlyng vnder ȳ flowres easely appeared to thē which therin had experience, knowledge also beyng had, that the townesmen had bent vii. or viii. peices of ordinaūce in the market stede. Wherfore ȳ Lord Eure, parte of his cōpany beinge into iii. bandes deuided, & abidyng at iii. several costes of the same towne, to thend ȳ there myght be iii. entres at one tyme made into the towne, apoynted & deuised, that the gūners whiche had battered certen places playne and open, shold entre in one syde, and ȳ kernes on an other syde, & Syr Raufe Euers of the thyrd side. But it fortunēd, that euen vpon the approchemēt of the men to there entrees, the Scottes fledde from.

from theyr ordinaūces, leuyng them vnshot, into the woodes there about, with all other people in the same towne; in ȳ which flyghte was slayne aboute the nōber of C. lx. Scottes, hauyng for that recōpence therof the losse of vi. Englishmen only. The people thus fled, and the towne geuen to the Englyshmen by chaūce of warre, ȳ gunners burned ȳ Abbey, the Graye Freres, & dyuers bastell & fortified houses, wherof were many in that towne: the goodes of ȳ same towne being fyrste spoyled, whiche layded at theyr departyng CCCCC. horses, besides vii. peices of ordinaūce. In theyr rētorne, likewyse, they passed, burnyng dyuers places, towres, & castelles: as the towre of Callyngcrag, the castell of Sesforth, Otterburn, Cowboge, Marbottel church, with many other lyke, vntyll they came to a place called Kyrkyetthm, beinge x. myle frō certen villages win Englysh groūde, named Hettō, Tylmouth, & Twysell, which appered to them burnyng: for the which cause, Syr Raufe Eure, & the Capitain of Norh̄m, accompanied w̄ CCCCC. horsemen, rode in suche hast towards the fyer, ȳ at what tyme the said Syr Raufe dyd set vpō the Scottes which had burned the vilage, he had not with hym aboue CC. horsemen: neuerthelesse the Scottes, vpō the onely sight of ȳ stādardes, vsed for theyr defence their light fete, and fledde in so mych haste, that dyuers Englysh horses were tyred in ȳ pursnit; but ouertakē there was a great nomber, wherof were slayne many, partly by ȳ fearsnes of the English men, partly by the giltie cowardness of ȳ Scottes. And truely, to speake in fewe wordes, in this acte doyng, reason wyl scarcely suffice to p̄suade the truth: in so mych, that there was dyuers Englysh men, wherof euery one man had viii. or ix. prisonars, besyde such whiche was slayne, whose nomber is certaynly knowen to be aboue a hundreth, or mo. And yet in this skirmish not one Englishmā taken, nother slayne, thankes be to God. Also, further, here is to be remēbred, that the Englyshe men, in theyr returne from the sacke of Jedworth, draue & brought our of Scotland into England, a great nōber of cattel, bothe note and shepe.

Furthermore,

Furthermore, to the apparant cōtinuaūce of Goddes fauour vnto ȳ pourposes of Thenglishmen, it is to be cerrently knowē, that the xv. daye of June, there was an other Rode made by dyners Englishemen, to a towne called Synlawes, where as diuers bastel houses was destroyed, viii. Scottes takē, & lx. oxen brought away: for ȳ retorne wherof a nōber of Scottyshmē pursued very earnestly, who for their cōmyng lost vi. of theyr lyues & l. of theyr horsemen.

And vpon Tewesdaye next folowinge, Syr George Bowes, Syr Jhon Witherington, Henry Eure, & Leonell Graye, roded to ȳ abbey of Coldynghm, & demaūded the same; but it was denyed earnestly, in so mych, ȳ after an assault made for v. houres space, it was burnt, all sauynge the church, which hauyng fyre in ȳ one ende, smoked so by the dryfte of the wynd toward the Englysh men, ȳ it could not cōueniētly thē be burned. The stoore of the cattell & of ȳ other goodes there, serued well the spoyle of the souldyours. In this abbey was slayne one monke & iii. other Scottes. And amongst Thenglyshe was one only gūner slayn, by a peice of ordinaunce shotte out of ȳ steple.

Sence this iorney ȳ xx. of June, a cōpany of Tyndale & Redesdale w̄ other valyent men, ventred vpō the greatest towne in all Teuidale, named Skraysbrugh, a towne of ȳ Lorde Hunthylles, where as besydes rych spoyles & great plenty of note and shepe, xxxviii. persons were taken; addyng therunto, that which is a maruelose truth, that is to saye, these prysoners beyng taken, iii. Scottes beyng slayne, w̄ dyuers wounded, no one English man was other hurte or wounded.

In these victories, who is to be moste hyghest lauded but God, by whose goodnesse the Fnglyshe men hath had, of a greate season, notable victories & maters wordy triumph? And for the contynuaūce of Goddes fauour towarde vs, let vs pray for the prosperous estate of oure noble,

THE LATE EXPEDICION, &c.

noble, good, and victorious Lorde Gouvernour and Kyng, &c.; for
whose sake, doubtlesse, God hath spred his blessing ouer vs,
in peace to haue myrth, and in warres to haue victorie.

Imprynted at London in Powls
Churchyarde by Reynolde
Wolfe, at the sygne of y
Brasen Serpent,
anno 1544.

*Cum priuilegio
Ad imprimendum solum.*

THE
EXPEDICION INTO SCOTLĀDE,

Of the Most Woorthely Fortunate Prince,

EDWARD, DUKE OF SOOMERSET,

Vncle vnto our Most Noble Souereign Lord

Y^c Kiges Maiestie,

EDVVARD THE VI.

GOOUERNOUR OF HYS HYGHNES PERSONE, AND PROTECTOUR OF
HYS GRACES REALMES, DOMINIONS, AND SUBIECTES :

Made in

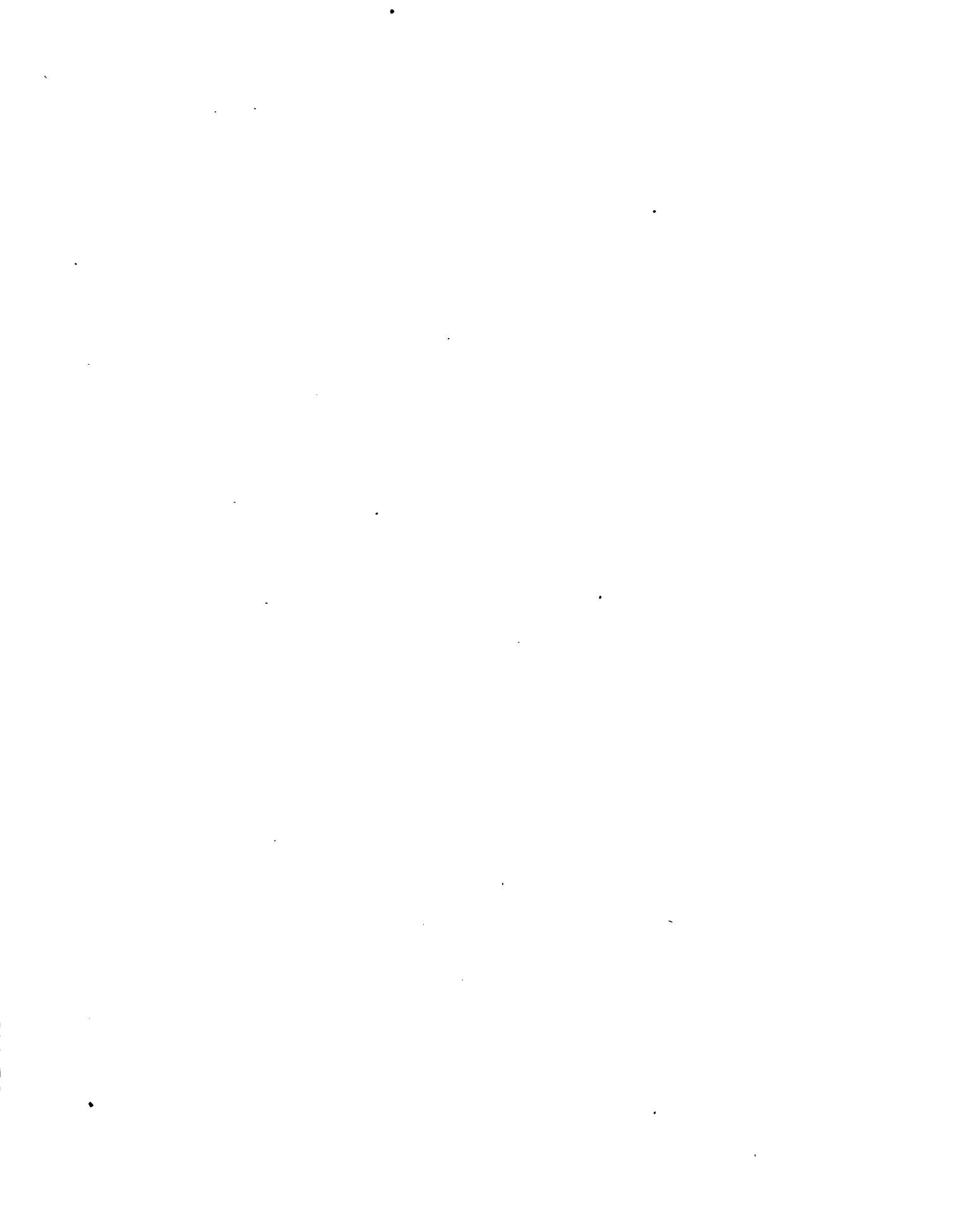
THE FIRST YERE OF HIS MAIESTIES MOST PROSPEROUS REIGN,

AND SET OUT BY WAY OF

DIARIE,

By W. PATTEN, Londoner.

VIVAT VICTORI!



VNTO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
SYR VVILLIAM PAGET,
KNYCHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,
COMPTROLLER OF THE KYNGES MAIESTIES HOUSHOLDE,
ONE OF HIS HYGHNES PRIUIE COUNSAILL,
CHAUNCELLOR OF THE DUCHIE OF LANCASTER,
AND HIS MOSTE BENIGNE FAUTOUR
AND PATRONE,
VVILLIAM PATTEN
MOST HARTELY VVISHETH FELICITE.

HAUYNGE in these last warres againste Scotlande (that neuer wear any with better succes acheued) made notes of actes thear doon, and disposed the same, since my cummynge home, into order of diarie as followeth. As one that woulde showe sum argument of remēbraunce (right Honorable Sir) of your moste benign fauour, that aswel while I was with y^e right honorable my very good Lord and late master the Erle of Arundell, as also since, ye haue vouchsafed to bear me, I haue thought metest to dedicate my trauail vnto your Honor. How smally I either am or haue ben by ony meanes able to merite the same your gētelnes, by so moch the lesse haue I nede here too shewe: as your humayne generosite, your willyng benignite, and promptnes to proffit all men, is vnto all mē so cōmonly knowen, for the whiche youre name and honor is so familiar and well esteemed with forein princes abrode, & so woorthely welbeloued of al estates at home: for who was he, of ony degree or cūtree, that had ony iust sute, or other a do with our late Souereign Lord the Kinges Maiestie deceased, when his Highnes,

in these his latter yeres, for your approued wysdome, fidelite, trust, and diligence, had cōmitted the speciall ministerie & dispatch of his weyghtie affaires vnto your handes, that felt not as moche then as I haue foūde since? or who findeth not still a constant continuaunce thearof, whear the equite of his sute may bear it? Ryght many, sure, of the small knowledge I haue, could I my selfe reken both of than and since, whiche here all willyngly I leaue vnattempted to doo: both bicause my rehersall shoulde be very vnnesessarie & vaine to you ȳ know them better then I, and also that I should tell the tale to your self: whoō for the respect of your Honour, as I haue a reuerence wyth vanitees frō your graue occupacions to deteyne, so haue I, for honesties sake, a shame to be suspect by ony meanes to flatter. That same your syngler humanitee wheare wyth ye are woont also so gently to accept all thyng in so thankfull a parte, & whearw̄ ye haue boūd me so straightly to you, dyd fyrste (to saye the truthe now) emboldē me in this theame to set pē to the booke, & nowe after in thys wyse to present my worke vnto you. The which if it shal please your Honour too take well in woorth, and receyue in to your tuicion; as the thing shall more indede be dignified by hauing suche a patrone, then your dignytee gratifyed by receyuinge so vnworthy a present; euen so, what fault shalbe founde thearin, I resume as clerely cummyng of my selfe. But yf ought shalbe thought to be aptly sayd pleasaūt, ony thing sauering of witte or learning, I woold all mē should know it, as I acknowledge it my self, that ȳ must holy be referred to you, thencouraging of whose fauour hathe ministred suche matter to my witte. That lyke as Ouyde sayd to Cesar of hys, so may I say to you of myne, *Ingenium vultu statq; caditq; tuo.* But now no further with my talke too troble you. Thus w̄ encrease of honour vnto your woorthines, most hartely I wishe the same continaūce of health and wealth.

Faustor. i.

Your moste bounden client and puple,

W. PATTEN.

A

A P R E F A C E,

SERUYNGE, FOR MUCHE PARTE, IN STEDE OF ARGUMENT,

FOR THE MATTER OF THE STORIE ENSUING.

ALTHOUGH it bee not allways the truest meanes of meting, to measure all mēs appetites by one mans affeccion ; yet hereof at thys tyme dare I more then half assure me, that (euen as I would be in case like my selfe) so is euery man desyrous too know of the maner and circūstaunces of thys our most valiāt victorie ouer our enemies, and prosperous successe of the rest of our iourney. The bolder am I to make this general iudgement, partly, for that I am sumwhat, by learning, but more by nature, instruct to vnderstonde ȳ thursty desyer that all our kynde hath to knowe. And then for that in euery cōpany, and at euery table, (whear it hath bene my hap to be since my cummynge home) the hole communicaciō was in a manner nought els, but of this expedicion and warres in Scotland, whearof many to me then haue ministred so many interrogatories as would haue wel cumbered a righte ripetunged deponent redyly to aunswer ; & I indede thearto soo hastely could not : yet neuertheles blame them no more for quiknes of question, then I would my selfe for slownes of aūswer. For, considering how muche in euery narration, the circūstaūces do serue for the perfit instrucciō of them that doo here ; I can easily thincke the same wear as muche desyred of them to be hard, as necessarie of me to be told ; and specially of this, (to say chefely of the battel) beyng suche a matter as neyther the like hathe bene sene wyth eies, by any of this age now, or red of ī storie of ony yeres past. So great a pour so wel picked & appointed, so restfull & fresh, so muche en̄couraged by hope of forein ayde, at their owne doores,

Arist. Me-
taph. i.

doores, nay, in the middes of their house, and at the worst so nie to their refuge: to be beaten, vanquished, put to flight, and slayne, by so smal a number, so greatly trauayled and wery, so far within their enemyes lond, and out of their own, without hope, either of refuge or reskue. The circūstaunces hereof, with the rest of our most triumphāt journey, whiche otherwise aptly, for vnaptnes of tyme, I could not vtter by woord of mouth, here mynde I, God willing, nowe too declare by letter of writīg: not as of arrogācie taking vpon me the thing which I my self must cōfesse many cā do better, but as of good will, doyng myn endeuour (for that in me lieth) to make all mē priuie of that, wherof it wear mete no man wear ignoraunt. Aswel because thei may the rather vniuersally be mooued to pray, prayse, & glorifie ȳ most merciful Lorde, whose clemēcie hath so cōtinually, of these late yeres, vouchsafed to shew hys moste benign fauour towarde vs; as also to worship, honour, and haue in veneracion, the reuerend worthines of our most honorable Coūsail, by whose generall sage consultacions & circumspect wisdomes, as frēdship with forein princes & prouision for thenemie, hathe bene cōtinued and made abrode, we garded from outwarde inuasion or disturbaunce at home, no prince with obedience & diligence more nobly serued, nor no cōminaltie with justice & mercie more sagely gouerned: euen so, by the speciall inuincible vertue and valiaunt pollecie of my Lorde Protectours Grace, we haue fyrste, and as it wear in the entrie of this moste honorable & victorious viage, ouerturned many of oure enemyes rebellious holdes, & thē ouercūmen the dooble of oure number and strength in open feld by plaine dynt of swoorde, slayne so great a multitude of them wyth so smal a los of our syde, taken of their chefest prysoners, wun and kepe a greate sorte of their strongest fortes, bylded many nue, takē and destroyed their hole nauie, & brought the tounships in the hither partes of their boūdes, aboue xx. mile cūpas, in an honest obediēce vnto the Kynges Maiestie. By the martiall corage of his vndaunted hardines, was this expediō so boldly takē in hand; by the presence and aduēture of hys own persone.

sōne was the same so warely & wisely conducted ; by the vertuous pol-
 licie of hys circumspect prowes was this victorie, or rather conquest, so
 honorably acheued ; vnto whose valiaunce and wisdom I can entierly
 attribute so muche, as to the furtheraūce of Fortune nothyng at all ;
 whiche, as Cicero proueth, is eyther a vayne name, or not at al ; or, if
 thear be, is euer subiect (as ȳ Platonikes affirme) to wisdom and industrie ;
 the which indede dyd so manifestly appere in thaffaires of this viage, that
 like as, in account, the seuerall nūbers of x, xx, xxx, xl, being caste to-
 gether, must nedes make vp the iuste summe of an C. ; euen so suche his
 Graces prouidēce, circumspection, courage & order (doon fortune what she
 coulede) must nedes haue atteind to such successe of victorie. That if
 the Romains wear content to allowe ȳ honour of triūphe to Scipio A-
 fricane for ouercūmyng Anniball and Syphax ; and to M. Attilius Re-
 gulus for vanquissing the Salētynes ; and thearto, to set vp images
 (the hyghest honour that they had) for a perpetuall memorie of M.
 Claudius Marcellus, and Mutius Sceuola ; the one but for kyllynge Vi-
 ridomar, the Frenche kynge, in felde at the ryuer of Pade, and for deui-
 sing how Annibal might be vāquished, and ouercummyng but of thone-
 ly citie of Sarragoze ; and thother but for hys attempte to slay kyng
 Porsenna that beseged Rome : What thanks then, what estimaciō,
 what honour and reuerēce cōdigne for these hys notable demerites ought
 our protectour to receiue of vs ? nay, what can we woorthily gyue hym ?
 How be it, if we call to mynde, how first about Alhallowen tyde was
 v. yere M. D. xlij. hys Grace, liyng as Lord wardē in our marches a-
 gaynste Scotland, by the drift of hys deuise both the greate inuasion of
 the late Scottishe kyng, James ȳ fift, was stoutly then withstōd at Solom
 Mosse, the kyng his deathes wound geuen hym, & most parte of all hys
 nobilitee taken. How the next yere after, he beyng accōpained with
 my Lorde the Erle of Warwycke, but with an handfull to speake of,
 dyd burne bothe Lieth and Edinborow, & returned thence triumphantly
 home, but with an easie marche trauailig xliiii. lōg miles, through their
 mayn lond : Whose approoued valiaunce, wisdom, and dexterite in the
 hādelinge

De Diuina,
c. ii.

Tit. Liui.

Valeri. li. i.
& iii.
Plini. de vir.
illust.

Hādellinge of our princes affaires, how cā we be but sure that it did not
 smally aduaūce or cause about the conclusion of an honorable peace,
 betwene Fraunce and vs? (although it did not then strayghte ensue)
 whē his Grace in the same yere, soon after hys retorne out of Scotland,
 was deputed Ambassadour to treat with the Bisshoppe of Belay and
 oother the Frenche kynges commissioners at Hardilow castel. In the
 yere M. D. xliiii. how hys Grace, about August, soo inuaded the Scot-
 tish borders, wasted and burnt Tyuydale and their marches, that euen
 yet they forthinke that inrode. In Februarie then next, howe, being
 appointed by our late suffrain Lord to vieu the fortificacions in the
 marches of Caleys; the whiche hys Grace hauing soon doon with dili-
 gence accordingly, he so deuised with my Lord ȳ Erle of Warwyke,
 then Lieutenaunt of Bullein, and toke such order with ȳ rest of the
 garrisons thear, that w̄ the hardy approche of but vii. M. mē, he reysed
 an armie of xxi. M. Frenchmen that had encāped them selues ouer the
 riuier by Bulleyn, & thearwith then wan all their ordinaūce, cariage,
 treasure, & tentes in their cāpe, hole as it stode, with the los but of
 one man. And frō thence returnyng by londe to Gynes, wan in his
 wey, within the gūshot & reskue of Arde, ȳ castel of Outinges, called
 otherwise the Red pile. How hereto by his force M. D. xlv. was Py-
 kardy inuaded and spoiled, the fortes of Newhauen, Blaknestes, & Bul-
 lenberge begunne bylded, and soo well plyed in woorke, that in a fewe
 wekes ear hys thence departinge, they wear made and left defensyble.
 Callynge to mynde, I saye, (I speake not of hys vnweryed diligence in
 the meane time) these hys valiaunt incursions, hys oftē ouerthrowings,
 and notable victories ouer our enemies: And yet thoughe this his last
 be far to be preferred aboue thē all, hauing bene so greate, and ache-
 uing so much in so little tyme, the like not hard nor red of, and (but
 that thear be so many witnesses) half incredible; yet is it none other,
 sure, but suche as makes his Graces vertue rather nue agayn then
 straunge, and rather famous then woōderful. We woōder not, ye wot,
 but at thynges straunge, & seldom seen or harde; but victorie to hys
 Grace

Grace semes no les commen and appropriated, then heat to the fier, or shadow to the body. That, lyke as the well kepyng of the Palladie * in Troy was euer the conseruacion and defence of the citie, euen so in warfare the presence of his parson is certain safegard of the host, and present victorie ouer thenemie : for the which I haue hard many of right honest hauour to say, that for suerry of them selues they had rather in feld be a mean souldiar vnder his Grace, then vnder ony other a great Captain. And sure, but that by my professiō I am boūd and do beleve all thinges to be gouerned, not by fortune or hap, (although we must be cōtent in commune speche to vse the termes of our formers deuifed), but by the mightie pour of Almightye God, without whose regard a sparowe † lighteth not vpon the ground, I could coūt hys Grace a Prince y wey most fortunate of ony lyuynge. But now remembring my religion, and what fortunes force is, & hereto seeng his Graces godly disposition and behauour in fiercest tyme of war, seking nothing more then peace, neither cruell vpon victorie, nor insolent vpon good successe, but w̄ most moderate magnanimitee, vpon the respect of occasiō, vsing, as the poet saith, † *Parcere subiectis & debellare superbos*. In peace agayn, hooly bent to thaduancement of Gods glorie and truth, the Kynges honour, and the commons quyete and wealth : And herewith conferring the benefites and blessinges, that by the prophet § Dauid the Lorde assur-eth too all them that so stōde in loue and dreade of hym. I am compelled to thinke hys Grace, as lest happy by fortune, so most blessed by God; and sent to vs, both Kynge and commons, as a minister, by whome the merciful Maiestie of the Lorde, for our entier comfort of bothe soule and body, wyll worke his diuine wyll. That if without offence I may openly vtter that I haue secretly thoughte : I haue bene often at a great muse with my selfe, whither the Kynges Maiestie of suche an vnkle and Gouernour, we of such a mediatour and protectour, or hys Grace agayn of suche a prince & cosyn, might most worthely think them selves happiest. But since I am so certaine, the excellencie of hys actes, and the basenes of my braine to be so far at oddes, as ought

* *Palladium*, was an aūciēt wodden image in Troy, whearuppon Appollo by oracle did prophetic, that then shoold Troy be destroyed, when y wear had out of the citie. Thys not vnknowē to the Grekes. Diomedes & Ulisses, in the time of the sege thear, skald the tower walles whear y image was kept, kyld the warders, and brought the image a wey with them, whearuppon soon after the citie was destroyed.

† Mat. x.

‡ Vergil.

§ Psal. cxi. & cxxvii.

THE PREFACE.

that I could vtter in his prayse, should rather obscure and darken them, and as it wear washe iuery with inke, then gyue them their due light and life : let no man look that I will here enterprise too deale with the woorthines of hys commēdacions, who both haue another matter in hande, and they agayne beyng suche as might by them selues be an ample theame for a right good witte : whearin to saye eyther litle or insufficiently, wear better in my mynde leaft vnattēpted, & say nothing at al. Mary, an epigram made vpon ȳ citezens receyuing of his Grace, and for gratulaciō of his great sucresse and saufe retourne ; the whiche I had, or rather (to saie truth and shame the deuel, for out it wool) I stale ; perchaūce more familiarly then frendly, from a frende of myne : I thought it not muche a mis, for the neatnes of making and fynenes of sense, and sumwhat also to serue (if reason would beare it) in lieu of my lacke, here too place.

Aspice nobilium (dux inclyte) turba virorum.
 Vtq. alacris latos plebs circūfusa per agros.
 Te patriæ patrem communi voce salutent.
 Scilicet et Romam victo sic hoste Camillus,
 Sic redijt victor domito Pompeius Iarba.
 Ergo tuus felix reditus, præsentia felix.
 Vtq. Angli, fusiq. tua gens effera Scotti
 Dextra, (qua nūquam visa est victoria maior)
 Det Deus imperium per te coeamus in vnum :
 Simus & vnanimes per secula cūcta Britanni.

Though I plainly told ye not that my frēdes name wear Armigil Wade, yet, ye ȳ know the man, his good literature, hys witte and dexteritee in all hys doinges, & marke the well couchynge of hys clue, mighte haue a great ges, of whose spinningg the threde wear.

But why these warres, by our late Souereign Lorde the Kynges Maiestie deceased, a prince moste woorthy of eterne fame (whosc soule God haue) wear in hys dayes begunne and yet to cōtinued. Forasmuche as by sundry publicacion of dyuers wrytynges, aswell then as
 since,

since, the iust title of our Kynge vnto Scotland, the Scottes often deceites, vntrueths of promyse, and periurie, hathe bene among other in the same writinges so manifestly vtred: I entend not here now to make it ony part of my matter, which is but onely a iournall or diarie of this expediō into Scotland, whearin I haue digested our euery daies dedes orderly as they wear doō, with their circumstaunces (so nie as I could) from the tyme of my Lord Protectours Grace cummyng to Newcastle, vntyll or breakyng vp of the campe frō Rokesborow. And herein I dout not, but many thinges bothe right necessarie, & woorthy to be vtred I shall leaue vtold, but sure rather of ignoraunce then of purpose. Although in dede I knowe it weare metest for ony writer in thys kynde to be ignoraūt of fewest and writyng of most, yet truste I agayne it will be consydered that it is neyther possible for one mā to know all, nor shame to be ignoraunt in that he cannot knowe. But as touchyng dedes well doon, being within the cumpas of my knowledge, as, so God helpe me, I mynde to expresse no mās for flatterie, so wyll I suppress no mās for malice. This battell and felde now, whiche is the most principall part of my matter, ȳ Scottes & we are not yet agreed how it shalbe named. We cal it Muskelborough felde, because that is the best towne (and yet bad inough) nigh the place of oure metig. Sum of thē call it Seton felde (a toune thear nie too) by means of a blynd prophecie of theirs, whiche is this or sum suche toy, Betwene Setō & the sey, many a man shall dye that dey. Sum wyll haue it Fauxside Bray, feld of the hil (for so they cal a bray) vpon the syde whearof our foreward stode, redy to cum doune and ioyne. Sum oother will haue it Vndresk feld, in the fallowes whearof they stode, & we met. Sum will haue it Walliford feld, & sum no feld at all, for that they say thear wear so few slain, and that we met not in a place by appointment certayn, according to the order and maner of battell, with suche like fonde argumentes. Mary, the hinderars of thys metyng I thinke for their meanyng small synne to beshrew. They of thys haste hoped to haue had the hole aduantage; for, what they dyd ap-

poynte vpon, with out our warnyng, then so early to dislodge, and so hastily tapproche, who cannot iudge? And whither thei mēt to make a feld of their fight, or ment too fighte at all or not, iudge ye by thys that after ye here. Certayne it is, that agaynste their assemble and our encounter, (for they wear not vnware of our cummyng) in the former parte of the yerc, they had sent letters of warnīg to the states of their realme, and then caused y fier crosse in moste places of theyr countrey to be caried: whearof the solempnitee is neuer vsed, but in an vrgent nede, or for a greate poure, eyther for defence of theim selues, or invasion of vs. And thys is a crosse (as I haue hard sum say) of ii. brandes endes, caried a crosse vpon a spears point, with proclamaciō of the time and place whā and whither they shall cū, and with how much prouision of vitail. Sum other say, it is a cros, painted all red, and set for certayn dayes in the felde of that barōnrie, whearof they will haue the people too cum: whearby, all betwene sixty and sixteen are peremtorily summoned: that if they cum not wyth their vitayll accordyng, at the tyme and place then appoynted, all the lond thear is forfait-ed straight to the Kynges vse, and the tariers taken for traitours and rebels. By reason of which letters & fyercros, thear wear assembled in their camp, as I haue hard sū of thē selues (not of the meanest sort) to confesse, aboue xxvi. M. fighting footmen, beside ii. M. horsemē prickers (as they cal them) and hereto iiii. thousande Irishe archers brought by therle of Arguile, all whiche (sauing certai that we had slayne the day before) cam out of theyr campe to encoūter with vs. Now, whear they wil haue it no felde, let thē tell their cardes, and coūt their wynnyng, and they shall fynde it a felde: howbeit, by myn assent, we shall not herein mucche stick with thē, since both without them the truthe shall haue place, and also by the curtesie of gaming we ought sumwhat to suffer, and let euer the losers haue their libertie of woordes. But whatsoeuer it wear, felde or no felde, I dare be bold to sai, not one of vs all is ony whit prouder of it, then wouold be the tooth that hathe byt the tung, ootherwife then in respect that they wear our mortal enemies,

and

and would haue doon asmuche or more to vs : nor are nothing so fain to haue beaten them as enemyes, as we would reioyce to receiue them as frendes : nor are not so glad of the glorie of thys felde, as we would be ioyfull of a stedfaste atonement : wherby, like cuntreymen and cuntreymen, like frend & frend, nay, like broother and broother, we might in one perpetual and brotherly life, ioyn, loue, & lyue together, accordyng as thearunto, bothe by the appointment of God at the firste, and by continuaūce of nature since, we seme to haue bene made and ordeyned : seperate by seas from all oother nacions, in customes and condicions littell differinge, in shape and langage nothyng at all. The whych thynges oother nacions viewing in chartes, and redyng in bookes, and thear with hering thys tumult, thys fightyng, these incur-sions and intestine warres betwene vs, do thearat no lesse marueyl and blesse thē, then they would too here Gascoing fight with Fraūce, Ara-gone with Spayne, Flaūders with Brabāt, or, to speake more nere and naturally, frende with frende, brother with brother, or rather hand with hand.

That no litle bothe woōder and wo it is to me, my cūtreemen, (for I can vouchsafe ye well the name), to cōsider what thing might moue ye, what tale might incense ye, what drifte force ye, what charme enchaūt ye, or what furie coniuere ye, so fondly to flye from cōmō sense, as ye shoulde haue nede to be exhorted to that, for the whiche it wear your partes most chefly to sue, so vntowardly to turne from humaine reason, as ye wil be the hynderars of your owne weales, & so vntruly to swarue from the bondes bothe of promise and coouenaūt, as ye wyll nedes prouoke your frendes to plaine reuēgement of opē war : Your frendes in dede (nay, neuer wynke at the woorde) that haue so long before these warres forborne oure quarels soo iust, that wear so loth to begyn, and since that suffred so many iniuries vnreuēged ; entreating your men taken, not as captiues of oure mortall enemyes, but as ambas-sadours of oure derest frendes.

To the
Scottes.

Oh,

At Allowen-
tide, M. D.
xlii.

Oh, how may it be thought to be possible that ye shoulde euer forget, or els not euer remember, the great munificence of our most magnificent Prince, our late Kyng? that when with most crueltie, by slaughter of subiectes, and burnyng of tounes, your last king Jamy, with all your nobilitee, had inuaded hys realme, and soone after y^e inuincible pollecie of my Lorde Protectours Grace, then liyng at Anwike, as lord wardeyn of our marches, by the suffraūce of God's fauour (which, thākes to his Maiestie, hath not yet to left vs) at Solom Mosse made them captiue and thrall to our prynces oune will: with whom for their dedes, if hys Hyghnes had delt then as they had deserued, what should haue blamed hym? or who coulde haue controlled? since what he could doo, they could not resiste, and what he should do, they had set hym a sample. But hys Maiestie (among the hougē heape of oother hys pryncely vertues) beyng euer of nature so enclined too clemencie, as neuer of will would vse extremite, euen straight forgettinge who they wear, and soone forgyuynge what they hadde doon, did not onely then receyue theym into hys Highnes grace; place euery of them with one of hys nobilitie or counsayll (not in pryson lyke a captiue); pardon them their raundsommes; wherewith (if they be ought woorth) sum prince mighte haue thought hym selfe ryche; and hereto most frendely (for the tyme they wear here) entertein them; but also, of hys princely liberalitee, impartinge treasure at their departing to eche of them all, dyd set them francke and free at their own doores. Touchinge theyr sylkes, their cheynes, and theyr chere besyde; I mynde not here, amōg matters of weight to tary on such trifles. Mary, thear be amoong vs that saw their habite and porte bothe at their cummyng and at their departinge. Take it not that I hit you here in the teeth with oure good turnes (yet knowe I no cause, more then for humanitees sake, why ye shoulde bee forborne): But as a man may sumtyme, without bost of hym selfe, say symply y^e thing that is true of him selfe; so maye the subiect without obbraid of benefites, recount the bounty of hys princes larges; although, perchaūce, it wear not much agaist maner
flatly

flatly to break curtesy w̄ thē, who either of rechelesnes forget their frendes benignitie, or els of ingratitude will not acknowledge it. To my matter now: What woold Cyrus, Darius, or Anniball, in this case haue doon? (noble cōquerours and no tyrauntes): But why so far of? what woold your owne kyng Jamy haue doon? naye, what kyng els woold haue doon as our kyng dyd? But, sūwhat to saie more: As our prince, in cases of pitee, was of hys own disposiciō most merciful, so wanted thear not then of cōsaillours very nere about hys Highnes, that shewed them selues their frendes, & furthered hys affectes in that behalfe to the vttermost: being thus perswaded, that as ye of the nobiltee appered men, neither rude of behauour, nor base of birth, soo ye woold neuer shew your selues inhumaine and ingrate towardes hym, too whome ye shoulde be so depely bounde. And though, since ȳ tyme, God haue wrought hys wyll vpon hys Maiestie, (a losse to vs, sure, woorthy neuer inough to haue be lamented, but that hys mercie hathe agayn so bountifully recompensed vs wyth an image, so nie representyng hys fathers Maiestie and vertues, & of so great hope and towardnes); yet be thear leaft vs moste of the cōsaillours we had, who vpon occasion will bend bothe pour and wil to shew you further frendshippe. In parte of proof thearof, to speake now of later daies, how many meanes and weys hath my Lord Protectours Grace, within his tyme of gouernaūce vnder ȳ Kinges Maiestie that now is, attēpted and vsed to shōne these warres, and show him selfe your frēde? what pollecie hathe he left vnproued? what shifte vnsought? or what stone vnsturde? Touchyng your weales nowe, ye mynde not, I am sure, to lyue lawles and hedles without a Prince, but so to bestowe your Quene, as whoose make must be your Kyng: and is it then possible ye can so far be seduced, & brought too beleue, that in all the worlde thear shoulde be ony so woorthy a Prynce as our King? as wel for ȳ nobiltee of his birth, for his rare cumlines of shape, his great excellēcie of qualitees, hys singular towardnes to al godlines & vertues? Ony likely to be so naturall a Prince for you, as his Maies-

tie,

tie, borne, bred, and brought vp vnder that hemispherie & cumpas of element, and vpon that soile that bothe ye & we be all? Ony so mete for her as your Princes own cuntreman, a right Britō both bred and borne: a Prince also by birth, of so great a pour, & of so mete an age? the ioynng of whome, both the kynges their fathers dyd vowe in their lyues, and ye since agreed vpon in Parliament, and promysed also after their deathes: than whiche thyng (takyng ones effect) what c be more for your vniuersall commoditees, profites, and weales? whearby, euen at ones, of forein foes, ye shalbe accept as familiar frēdes, of weake ye shalbe made strōg, of pour, rych, & of bōd, free? And whither this now be rather too be offered of vs, or sued for you, I make your selues iudges. What we ar able a lone to doo both in peace and warre, aswel without you as against you, I nede not here to brag. Yet seke we not the mastership of you, but the felowship; for if we d.d, we haue, ye wot, a wey of perswasion of the rigorus rethorike so vengeable vehemēt (as I thinke ye haue felt by an oration or two) that if we wolde vse the extremitie of argumēt, we wear soō able so to beat reason in to your heddes, or about your heddes, that I doubt not ye woulde quikly fynd what fōdenes it wear to stond in strife for the mastrie with more then your match: We coueit not to kepe you bond, that woulde soo faine haue you free, aswel from the fained frendship of Fraūce (if I may call it ony frendship at al, that for a few crounes do but stay you styll in store for their own purpose) whearunto now bothe ye seme subiect, and your Quene ward, which frēdship neuertheles (what soeuer it be) we desyer not ye shoulde break with them for the loue of vs, but onely in case whear ye shoulde be cōpeld to lose either them or vs; and in that case, perchaunce, we maye be content agayne too lose them for you.

Aswel from the semblaunce or rather dissemblinge of thys fayned frendshippe (I say) we coueit to quite ye, as also frō the most seruile thraldome and bondage vnder that hydeous monster, that venemous *Aspis* and very Antichriste the Bisshop of Rome, the whiche of so longe tyme

tyme ye haue and yet to do most miserably abyde : whose importable pride and execrable arrogancie, aswell moste presumptuouslye agaynste all sacred estates of prynces vppon earthe, as also moste contumeliously agaynst the high Maiestie of God hym selfe, with fastidious and vtter contempt of bothe God and man, bothe the contexte and tenour of hys owne decrees, decretals, canons, and extrauagantes, made and conspyred at the congregacions, counceles, and synodes at sundry tymes, for the maintenaūce and augmenting of hys antichristiane autoritee, in hys Holyntes name assembled. And hereto hys wicked blasphemie agaynste God, his deuclish dispensaciōs against his diuine lawes, hys obstinate rebellion agaynst all powres, his outrageous vsurpacion in princes londes, hys cruell tyranny for kepyng of hys kyngdom, hys couert hipocrisie at home, his craftie cōspiracies abrode, his insaciabie auarice, hys sut-tell supersticiō, hys mischeuous malice, his priuie theft, hys open rapine, hys sacred simonie, hys prophane hoordom, his ambitiō, sacrilege, extorcion, idolatrie, & poysenynges, with many other his carnall vertues beside. And also, the vndouted witnes of holy writ, in both the testamentes, dooth most certainly shew and plainely make clere to the eyes of ye all, if ye will not wilfully winke at y^e ye should willingly see. Of hym hardely spake the prophet Daniel : He shalbe lift vp a hys, & magnified against all that is God, & shall speake presumptuous woordes, and shalbe set i a coorse, vntil wrath be fulfilled against him. In the same chap. He shall set at nought the God of their fathers, & shalbe in the dalyaunces and desyers of womē, and shal pas nought for God, but shall obstinately be stubborne, and ryse agaynste all. And the holy prophet Ezechiel : Thy hart was lift vp very hys, and saydest, I am God, and sit in Gods seat, wher thou art but man & not God, and neuertheles, hast framed thy hart lyke the harte of God. Thapostel Sainct Paul also, in whome the graces of God dyd so plentyfully aboūd, semed not vtterly to forget this prelate, when in his epistle too the Thesalonians he sayde, The Lorde Jesu shall not cum tyl first thear be a sayling, and that wycked man be discoouered, the chylde of perdicion,

Capi. xi.

Cap. xxviii.

ii. Tessa. ii.

who is aduersarie and exalted against all that is called **God**, in such sort, as he stik not to sit in the tēple vaūting hym self ý he is **God**: And addeh a litle after, Whō the Lord Jesu shall quel w̄ the spirit of his holy mouth. Of him & his abhominable behauour is thear much in bothe the holy testametes, & a great dele more (I must cōfesse) then I knowe my cumnyng can recyte, al so plaine in sense, & easy to be vnderstōd, ý if ye confer ý woordes of the same w̄ ý actes of his life, ye shal haue no more cause to doubt, whither he be ý only ātichrist, thē ye may haue, whither he wear only Christ, of whome Saint Jhon ý Baptist sayde, Beholde the Lābe of **God**: & the centurion, This was sure ý very sonne of **God**. I speake neither of spite nor of spetialtie of this precious prelate Paule the iii. ý now is alone, but of hī & his hole aūcetrie of these many yeres paste: of whome, sure, whoo list too saye ought, wear mete they sayde truthe: & whoo list to say truth, cā say no more good: for their actes by their office, and lyues by their profession, ar no les certainly knowē vnto all the woorld to be thus, then is the lyon (as they say) by the pawe, or the day by ý sunne shyne. The trees of that stocke bear neuer oother frute. And thearfore was it that neyther the Grekes, the Ruthens, nor many nations in theast partes besides (whome we cannot count but Christians) coulde neuer be brought ones so muche as to tast of it: and wold neuer abide the presumptuous vsurpation of his insolent imperie, but vtterly at the first did wysely refuse the vnweldy weight of so heauy a burthen, and the peynfull wringing of so vneasie a yok. The Bohems & Germaīs, of later yeres, haue quite reiect and cast him vp. And we at last, not so much led by thē samples of others well doings, as moued by the mere mercie and grace of Almightye **God**, who (as by Dauid he hath promised) is euer at hand and nye to all them that call vpon him in truth, and alwayes redy too doo that he cam for, that is, too saue that was forlorne, through the ayde and goodnes of hys mightie pour and eterne wysedom strengthening hys worthy champion, our late Soueraigne Lorde, and enstructinge his circūspect counsail, haue we most happely exterminate & banisht hym our bounds.

Hiere. xxiii.
Eze. xxiii.
Apo. xiiii.
xvii. xix.

Ioan. i.
Mat. xv.

Contrary too
Chriates, whose
burthen is
light, & yoke
eassy.
Mat. xi.
Psal. cxlv.
Mat. xviii.

bounds. Whearby, as we haue now y grace to knowe and serue but one God, so are we subiect but to one Kynge; he naturally knoweth his owne people, & we obediently knowe hym our onely Soueraigne; hys Highnes estate brought and reduced from perdicion, & in maner subiecciō, vnto the old princely, entyer, and absolute pour again, and ours redemed from the doubt, to whome we should obey. The greate polling & intollerable taxes of our moony, yerely, both from his Maies- tie and vs, now saued clere within his realme. Not fayne now to fetch justice so iniustly ministred, as he y byds moste (like Caleys market) what soeuer be the cause, shalbe sure of y sentence, & that so far from home & with so greate cost of money & daūger of life. Our consciē- ces, now quite vnclogd frō the fear of his vaine terriculamēts and rattel- bladders, and frō y fondnes of his trimtrās & gugaws, his interdictions, his cursings, hys damnyng to the deuyll, his pardons, his soilyngs, hys pluckig out of purgatorie, his supersticious sorts of sectes of religion, his canonisation of saintes, forbidding & licēcing the eating of meate, syngyng & sayng, & wot not a woord, rouynge a procession, gad- ding a pilgrimage, worshipig of idols, oblaciōs & offerings of otes, images of wax, boud pēs & pīs, for deliueraūce of bad husbāds, for a sick kowe, to kepe doune y belly, and when kyt hadde lost her key, setting vp candels too saints in euery corner, & knakyng of bead- stones in euery pewe, tollyng of belles against tempestes, *scala celi* mas- ses, pardon beades, S. Anthonie belles, tauthrie laces, rosaries, collets, charmes for euery diseas, and suffrain suffrages for euery sore, with a thousande tois els of his deuelish deuises, that lak of opportunitie doth let me here to tell.

Saint Vacū-
ber.
Saint Mud-
wyn.
Saint Agnes.
Saint Syth.

We are now no more by thē so wikkedly seduced, to y great of- fence of Gods dignitee & vtter parell of our soules. Nowe haue we (by hys diuine pour) wōunde our selues out of the daunger of his iust indig- naciō that we woorthely wear in for our former obstinacie, and turnyng from his truth; and haue receiued with most humble thākes gyuing hys holly woord, whearof we haue the free vse in our owne tung. These

goodly benefites, or rather Gods blessings, if ye wil your selues, shal we with Gods assistance bring you to enioy aswell as our selues. But if ye will not, but still bee stubborne in your vngodlines, refuse hys graces that he daily offereth, wilfully wrye soo far from hys truth, and be vtterly obstinate in vpholding ȳ antichrist: As first, Daniel the prophet dooth declare what ye ar, and show you the state ye stād in, by these woordes, Thei shal magnifie hī as many as haue drunke of the wyne of ȳ wrath of God, and whose names are not written in the boke of life. Euen so thinke ye hardely that the iust iudgemēt, which ȳ hed prestes and seniours ȳ Jues, in aūswering Christ, vnwares to thēm selues dyd geue of thē selues, vnto your cōfursion shalbe verefied vpon you: * which is, without mercie shall the Lord vndoo the euill, and set out his vyneyard to oother good husbandes that wil yeld him frute in due times. And ȳ soon after him self sayd to them, Thearfore the kingdome of God shalbe takē frō you, † & be geuen to the naciō ȳ will do proffit. And hereto ȳ sharpe sentence of S. Poul too be pronouced specially agaist you: † The Lord Jesu with thaūgels of his blis shal cum from heauen in a flame of fyer, taking vēgeaūce vpō all thē ȳ wil not know God, & obey ȳ gospel of him our Lord Jesu Christ; they shalbe punisht by deathe for euer frō ȳ glorie of his vertue, when he shal cū to be glorified amōg his holy, & be woonderful in ȳ eyes of all ȳ beleue. Aswel, neuertheles, ȳ ye may be deliuered frō the dreadful daūger of this most terrible sentēce, as also ȳ the Lord of his vnmeasurable mercie, will ones vouchsafe to opē your eyes, & waken you out of this drousy † *Endimiās* dreā, or rather this mortal || *lethargie*, whearin by ȳ bytyng of this most venemous ** *aspis*, (ȳ Pope I say) ye do lamētably lye a slūber, beig benūmed of al ȳ lims of your soul, and lacking the vse of all your spirituall sensis. Howe euer, of grace ye shalbe mooued to do, we shall of charitie most hartely pray (for we do not so much remember our quarel, & forget our profession, but that we can wish rather your amendemēt then your destruction): And hereto that ones also ye maye see the miserable subieccio,

* Mat. xxi.

† Eod. capit.

‡ i. Tes. ii.

§ *Enymion*, beclooued of ȳ moon, was layd by her in to a cōtinuall slepe, in a dēne of Mount Latmus in Caria, whear she kyst hym.
Cic. i. Tuc. quest.

|| A discas cūming of burnt cholera, cumpelling the paciēt to coueit nought but drousie slepe, too forget all thig, and to be as it wear in a traunce.

Celius lib. xiii.

** Bittē with this serpēt, ar cast in a deadly slumber, w̄ a stifelinge & benūminge of al partes, and w̄ a yoxe do soon dye.

iecciō, whearunto ye are thral; and haue the grace to praye for grace to the Lorde, that ye may be quited of that captiuite, and be made apt to receyue the truthe and hys holy woord; and then to know whoo be your frendes, & whyther we will you well: wyth whoome, by soo many meanes sith God of good will hathe so nie ioyned you, seme not you of frowardnes to seauer a sunder, agaynst the thyng that should be a generall wealth and cōmō concorde, the prouisiō of nature, and ordinaunce of God; and against his holy woord, which not at al vnaptly, perchaūce, here may be cited: *Quos Deus coniunxit, homo ne separet.* The great mischeues, rising by this disunion and seauering, and ȳ manifold commoditees cummyng by the contrarie, beyng shortly by you had in consideraunce, thys mariage (I doubt not) betwene our p̄ices shalbe cōsummate, al causes of quarel ceast, atonement betwene vs made, and affirme aliaunce of frendshippe for euer cōcluded: The which thing as most hartely, for my part, I dayly wysh for, so haue I good hope shortly to see; and herewith betake you to God.

But now, to retourne out of my digressiō: For though I haue bene long a talkynge to my cuntrymē abrode in the North, yet wear I loth to seme to forget my frendes at home in the South; and fare lyke the diligent seruaunte, that walkes so earnestly on hys masters erraund, that in the myddes of his wey, forgets whither he goeth. Howebeit I might well perchaunce thinke it euen here hye tyme to leaue, wear it not ȳ since I am in hande to vtter in this case what I know, & nooseld of my nurce, neuer too be spare of spech. Though I be but a bad euāgelist, yet wil I leaue as few vnwrittē verites as I cā. As my Lordes Grace, my Lord of Warwyke, thother estates of ȳ cōsail thear, w̄ the rest of ȳ dignite of tharmie, did at our settig outward, tarry a few daies at Barwike; ȳ wel appointing of ȳ noble mē for their bōdes, & of the knyghtes & gentilmē for thē selues & seruaūtes (I meane specially of ȳ horsmē) which though but at moustres was neuer shewed of purpose, yet coolde it not at ȳ tyme be
hyd,

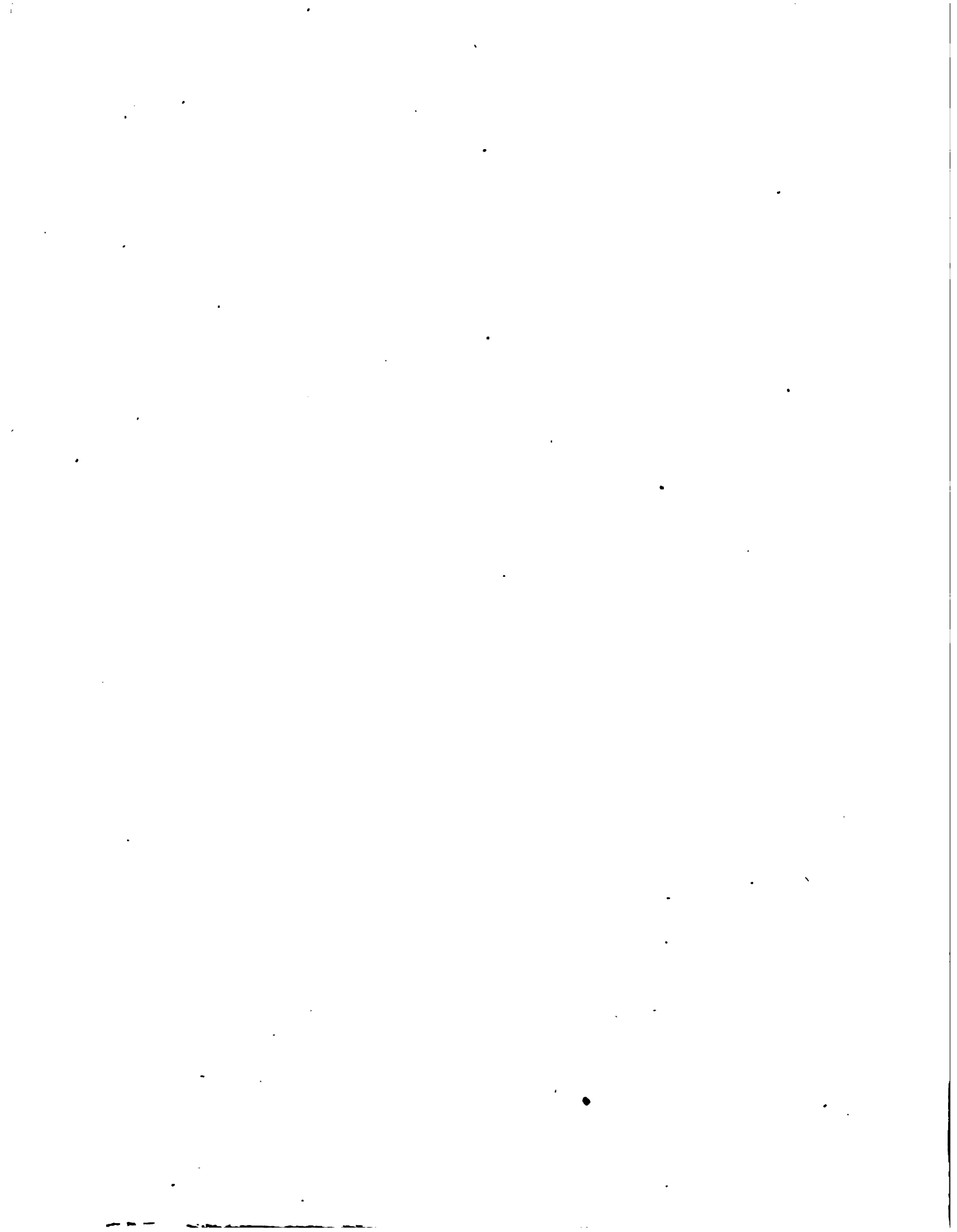
hyd, but be bright & apparāt in euery mā's eye; & was (if I can ought iudge) I assure you, for the goodly nūber of y' likely men & redy horses, for their perfit appointmēt of sure armour, weapō & apparail, & their sūptuous sutes of liuerers beside, (wherof I must of dutie (if I muste of dutie sai truthe) most woorthely prefer, and geue the chefest pryce and prayse too my Lorde Protectours Graces trayne, & to my Lord of Warwykes) was, I say, so generally such, and so well furnished, that both theyr dutie toward their prince, their looue toward their countrey, & to the rulers wear thear; & hereto thaūciēt English courage and prowes might haue easily in this assemble bene viewed. Men goyng out, neuer better at any tyme in all poyntes appoynted, neuer better besene, wyth more courage and gladder wyll: whearof wyth spede (for no doubt our enemies had factours at thys marte among vs, though (as wisdomē was) they dyd not openly occupye) the Scottes had soone knowledge. And as they are mery men, and feat iesters, hardely they sayde (as we hard) that we wear very gay, and came by lyke a wooyngē; the whyche, though they spake drylie, more too tant the sumpt of oure show, then to seme to know the cause of oure cummyngē, yet sayde they thearin more truly, then they wolde kyndely consyder; for in dede, euen as they wear acertayned by my Lordes Graces proclamacion, aswel at and before oure entrie intoo their countrey, that the cause of oure cummyngē then, was nothyngē els but touchyngē the perfourmaunce of coouenauntes on bothe sydes about thys mariage, that hadde bene before tyme on bothe sydes agreed vppon, whyche shoulde be greatly for the wealthes of vs bothe, and not too make warre sure, nor ones to be enemie, but onely too suche as shoulde appere too be the hynderars of so godly and honorable a purpose; euen so, accordyngē too the promis of the proclamacion, neyther force nor fyer was vsed wyttyngly agaynste ony oother, duryng all oure tyme of abode in the countrey: howebeit, the truthe was soo, that hauyngē doubt of the warste, it was wysely consulted soo too goo too commune wyth them as frendes, as neuerthelesse (if nedes they wolde) we
mighte

mighte be able too mete them as foes, the whyche thyng prooued, after, not the wurst poynt of pollecie. But what vnkynde people wear they, that whear we came (as woers cumme not ootherwise) but for good looue and quyet, they too receiue vs with hatred and war? It was too muche vngentlenes and inhumanitee, sure, in such a case too be shewed.

Yet, since we soo quyt theym their kyndnes, and departed so little in their det, lett vs bear sumwhat wyth them. Mary, I wotte they wear not all soo well content with the paymēt: For the Erle Hütley (a gentleman of a greate sobriete, and very good wit, as by hys very presence is halfe vttred) being askt of a man of estate with vs by wey of comunicacion (as I hard) how he bare hys affeccion toward the ioyning of the two princes: In gude faythe (quod he) I wade it sud gea furth, and haud well wyth the mariage, but I lyke not thys wooyng. But now least I mai woorthely be doubted, by the plot of my prologe, too haue made the foorme of my booke * lyke the proportion of Sainct Peters man, I will here leaue of further proces of preface, & fall to the matter.

* There is a tale indede (beside y Bible) that Sainct Peter hauinge gottē leaue of our Lord too make a man, made one first with a very great hed, thē with an exceding litle neck, and so forthe, with such inequalitye of proportion.

FINIS.



CERTAYN
NOBLE MEN, AND OTHER,
BEYNGE SPECIALL OFFICERS
IN THYS EXPEDICION.

THE Duke of Somerset, my Lord Protector's Grace, general of the armie, and capitayn of the battaile, hauing in it iiii. M. fotemen.

The Erle of Warwyke, Lord Lieuetenaūt of y^e armie, and hauyng the foreward of iii. M. footemen.

The Lorde Dacres the rerewarde of iii. M. footemen.

The Lorde Gray of Wylton, Lorde Lieuetenaunt of Bolleyn, hygh marshall of the armie, and capitayn general of al the horsmen there.

Syr Raufe Sadleyr, Knight, treasurer of the armye.

Syr Fraunces Bryan, Knight, capitayn of the light horsemen, beyng in number ii. M.

Syr Raufe Vane, Knight, lieuetenaūt of all the men of armes and dimilaūces, beyng in number iiii. M.

Syr Thomas Darcy, Knight, capitayn of all the Kynges Maiestie pēcioners, & mē of armes.

Syr Rycharde Lee, Knighte, deuisour of the fortifications to be made.

Syr Peter Mewtus, Knight, capitayne of all the hakbutters a foote, beyng in number vi. C.

Syr Peter Gamboa, Knight, Spaniarde, capitayne of ii. C. hakebutters on horsebacke.

Syr Fraunces Flēmynge, Knight, master of the ordinaunce.

Syr James Wilforde, Knighte, prouost marshall.

Syr

Syr George Blaag, and Syr Thomas Holcroft, commissioners of the mousters.

Edwarde Shelley, my Lord Grays lieuテナנט of the men of armes of Bulleyn.

Jhon Bren, capitayne of the pioners, beyng xiiii. C.

OFFICERS VPON THE SEA.

The Lorde Clynton, Lorde Admirall of the flete, whiche was of lxxv. vessels, whereof the galley and xxxiiii. mo good shippes, wear perfitylly appoynted for warre, and the residue for cariage of municion and vitaille.

Syr William Woodhouse, Knight, hys Viceadmirall.

Thear were in the tharmie, of great ordinaunce, drawen foorth wyth vs by horse, xv. peces.

And of cariages, ix C. cartes, besyde many waggens.

THE

THE
STORY AND PROCES
OF THE
IOURNEY.

MY Lorde Protectours Grace, whome neyther y length nor werines of y way did any whit let, spedely to further that he had deliberately taken in hande, riding all the way frō Londō his own person in post, accompanied wyth my Lorde Marshall, and Syr Fraunces Bryan, was met a vi. mile on thyssyde Newecastell, by my Lorde Lieuetenaunt and Master Treasurer (who for y more spedie dispatch of thinges were comen to tounē there iij. or iiij. days before) and all the Nobles, Knightes, & Capitaynes of the armye on horsebacke attendig vpō them. And commyng thus to tounē, my Lordes Grace was honorably (for the dignitie of the place) with gonshot & presence of the Mayer, Aldermen, and Commoners there, aboute iij. of the clocke in the after none, receyued and welcommed, & lay at the house of one Peeter Rydell.

Saterday the
xxvii. of August.

Thys daye mornyng, in the felde of the northeast syde of the towne, moūster was made of suche dimie launces & lighte horsemen as were comen, wher at my Lordes Grace was hymself, my Lorde Lieuetenaūt, & other of the coūsail of the army.

Sundaye the
xxviii. of August.

In the after none came y Lord of Mangiertō with a xl. Scottish gentelmen of the east borders, and presented them selves to my Lorde at hys lodgyngē, whome hys Grace did gentlye accept.

o ij

It

It would not be forgotten, & it wer but for ensamples sake, how a newe paire of gallowes were set vp in the market place, and a souldior hāged for quarelling and fighting.

Mondaye the
xxix. of Au-
gust.

All Capitaynes with theyr bandes that had ben moūstred, were commaunded forwarde.

My Lordes Grace himself dyd early also thē depart the toune, dyned at Morpeth xij. mile on the waye, and lay that night in Anwyke Castell with Syr Robert Bowes knight, Lord Warden of the middle marches, beyng xii. mile further : Where there neyther lact anye store of geastes or of good chere to welcumme them with : In the prouision wherof a mā myght note great cost and diligeñce, and in the spending a liberal hart.

Tuisdaye the
xxx. of Au-
gust.
Bamborowe
Castell.

This day his Grace hauing iourneyed in the mornying a x. mile, dyned at Bamborow Castell, wherof one Syr Jhon Horsley knighte is Capitayne. The plot of this castell standeth so naturally strong, that hardly can any where (in my opinion) be founde the lyke : inaccessible on all sydes, aswell for ȳ great heighte of the crag whereon it standeth, as also for ȳ outward foorm of the stone whereof the crag is, which (not much amis perchaunce) I maye lyken to the shape of long bauens, stōdyng an ende with their sharper and smaller endes vpward. Thus is it fenced round about, and hath hereto on the eastsyde the sea, at flud cummyng vp to the harde walles. This castell is very auncient, and called in Artures days (as I haue hard) Joyous Garde : hither came my Lorde Clyntō from shipboorde to my Lorde. In the afternone, hys Grace rode too Berwycke xiiii. mile further ; and thear receyued with the Captains, garrisons, and with the officers of the toun, lay in the castel with Syr Nicholas Strelley knight, the Capitayn thear.

Wednisdaye
the last of
August.

Muche part of this day his Grace occupied in cōsultacion about ordres and matters touchyng this voyage and armie. This day, to thentent we moughte saue the stoore of the vitaille we caryed with vs in the armie by carte, & to besure rather amonge vs to haue somewhat to much, then ony whit to litle, as also that we should not nede to
trouble

trouble oure ships for vitaille, till we came to the place by my Lordes Grace appointed, euery mā of the armye, vpō generall cōmaundement, made priuate prouision for himselfe for iiii. dayes vitayle.

Hys Grace, not with many mo then his awn bande of horsmen, roade too a towne in the Scottishe borders, standynge vpon the sea coaste, a vi. mile frome Berwycke, and is called Aymouth, wher at there runneth a riuer into the sea, ȳ whiche he caused to bee sounded; & perceuyng then thesame well to be able to serue for a hauen, hath caused since their buyldig to be made, whereof both Master and Capitayn is Thomas Gower, Marshal of Berwyke.

Thursday the
first of Sep-
tember.
Aymouth.

Upon commaundement generally geuen by sound of trūpet, all sauing the counsayl departed the toune, and encāped at ii. flightshottes of, vpon the sea syde, and towarde Scotlande.

Fryday the ii.
of Septēber.

This day my Lorde Clynton with his flete, toke the seas frō Berwyke towarde Scotlande; and herefore the rather, that thoughe they mighte not haue alwayes wynde at will to kepe their course still with vs; yet & it wear but with the driuyng of tydes, they might vpon any our nede of municion or vitaille not long be from vs. My Lorde Lieuetenaūt and Maſter Treasurer, who remayned at Newcastle after my Lordes Grace for the full dispatch of the rest of the armie, came this daye to Berwyke.

My Lorde Lieuetenaunt frō out of the toune did campe in felde with the armie.

Saterday the
iii. of Sep-
tember.

To thentēt, the excuse of ignoraunce, eyther of the cause of my Lordes Graces cumming, or of his goodnes to suche of the Scottes as shoulde shewe thē selves to fauour thesame cummyng, might quite bee taken from them, his Graces proclamacion (wherof they could not but here) was openly pronouced by heraulde, after sounde of trumpet, in iii. seuerall places of our campe.

Beside ȳ mere matter of this iorney, I haue here to touche a thing, whiche, seme it neuer so light to other, yet of more weight to me, then to be lette passe vnspoken of.

In

My Lordes
Gracesdream.

In the morning of this day my Lordes Grace, walking vpō the rampere of the tounewalles, on the syde towarde Scotlande did tel, I remembre, that not many nightes before, he dreamt he was comen backe agayn to the Courte, whear the Kynges Maiestie did hartely welcume hym home, and euery estate els. But yet himthought he had done nothinge at all in this voyage: Whiche when he cōsidered, with ȳ Kynges highnes great costes, and the great trauaile of the great men and souldiours, and al to haue ben done in vayne, the very care & shamefaste abashement of the thinge dyd waken hym out of hys dream. What opinion might we conceiue of his thoughtes wakyng, ȳ euen dreaming was moued with so pensyfe a regarde of his charge towarde his prince, and with so humain a thought toward all men els? Howbeit, my mynde is rather to note the pronosticacion and former aduertencē of his future successe in this hys enterprise, the which (I take it) was hereby then moste certaynly shewed him, althoughe of righte fewe (or rather of none) thesame so taken. That if, for ensample like to this, I should reherse to you out of the Olde Testament, how the seuen plentifulfull yeres, and the seuen yeres of famyn in Egipt were plainly signified afore to Pharaο by hys dreams of seuen fat oxen, and seuē full eares of corne, and by vii. leane oxen that deuoured the fat, and vii. withered eares consuming the full eares. And hereto oute of prophane aucthors, how Astyages kyng of Medians was many a day before admonished, ȳ he shoulde be ouercommen by a * nephew of hys (as yet then vngotten & vnborne) and lose his kyngdome, and this by a dreame also, wherin he thought there sprāg out of the wōbe of hys daughter Mādane, a vyne, by ȳ spreadinge of whose braunches all Asie was shadowed. And howe *Archelaus*, Kyng of Cappadocia, was warned afore of hys banishment out of hys coūtrey and kyngdome, by his dreame of x. wheat eares full rype that wear eaten of oxen: and hereto the multitude of ensamples, beside, touching this case, in *Tully*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Plinie* the secunde, *Celius Rodiginus*, *Suetonius*, and in infinitie other aucthors mo, they should be to cūberous & irksom bothe for me to

write

Gene. xli.

Iustini. li. i.

* Hys name
was Cyrus.

Ioseph. de
antiquit.

li. xvii.

ca. vltimo.

De diuin. i.

Valer. li. i.

ca. vii.

Plin. de vir.

illust.

capi. xxvi.

Cel. antiq.

lect. li. xiiii.

capi. xlii.

Sueton. in

Domitian.

capi. xxiiii.

write and you to rede. The naturall cause of whiche kynde of prophecynge (as I may call it) whyther it come as Astronomers hold opinion, by the influence of the ayre or by constellacion, or els by sobrietie of dyet, and peculiar to the melācholycke, both as Plato and also phisicians affirme, or by gift of God as diuines iudge; I trust I shalbe borne with all, though I do not here take vpon me to discus, but leaue it for a doubt among them as I found it. Yet that thear is such dignitie and diuinitie in mans soule, as sometyme in dreams we be warned of thinges to come, both the learninge of auncient philosophers, *Plotinus*, *Iamblicus*, *Mercurius*, *Trismegistus*, with many other, dooth auowe, holy scripture and prophane stories do proue, & daily exsperience to theym that doo marke it, doeth also shewe.

Socra. apud
Plat. de
Rep. ix.

Iambr. inde
Mister. Aegipt.
Mercur. in
Pymand.

But to thys nowe, that my Lordes Grace dreamt one thing, and the contrary came to passe, writers vppon exposition of dreams, and specially *Artemidorus*, do make ii. special kind of dreams, the one speculatiue, whereby we see thinges the nexte daye after (for the moste parte) muche lyke as wee sawe them in dream: thother allegoryke, whiche warneth vs as it were by riddell of thynges more then a day at the least after to come. And in these allegoryke dreams he saith, y^e head betokeneth the father, the foote the seruauant, the righthand signifieth the mother, the lefte the wyfe, and so furth. And somtyme one contrary is ment by an other; as, to seme for some cause, to wepe or be sory, is a tokē of gladnes to come; and agayn, to ioy muche is a signe of care; to se foule water commynge into the house, a signe to se the house burning. *Apollonides*, a surgion, thought he went out and wounded many, and sone after he healed many. Of which sort of dreames, thys of my Lordes Grace was, that shewed he had done nothyng, and signified (as we maye nowe be bolde to conster) he should do so much, as were skant possible to doo more. Howbeit, as I wolde haue no man so muche to note & esteme dreams, as to thiike there are none vayn, but al significatiue, a thing in dede both fōdly superstitious & against y^e mind of God uttred in the olde law; so woulde I haue no man so much to

Li. i. ca. ii.

Li. ii. capi.
lxv.

Li. iii. cap.
xxvii.

Li. iii. ca. iii.

Deut. xviii.

cōtēne

Act. ii.
Iohel. ii.

cōtēne thē, as to thinke we can at no tyme bee warned by thē ; a thinge also both of to much incredulite, & against the promis of God, rehersed in the new law by Peter out of ȳ prophet Johel. But least with my dreames I bring you a slepe, I shal here leaue them, & begin to march with the armie.

Sundaye the
iiii. of Sep-
tēber.

My Lordes Grace came from out of the toune, & the army reised from out of the campe. And after disposicion of order, ȳ Syr Fraūces Bryan, the capitain of lighthorsmen, with a iiii. C. of his bāde, should tende to the skout a mile or ii. before ; the cariages to kepe along by the sea coaste, and the mē of armes & dimilaūces diuided in to iii. tropes, aūsuring the iii. wardes, so to ryde in array directly against the cariages a ii. flightshot asunder frō thē. Our thre battails kept order in pace betwene thē both. The foreward foremost, the battaile in ȳ middest, & ȳ rereuarde hindermost, eche warde his troop of horsmē & garde of ordinaūce, & eche pece of ordinaūce his aide of pioners for amendement of ways where nede shoulde be founde. We marched a vi. mile, & camped by a village called Roston in the baronrie of Bonkēdale.

Mundaye the
v. of Septem-
ber.

The Peaths.

We marched an viii. mile til we came to a place called Y' Peaths. It is a valey, rūning frō a vi. mile west, straight eastwarde and toward the sea a xx. skore brode from banke to banke aboue, and a v. skore in the bottom, wherein runnes a litle riuer : so stepe be these bākes on eyther syde and depe to the bottom, that who goeth straight doune shalbe in daunger of tumbling, & the commer vp so, sure of puffyng & payne : for remedie wherof, the trauailers that way haue vsed to pas it, not by going directly, but by paths & foot ways leading slopewise, of the number of which paths, they call it (somwhat nicely in dede) Y' Peaths. A brute a day or ii. before was spred among vs, that hereat ȳ Scottes were very busy a working, & how here we should be stayde & met withal by thē ; wherunto I harde my Lordes Grace vow, ȳ he wold put it in profe, for he wolde not step one foote out of his course appointed. At oure comming, we found all in good peace ; howbeit, the syde
waycs

wayes on either side, most used for eas, wear crost and cut of in many places wth the casting of trauers trēches, not very depe in dede, & rather somewhat hinderyng, then utterly letting; for whither it were more by pollecie or diligence (as I am sure neyther of bothe did want) the ways by y^e pioners wear soon so well plained, that our army, caryage, and ordenaunce, were quite set over soon after sun set, and thear as then we pight our campe. But while our armie was thus in passynge, my Lordes Grace, willynge to loose no tyme, and that the enemies, aswel by dede as by brute, should know he was come, sent an heraulde to summon a castell of George Douglasses, called Dūglas, y^e stode at the ende of the same valey nerer the sea, and a mile frō the place of our passage. The capitain therof, Matthew Hume, a brothers son of the Lord Humes, upō this summons, requyred to speake wyth my Lordes Grace; it was graūted, & he came. To whom, q^o his Grace, Since it cannot be, but y^e ye must be witting both of our cōmyng into these partes, & of our proclamacion sent hyther before, & proclaymed also since, and ye haue not yet cōmē to vs, but kepe this hold thus, we haue cause to take you as oure mereemie. And therefore be ye at this choyse (for we wil take none auaūtage of your beīg here now) whither ye & your cōpanie will render your holde & stonde, body & goodes, at y^e order of oure will, or els to be set in it again as ye were, & we wil assay to wyn it as we can. The capitayne beyng aboute this riddel brought in great doubt wth what aunswer well to make, & whyther best to do, at last, stroken with the feare of crueltie y^e by stubbernes he shoulde well deserue, & moued agaynie wyth the hope of mercy, that by submission he might hap to haue, was content to render al at his Graces pleasure, and therupon commaunded to fetche hys cōpanye, retourned to the castel. In the tyme of tariyng for fetchyng his garde, we sawe oure ships, with good gale and order, fayre sayling into their Fryth, which is a great arme of y^e sea, and runneth westwarde into their cōuntry aboute iiii. score mile. Upō this stādeth, Lieth, Blaknest, Sterlinge, & Sainct Jhōs rode, and all the beste tounes els in the south

Dunglas.

The Fryth.

part of Scotlande. This capitayn came & brought with him hys bāde to my Lordes Grace, which was of xxi. sober souldiours, all so apparayled and appoynted, that so God help me, (I will saye it for no praise), I neuer saw such a bunche of beggers come out of one house together in my lyfe. The capitayne and vi. of the worshippfull of the cōpanye, wear stayed & commaunded to the keping of ȳ prouost marshal, more (hardly) to take Mūdais handsell, then for hope of auantage : the residue wear licensed to gea their gate, w̄ this lesson, ȳ if they wear euer knowē to practyse or doo ought agaynste the army, while it was in the cuntry & therupon takē, they should be sure to be hāged. After this surrender, my Lorde Jhon Gray, beyng capitayn of a nūber (as for his approued worthines right wel he mought) was appoited to seaze & take possessiō of the maner, w̄ al & singular thappurtenaūces in & to thesame belōging, with whome (as it hapt) it was my chaūce to go thyther. The spoile was not rych sure, but of white bread, oten cakes, & Scottishe ale, wherof was indifferēt good store, & sone bestowed e-mōg my Lordes souldiours accordingly. As for swordes, buklers, pykes, pottes, panz, yarne, lynnē, hēpe, & heaps of such baggage beside, were skāt stoopt for, & very liberally let alone ; but yet sure it would haue rued any good huswiues hart, to haue beholden ȳ great vnmerciful murder ȳ our men made of ȳ brood gees and good laig hēnes ȳ were slayn there ȳ dai, which ȳ wyues of ȳ toun had pēd up in holes in ȳ stables & sellers of ȳ castel, eare we came. In this meane time, my Lordes Grace appoited the house should be ouerthrowen ; whereupō ȳ capitain of ȳ pioners, w̄ a iii. C. of his laborers, were sent down to it, whome he straight set a digging about ȳ foūdaciō. In ȳ toun of Dūglas (the which we left vnspoyled & vnburnt) we vnderstode of ȳ wiues (for their husbādes wer not at home) ȳ it was George Douglash deuise & cost to cast these crosse trēches at ȳ Peaths, & stode hi in iiii. Scottish L. which is as much ster. as iiii. good English crounes of v. s. a pece ; a mete reward for such a worke.

Our

Our pioners were early at their worke again about y^e castel, whose walles were so thick, & foūdaciō so depe, & ther to set vpon so craggy a plot, that it was not an easy matter sone to vnderdig them: our army dislodged & marched on. In y^e wai we shuld go, a mile & a half frō Dūglas northward, ther were ii. pyles or holdes, Thornton & Anderwyke, set both on craggy foundacion, and deuided a stones cast a sunder, by a depe gut wherein ran a litle ryuer. Thornton belōged to the Lorde Hume, and was kepte then by one Tom Trotter, whereunto my Lordes Grace, ouer night, for summons, sente Somerset hys heraulde, towarde whome iiii. or v. of this capitayns prikkers, with their gaddes ready charged, did righte hastely direct their course; but Trotter both honestly defended the heraulde, & sharply rebuked hys men; and sayd for the summōs he woulde com speak with my Lordes Grace himself; notwithstanding he came not, but straight lokt vp a xvi. poore soules, like the souldiours of Dūglas, fast within y^e house, toke y^e keys with him, & cōmaunding them they shoulde defende y^e house & tary within (as they coulde not get out) till his retorne, whiche should be on the morow, w^{ch} municiō & relief, he with his prikkers prikt quite his ways. Anderwyke pertained to the Lorde of Hābleton, and was kept by hys sonne & heyre (whom of custume they call the Master of Hābleton) & an viii. more with hym, gentlemen for the moste part, as we harde say. My Lordes Grace, at his comming nye, sent vnto both these piles, whiche vpon summōs refusing to rēder, were straighte assayled; Thornton, by batrie of iiii. of our great peces of ordinaūce & certain of Syr Peeter Mewtus hakbutters to watch y^e loop holes & wyndowes on all sydes, & Anderwyke by a sorte of thesame hakbutters alone, who soo well besturd thē, y^e whear these kepers had rāmed vp their outer dores, cloyd & stopt vp their stayres within, & kept thēselfes a loft for defence of their house about the battilmētes, the hakbutters gat in, & fyered thē vnderneath: wherby beyng greatly trobled w^{ch} smoke & smoother, & brought in desperaciō of defēce, they called pitefully ouer their walles to my Lordes Grace for mercy; who, notwithstandinge their great ob-

Tuisdaye the
vi. of Septē-
ber.

Thornton.

Anderwyke.
To be knowē,
that the Scot-
tes call y^e son
and heyre of
euery lord
the Master of
y^e house and
surname,
wherof hys
father is call-
ed Lorde.

stinaci, & thēs ample other of y enemies mought haue had by their punishment, of his noble generosite, & by these wordes making half excuse for thē, (Men may some tyme do y hastily in a gere, whereof, after, they mai soon repēt thē); did take thē to grace, & therefore sent one straight to thē. But ere the messēger came, the hakbutters had gottē vp to thē, and killed viii. of thē aloft; one lept ouer y walles, & runninge more then a furlōg after, was slaī wout in a water. All this while, at Thornton, our assault & their defence was stoutly cōtinued, but well perceiuinge how on y tone side thei were batred, mined on y other, kept in w hakbutters rounde about, & sum of our men win also occupiung al y house vnder thē (for thei had likewise shopt vp thēselvs in y highest of their house) & so to do nothīg inward or outward, neither by shotīg of base (wherof they had but one or ij.) nor tumbling of stones (y thinges of their chefe anoyauce) wherby thei might be able any while to resist oure powr, or saue thēselvs, thei pluct in a banner y afore they had set out in defyaūce, & put out ouer the walles, a whyte lynnē clout tyed on a stickes end, crying al with one tune for mercy; but hauyng answer by the whole voice of y assaylers, thei were traytors & it was to late, thei plukt in their stick, & sticked vp y bāner of defyaunce again, shot of hurled stones, & did what els they could, with great courage of their side, & littel hurt of ours. Yet then after, being assured by our ernesty, y we had vowed y wyning of their holde before our departure, & then, y ther obstinacie coulde deserue no lesse then death, pluct in their bāner once again, & cried vpō mercie; & being generally aunswered, nay, nay, loke neuer for it, for ye are erraūt traytors, then made they peticiō y if thei should nedes die, yet that my Lordes Grace would be so good to thē as thei might be hāged, wherby they might sumwhat reconcile thēselvs to Godwarde, & not to dye in malice with so great daūger of their soules: a pollecie sure, in my mind, though but of grose heddes, yet of a fyne deuise. Syr Miles Partrich being nie about thys pile at y tyme, & spiyng one in a red doblet, dyd ges he shuld be an Englishmā, & therefore cam & furthered this

A pollecy of
warre.

this peticiō to my Lordes Grace y rather, which then toke effect : Thei eame & hūbled themselves to hys Grace, whearupō, without more hurt, they wear but cōmaunded to the prouost marshal. It is sūwhat here to cōsider, I know not whither the destenie or hap of mās life : the more woorthy men, y les offēders, & more in y iudges grace, wear slayne ; & the beggers, the obstinate rebelles, y deserued nought but crueltie, wear saued. To saye on now, y house was soon after so blowē with pouder, y more then y one half fell straight doune to rubrish & dust, the rest stood al to be shaken w rifies & chynkes. Anderwyke was burned, & al y houses of office and stakkes of corne about them both. While this was thus in hāde, my Lordes Grace, in turning but about, sawe the fal of Dūglas, which likewise was vndermined and blowen with pouder.

My Lordes
Graces pitce.

This doon, about noon we marched on, passinge soon after win y gūshot of Dūbar, a toun stōding lōgwise vpō y seasyde, whearat is a castel (whiche the Scottes coūt very strōg) y sent vs diuers shottes as we passed, but al in veyn : their horsmē showed thēselfs in their felde besyde vs, toward whom Barteuile with hys viii. mē, all hakbutteres on horsbak (whome he had right wel appoited) & Jhō de Rybaud, with diuers other, did make ; but no hurt on neyther side ; sauing y a mā of Barteuiles slew one of thē with his pece, y skirmish was soon ēded. We wēt a iiii. mile further, & hauing trauayled y day a x. mile, we cāped nigh Tātallō, & had at night a blynde alarme.

Here had we first aduertisement certein, that the Scottes wear assembled in campe at the place whear we found them.

Marching this mornig a ii. mile, we came to a fayre ryuer callen Lyn, rūning all straight eastwarde toward the sea ; ouer this riuer is ther a stone bridge y they name Lyntō brig, of a toun therby on our righthād & eastward as we went, y stōds upō the same ryuer. Our horsmen & cariages past through y water (for it was not very depe) ; our footmē ouer the bridge. The passage was very straight for an army, & therefore y lēgar in settig ouer. Beyōd this bridge about a mile

Wednesdaye
the vii. of
September.

westward.

westward (for so me thought as then we turned) vpon this same ryuer on the southsyde, stondes a proper house and of sum strengthe bylyke, they call it Hayles Castell, and perteyneth to the Erle Bothwel, but kept as then by ȳ gouernours appoyntmēt, who hylde the Erle in pryson. About the southsyde of thys castell lyeth a long hil, east & west, whear-uppon did appere in diuers plumpes about iii. C. of their prickers, sum makynge towarde the passage too lye in wayt ther to take vp straglers and cut of ȳ tayle of our hoste. My Lordes Grace, and my Lord Lieutenaunt, against the castell vpon an hill ouer whiche we should passe, did stay a while, aswel for the armie that was not all cum, as alsoo too see a skyrnish that sum of these prickers by cūming ouer the riuer toward vs, began to make, but did not mainteine. Whearupō our foreward marching softly afore, hys Grace then tooke his way after, at whome, out of the castell thear wear roūdly shot of (but without hurt) vi. or vii. peces, the whiche before that, thoughe sum of oure men had bene very nye, yet kept they all couert. In this mean time did thear aryse a very thicke mist. My Lord the Erle of Warwyke, then Lorde Lieutenaunt (as I tolde you) of the armie, did so nobly quite himself vpō an aduenture that chaunced then to fal, as that his accustomed valiaunce might wel be acknowledged, whearby first, and first of all men, (a litle, but not without purpose now to digres) beyng Lorde Lieutenaūt of Bulleyn next after it was wun, beaten on al sydes, weak without, yll harbour within, and (nowe to say trouth, for the daūger is past) skante tenable as it was, did so valiauntly defende it agaynst the Dolphyn then and all hys power, that as I remēbre was reconed a lii. M. Of whome in a camisado then; as they had slayn many of our mē & wun the base toun, his Lordship killed aboute viii. C. couēted of the best souldiors in al Fraūce, draue the rest away, & recouered the toun frō them again. And the next yere after, occupieng his office of Lord Admiral vpon the sea in person himself, what tyme the greate fleete of Fraunce with all their galleys (which was no smal pour) cam to inuade our costes, he proffered battaile vnto the Frenche Admiral & all his nauie,

uie, which fight (I will not saye howe cowardly) he vtterly refused, hys Lordship repelled their force, & made thē faine to flie bak agai home with all their bragges & cost in vain. And the same yere, but with a vii. M (wherof not v. M. lōded) mawgre all Fraūce, he burnt Trea-port & diuers villages thear besyde, returned to ship again with ý los but of one Dauid Googan, & no mo. And the yere than next M. D. xlvi. after his diligence so well shewed amōg the rest of the cōmissioners, ý an honorable and frēdly peace was cōcludēd betwene Fraūce & vs, his Lordship was sent quer by our late Souerain Lord, to receiue ý oth of the late Frēch king for cōfirmaciō of the same peace. In which iorney, how nobly he did aduaūce his port for the Kynges Maiesties honour & estimaciō of the realme (& yet not aboue his degre) all mē ý sawe it, will easly confesse with me, that it was to much then, to be shewed in few woordes here. Uery few thinges els (to say truth) that haue bene ony wher in these warres agaist the enemie eyther nobly attempted or valiauntly acheued, wherin his Lordship hath not bene eyther the first ther in office, or one of the foremost in daunger. That if it fel so fete for my purpose to speake of his Lordships honour at home, as it hath doon sumwhat to touch his proowes abrode, I coulede sure for commēdacion thearof moue my self matter, wherin I wear able to sai, rather liberally much, then skarcely inough: but omittig that thearfore, & to turne to my tale agai, his Lordship regarding the daūger our rereuarde was in by reason of disorder, caused at this passage by the thicknes of this mist, & nienes of the enemies, himselfe skant with a xvi. horse (wherof Barteuile & Jhon de Ribaude wear ii: vii. or viii. light horsemen mo, & the reste of his own seruauntes) returned towarde the passage to see the arraye agayne. The Scottes perceuyng our horsemē to haue past on before, & thinkig (as ý truth was) that sum Capitain of honour did stay for the lookyng to the order of thys rereuarde: kepinge the southsyde of the ryuer, did call ouer to sum of our mē to knowe, whither ther wear ony nobleman nie thear. They wear askt why they askt: one of thē aunswered, ý he was such

THE EXPEDICION

a mā (whose name our mē knew to bee honorable among thē) & woold cum in to my Lordes Grace, so that he mought be sure to cum in safetie : our yoōg souldiours, nothing suspecting their aunciēt falshed, tolde him ý my Lorde Lieutenaūt the Erle of Warwyke was nie thear, by whose tuiciō he shuld be safely broughte to my Lordes Graces presence : thei had cund their lesson, & fel to their practise, which was this, hauing cūmē ouer ý water, in the way as my Lorde should passe, they had couched behinde a hillok about a ii. C. of their prickers, a xl. had they sent besyde, to search whear my Lord was, whom whē thei foūd, part of them prickt very nie, & these agayne a x. or xii. of my Lordes small cōpanie did boldly encoūter, & draue thē well nie home to their ambush, flynge perchaūce not so much for fear of their force as for falshod to trap thē : But hereby enformed ý my Lord was so nie, they sent out a bigger nūber, & kept the rest more secret, vpon this purpose, that they might eyther by a playn onset haue distrest him, or els that not preuaylinge, by feyning of flight to haue trayned him into their ambushe, & thus instruct they cam prickig toward hys Lordshippe a pace. Why (q^o he) & wil not these knaues be ruled? geue me my staff; the which then with so valiaunt a corage, he charged at one (as it was thought) Dādy Car a capitayn among thē, ý he did not onely cōpel Car to turne, & himself chased him aboue xii. skore together, all ý way at the spear point; so ý if Carres horse had not ben exceding good & wight, his Lordship had surely rū him through in this race, but also w his litle bande caused all ý rest to flee amain. After whom then as Henry Vane, a gentlemā of my Lordes & one of this cōpany, did fiersly pursue, foure or v. Scottes sodēly turned & set vpō him, & though thei did not alltogether skape his hādes free, yet by hewyng & māgling hys hed, body & many places els, they did so cruelly entreat him, as if reskue had not cum ý sooner, they had slaī him out right; but saued as he was, I dare be bolde to sai, many a M. in war & els whear haue dyed w les then half ý les hurt. Here was Barteuile run at sydeling and hurt in the buttock, & one of our men slayn. Of Scottes again, none
slaī,

s'ai, but iii. takē, whearof one was Richarde Maxwell & hurt in the thigh, who had bene long in Englōd not lōg before, & had receyued right many benefites, (as I harde himself cōfesse) both of ȳ late Kinges Maiestie & of my Lord Lieutenaūt, & of many other nobles & gētle- men in ȳ court beside; & thearfore for his ingratitude & trayterous vn- truth threatened too be hāged: But as otherwise he had a great dele to much more then he deserued, so had he here sumwhat to litle; for how my Lordes Grace bestowed hym I wot not, but hanged in dede he was not. To make my tale perfit, it is certainly thought, ȳ if my Lorde Lieutenaunt had not thus valiaūtly encountred thē, ear thei coulde haue warnied their ambushe, how weakly he was warded, he had bene beset roūd about by thē, ear euer hé could haue bene ware of thē, or reskued of vs: wher now hereby his Lordeship shewed hys woōted woorthines, saued hys cūpanie, & discōfited ȳ enemie. Soon after he ouertooke my Lord Protectour, being as then set at dyner, to whom he presented these prisoners & recounted hys aduētures, whose grace in the meān time had hapt vpō a fellowe lyke a man, but I wot not of what sorte, smal of stature, red hedded, curld rounde about & shedded afore, of a xl. yere old, & calde himself Knockes. To say sumwhat of his hauour, his cote was of ȳ coulor of a wel burnt brik (I meā not blak) & wel worth xx. d. a brode yarde; it was pretely fresed, half w̄ an ado, & hē- med roūd about very sutably with pasmaī lace of grene caddis, me thought he represented ȳ state of a sūner in sum citee, or of a pedler in sum boorowe; how far so euer he had trauayled that day he had not a whit fyled his bootes, for he had none on; harmles bilyke, for he ware no weapon; he rode on a trottyng tyt well woorth a couple of shillynges, the loss whereof at his takyng he took very heuely, yet did my Lordes Grace caus him to be set on a better. I take his learning was but smal, but his vttraunce was greate sure, for he neuer lind babeling, very moyst mouthed, and somewhat of nature disposed to slauer, and ther- fore fain (without a napkin to wype hys lyppes) to suppe at euery woord; sum said it was no faut in the man, but the maner of the

cuntree; in dede they haue many moyst mystes thear, no lak of audacity nor store of wit, for beyng taken & brought in for a spie, & posed in that pointe whyther he went, neither by the honestie of hys erraunde, nor goodnes of his wit, was he able to make ony lykely excuse, the tenoure of his talke so tempred thoorow out, and the most of hys matter so indifferently mingled, as (yf they make hym not bothe) it was harde for any theare to iudge, whether they might rather counte hym a folish knaue or a knauishe foole, at whome my Lordes Grace and other had right good sport. As Barteuile that day had righte honestly serued, so did y^e Lordes righte honorably quite yt, for straight vpon the ouertakynge of my Lordes Grace, my Lorde Lieutenaunt did get him a surgion, & drest he was, straight after layde and conueyed in my Lordes Graces own chariot, that was both right sumptuous for cost and easy for caryage. The rest y^e wear hurt, wear here all so drest, Scottes & oother. We had marched that day a ix. mile, and camped at night by a toun standyng vpon the Fryth, & called Lang Nuddrey. Here wee found a gētle woomā (some sayd a ladye) the wyfe of one Hugh Douglas; she was greate with child, & in a house of hers thear, abode her good tyme of deliuerance, & had w^h her an aūcient gētle woomā her mother, a midwyfe & a daughter: whose estate y^e counsail vnderstāding, my Lordes Grace & my Lord Lieutenaunt took order that al night without daunger or damage she was well preserued; but sone after our departure in the morenyng, I harde, that sum of our northerne prickers had visited her, not muche for her profit, nor al for their honesties, y^e had they then bene caught w^h their kindnes, thei should haue bene sure of thākes accordyng; good people be they, but geuen much (as thei say) to the spoyle.

Thursdāye
the viii. of
Septēber, be-
yng our lady
day.

This morning in y^e time of our dislodgīg, sign was made to sum of our ships (whereof y^e moste parte & chefest lay a x. or xii. mile in the Fryth beyōd vs oueragainste Lyeth & Edinborowe) y^e y^e Lord Admiral should cum a shore to speake with my Lordes Grace. In y^e meane tyme somewhat early, as our galley was cūming toward vs, about a mile &
more.

more beyond our cāpe, the Scots wear very busy a waftyng her a shore towarde them with a banner of Saint George that they had : but my Lorde Lieutenaunt soon disapointed ȳ pollicie ; for makyng towarde that place wheare my Lord Admirall shoulde londe, oure men on the water by the sighte of hys presence dyd soon discerne their frendes frō their foes. By and by then my Lorde Clynton the Admirall came to londe, who with my Lorde Lieutenaunte rode back to my Lordes Grace, among whom order was taken, that our greate ships should remooue from before Lyeth, & lye before Muskelborowe and their camp, and oure smaller vessels that wear vitailers to lye nerer vs. This thus appointed, my Lorde Admirall rode back to take the water agayne. And as our armie had marched onwarde a mile or ii. thear appered vpon a hill that lay longwise east & west, & on ȳ southsyde of vs, vpō a vi. hundred of their horsmen prickers, whearof sum within a ii. flightshot directly againste vs vpon the same hill, and most further of, towarde these ouer a small bridge (for thear rāne a litle riuer also bi vs) very hardely did ride about a doosei of our hakbutteres on horsback, and helde them at bay so nie to their noses, ȳ whether it wear by the goodnes of our mē or badnes of thē, the Scottes did not onely not cum doune to them, but also very curteisly gaue place & fled to their fellowes : & yet I know they lack no hartes, but thei cānot so well away w̄ these crakkes. Our armie went on, but so much the slowlyer, because our way was sumwhat narowe, by meanes of the Fryth on the tonesyde and certain marishes so nie on ȳ toother. The Scottes kepte alwayes pace w̄ vs vpō their hill, and shewed themselves vpon sundry bruntes, very cranke & brag, at whom as our captāins did loke to ȳ ordryng and arraiyng again of the battailes, my Lord Protectors Grace appointed ii. feld peces to be turned, eche pece shot of twyse, wherof one Gold ȳ master gūner thear discharged the tone, & did so wel direct it, ȳ at his formershot he strook of ȳ leg of a black horse, right fair, and as it was thought ȳ best in ȳ cōpany, & at his next shot he kyld a man. Hereby rather sumwhat calmed then fully content, thei went theyr wayes, & we saw no

more of thē til ȳ time of our cāpyng, & then sheiwd thei thēselues very lordly aloft vpō thys hill againe oueragaint vs, as though they stood there to take vicwe of our campyng & mouster of our men. My Lord Marshall myndyng to knowe theyr cōmissiō, did make towarde thē with a band of horsmē; but they went wisely their way, & would neuer a-byde ȳ reasoning of the matter. In the way as we came, not far from this place, George Ferrers a gentlemā of my Lord Protectors, & one of ȳ cōmissioners of ȳ cariages in this army, happened vpon a caue in the ground, ȳ mouth whereof was so worne with ȳ fresh printe of steps, ȳ he semed to be certayne thear wear sum folke within, & gone dounc to trie, he was redily receyued w̄ a hakebut or ii. He left them not yet, till he had knowen whyther they would be cōtēt to yelde, & cum out; which they fondly refusyng, he wente to my Lordes Grace, and vpon vttraunce of the thyng gat liscence to deale with them as he coulede, and so returned to them with a skore or two of pioners. Three ventes had thēir caue, ȳ we wear ware of, wherof he first stopt vp on, anoother he fild ful of strawe and set it a fyer, whearat they within caste water a pace, but it was so well maynteyned without, that ȳ fyre preuailed, and thei fayn within to get them belyke into anoother parler. Then deuised we (for I hapte to be with hym) to stop ȳ same vp, whearby we should eyther smoothe them, or fynde out their ventes if thei had any mo, as this was doō at another issue aboute a xii. skore of, wee moughte see the fume of our smoke to cum oute, the whiche continued with so great a force, & so long a while, that we could not but thinke they must nedes get them out, or smoothe within; and forasmuch as we found not that they dyd the tone, we thought it for certain thei wear sure of the toother: wee had doō that wee came for, and so lefte them.

By this time our ships takynge manerly their leaue of Lyeth wyth a skore of shot or more, and as they came by, salutyng ȳ Scottes in their cāpe also with as many, cam & laye accordyng to appoyntmente. We had gone this day about a.v. mile, & cāped towarde night nye a tounē they

they call Salte Preston by y Fryth. Here one Charletō, a man before time banisht out of England, & continuynge all the while in Scotlande, came in and submitted himselfe to my Lordes Grace, who took hym to mercie.

This dai * is markt in y kallender with the name of Sainte Gorgon, no famous saint sure, but eyther so obscure that no man knowes him, or els so aunciente as euery man forgettes him. Yet wear it both pitee and blame that ha shoulde lose hys estimacion amonge vs. And me thinkes, oute of that litle that I haue red, I coulde somewhat saye to bryng hym to lighte agayne; but then am in doubte what to make of hym; a he saint, a she sainte, or a neuter (for we haue all in oure kallendar.). Of the male and female sayntes, euery leafe thear showthe samples inowe. And as for the neuter, they are rather I wot vnmarked, thē vnknowē, as Saint Christmas, S. Cādelmas, Saint Easter, Saint Whitsontide, and swete Saint Sunday y cums ones a weke. Touchynge my doubte now: If the day beare name in y woorship & memorie of hym, whome the preacher Horace † doth mēcion in his first booke of sermons by these wordes, *Pastillas Rufillus olet, Gorgonius hircum*; then may we be bold to beleue it was a he saīct, but yet a very sloouen saynt, and belyke a nesty. If this name were kallendred of Medusa Gorgon that had the heare of her hed, tourned into adders, whome Perseus ouercame and kylde, as Doctour Ouide declares in his iiii. booke of chaunges, *Gorgonis anguicoma Perseus superator*, then maye we be sure it was a she saynte. But yf it wear in ye honour of Pallas shelde wherin thys Medusa Gorgōs hed was grauē, as Titus † Stroza (a deuout doctour to, but of later daies) doth say, *Gorgonis anguicoma celatos egide vultus, Pallas habet*: Then was it neyther a he nor a she, but a playne neuter saynte. And thus with y aunciente authoritie of mere poeticall scriptures, my conscience is so confounded; as I wot not in the worlde what saynte to make of hym §. James of the Synkhole (sauyng your reuerence) a frier forsooth that wrote the Legendaurie, telleth me a very preposterous order in good cookerie, of one || Gorgō

† Stroz. pr. Acolo iiii. § Iacobus de Voragine. || Legend. aurea. cap. cxxviii.

* Fryday y ix. of September.

† Satyr. ii. Phorcus king of y Iles Corsica & Sardinia, had foure daughters, Scylla, Medusa, Stenio, & Euriale, called Gorgons; of whome, as Neptune had rauished Medusa Gorgon in y temple of Pallas; this goddes, for displeasure of the fact, chaūged al y heare of her hed into snakes and adders, & gaue her a further gyft, y who so cuer sawe her should be turned straighte into stone. Perseus couciting to kil this monster, borrowed of Mercurie his wyngs and faulchion, and strooke of her hed as she slepte, & brought it w hym, which Pallas dyd after set in her shelde, & it had the same pour still after, as it had whyle she lyued.

& his fellow Dorotheus, that wear first sauced with vineger and salt, and after y then broiled on a girdyrō. But to be playn, (as it is best for a man to be w his frēdes) he hath farced hys boke so full of lyes, y it is quite out of credite in al honest cōpany. And for my part, I am half a shamed to say y I saw it; but synce it is sayd, & sumwhat to tell you what that I sawe, he makes me Thomas the tr ytour, *Lupus* y lechour, Peter the knaue, (yf I may call a cōiurer so) & *Tbais* the hoor, all to be hye & holye saintes in heauē, & y w such prodigal impudēcie & so shameles liyng, as I may safely thinke he had eyther a bul to make saintes of diuels, or els a placarde to play the knaue as he lis. But as for Gorgon, be he as he may, yt makes no great matter, for he shal haue my hart while he stōdes in y kallender, he hath bene euer so lucky. But what saynte so euer he bee, he is sure no Sco tes mans frend, but a very angry sainte towarde them; for vpon hys daye, xxxiiii. yere paste, they had a greate ouerthrowe by vs at Floddom Feld, and their Kyng Jamy y Fourth slayn, and thearfore is this day not smally markt among them. To tell our aduentures that befell now vpon it, I thinke it very mete that fyrste I aduertise, how here as we lay, our campe and theirs wear eyther within the sight & viewe of oothers, & in distaūce (as I gest) a ii. myle & litle more a sunder; we had the Fryth on the north, & this hil last remembred, as I sayd, on the south, (the west ende whereof is called Fauxsyde Bray, whereupon stādeth a sory castell and half a skore houses of lyke woorthines by yt), and had, westward before vs, thē liyng in campe. A lon this hill (beinge aboute a mile from vs) were they very bisy prankyng vp and doune all the morenyng, and fayne would haue bene a counsayll with the doinges of our campe. We agayne, because their armie semed to sit to receyue vs, dyd diligently prepare that we mght soon go to them, and therefore kept our campe all that daye, my Lordes Grace and the counsaill sitting in cōsultacion, y captains & officers prouidyng their bandes, store of vitaille, & furniture of weapon, for furtheraunce wherof our vessels of municio and vitailles wear here all redy come to
the

Thom. Cātuar. ca. xi.
Lupus. ca. cxxiii.
Petr. exorcist. cap. lxxiii.
Thais meretric. cap. calvii.

Fauxsyde
Bray.

the shore. The Scottes continued their brauerie on the hill, the whiche we not being so well able to beare, made oute a band of light horsmē & a troop of dimilaunçes to back thē: our men gat vp on the hill, & therby of euen ground with ȳ enemye, rode straight towarde them w̄ good spede and order. Whome at ȳ first ȳ Scottes did boldly countenance & abyde; but after, when thei perceyued ȳ our men would nedes cum on, thei began to pricke, and would fayn haue begon ear they had tolde their erraund: but our mē hastened so spedely after, that euē straight thei wear at their elbowes, and did so stoutly then bestur them, that what in ȳ onset at the first, and after in ȳ chase (which lasted a iii. mile wellny to as far as the furthest of their campe on ȳ south syde) they had kylde of the Scottes within a iii. houres, abouue ȳ number of xiii. C. & takē ȳ Master of Hume ȳ Lord Humes sun and heyr, ii. prestes, and vi. gentlemē: whearof one (I remēber) by Syr Jaques Granado, and all vpon ȳ hiest & well nie niest of ȳ hill toward them, within the full sight of their hole campe. Of oure syde agayne, one Spanish hakbutter hurt, and taken Sir Rafe Bullmer, Knyght, Thomas Gower marshal of Berwyke, and Robart Crouch: all captains of seuerall bandes of our light horsmen, and men of right good courage & aproued seruice, & at this tyme distrest by their awne forwardnes, & not by the enemies force.

After this skirmish, it was marueiled on their syde that we vsed so much crueltie, & douted on ours that wee had kylde so many. Their marueyle was aunswered, that they had pict ȳ quarel first them selues, & shewed vs a presidente at Paniarhough, wher, of late yeres, wout any mercie, they slewe the Lorde Euers & a greate cumpenie w̄ hym, & our dout was clered by the witnes of their own selues, who confessed that thear wear ii. M. made out of their cāpe, xv. C. horsmē for skirmish, & v. C. footmen to lye close in ambush and be redy at nede, and of all these, for certain, not viii. hūdred to retourne home.

After this skirmish also hard we, that the Lorde Hume himself, for

The Lord
Hume hurt.

bone.

bone of his neck, that he was fayn to be caryed straight to Edenborowe, and was not a litle despayred of life.

The Scottes campe.

Then also my Lordes Grace, my Lorde Lieutenaunte & other of the counsel, but with a small garde, vpō this Fauxsyd Bray where the slaughter (as I said) was made, aboute halfe a myle southeast from them, dyd take full viewe of their campe, whereof the tentes, as I noted then, were deuided into iiii. seueral orders and rewes liynge east & west and a prikshot a sunder, & moustred not vnylyke (as thought me) vnto four great ridges of rype barley. The plot whear they lay so chosen for strength, as in all their cuntrey sum thought not a better: safe on the south by a greate marysh, and on the north by the Fryth, whiche syde also they fenced with ii. felde peces and certeyn hakbuts a crok liynge vnder a turf wal; Edēborowe on y west at their backes, & eastward betwene vs and them, strongly defended by the course of a ryuer called Eske, runnyng north into the Fryth: whiche as yt was not very depe of water, so wear the bankes of it so hie and stepe after y maner of y Peaths mencioned before in our Mundais iourney, as a small sort of resistauntes might haue bene able to kepe down a great number of cummers vp. Aboute a xii. skore of from y Fryth, ouer the same ryuer, is thear a stone bridge whiche thei did kepe also, wel warded w ordinaunce. Frō this hil of Fauxsyde Bray descended my Lordes Grace, my Lord Lieutenaunt, and thooother along before their cāpe, win les then ii. sightshottes into a lane or strete of a xxx. foot brode, fenced on eyther syde w a wall of turf an elle of height: whiche wey dyd lead straigth northwarde, and nie to a church called Saint Mighels of Undreske, stonyng vpon a mean risyng hill sumwhat higher then the site of their campe. Thus this viewed, they toke their returne directly homewarde to our tētes, at whom in y way y Scottes did often shoot; but with al their shot, and of all our cumpenie, they kylde but one horse, in y midst of iii. C. without ony hurt of the rider.

The cūmyng of y Scottish heraulde and trumpetour.

And as my Lordes Grace was passed well nie half y way homeward, a Scottish herauld, with a cote of hys princes armes vpō him (as the maner

maner is), and with him a trumpetour, did ouertake his Grace, we thought vpon sum message, and thearfore euery mā gaue them place to cum & saye their erraundes, which, as I mought ges, (partly by the aunswers as followe) wear these, or to this effect. The heraulde first: My Lorde the Gouvernor hath sēt me to your Grace to enquere of prisoners takē, and thear with to say, that for ȳ pitee he hath of effusiō of Christen bloude, whiche by battaile must nedes be shed, and bicause your Grace hath not doen much hurt in the cuntree, he is content ye shall returne as ye cam, and wil proffer your Grace honest condicions of peace. And then the trumpetour: My Lord my Master the Earle of Huntley, hath willed me to shewe your Grace, ȳ bicause this matter may be ȳ sooner ended & w̄ les hurt, he wil fight with your Grace for the hole quarell, xx. to xx, x. to x, or els hymselfe alone with your Grace man to man.

The herauldes
message.

The trumpe-
tours erraūd.

My Lordes Grace hauyng kept with him my Lord Lieutenaunt, had harde them both thrughly, and then, in aunsweryng, spake sumwhat w̄ lowder voice, thē they had doon their messages; whear vpon wee that wear the ryders by, thynkyng his Grace woulde haue it no secret, wear sumwhat the bolder to cum the nigher. The woordes whearof (as sēm-ed me) wear vtred so expeditely with honour, and so honourable with expedicion, as I was for my part much mooued then to dout, whyther I mought rather note in them, ȳ prōptnes of a singuler prudēce or ȳ animositee of a noble coorage. And thei wear thus, Your gouernour may knowe, that ȳ speciall cause of our cumr̄yng hyther was not to fight, but for the thyng that shoulde be the weale of both vs and you; for God we take to recorde, wee mynd no more hurt to ȳ Ream of Scotlande then we doo too the Ream of England, & thearfore our quarel beyng so good, we truste God will prosper vs the better. But as for peace, he hath refused such condicions at our handes as we will neuer proffer again, and thearfore let hym look for none, til this wey we make it.

My Lordes
Graces aun-
swers.
To ȳ herauld.

¶

And

To the trumpetour.

And thou, Trumpet, say to thy Master, He semeth to lak wit to make this challenge to me, beyng of suche estate by the sufferaunce of G O D as haue so weighty a charge of so precious a iewel, the gouernaunce of a Kyngs parson, and then ȳ protection of all his reames, wherby in this case I haue no powr of my self, which yf I had, as I am true gentleman it shoulde be the first bargain I would make ; but thear be a great sort here amonge vs his equals, to whom he mought haue made this challenge without refusal. Q^o my Lord Lieutenaunt to them both, He sheweth his small wit to make challēge to my Lords Grace, & he so mean ; but yf his Grace will geue me leaue, I shall receiue it ; &, trumpet, bryng me worde thy master wil so doo, and thou shalt haue of me a C. crownes. Nay, quod my Lordes Grace, the Erle Huntley is not mete in estate with you, my Lord. But, heraulde, say to the Gouvernour and hym also, that we haue bene a good seasō in this cūtre, and ar here now but w̄ a sobre cumpenie, & they a greate number, & yf they will mete vs in felde they shalbe satisfied with fightynge ynough. And, heraulde, bryng me worde they wil so doo, & by my honour I will geue ȳ a thousand crounes. Ye haue a proude sorte amonge you, but I truste to see their pride abated shortly, & of ȳ Erle Huntleys too, iwys his corage is knowē wel ynough but he is a glorious yoong gentleman. This sayd, my Lord Lieutenaunt cōtinued his requestes ȳ he might receyue this challenge, but my Lordes Grace woulde in no wyse graunte too it. These messagers had their aunswers, and thear with leaue to depart.

Sober, is the proper terme wherby the Scottes doo signifie smal, litle, easy, or slender.

It is an auncient order in war, inuiolably obserued, that ȳ herauldes & trumpetours at any time, vpon necessarie messages, may freely pas too and fro betwene the enemies, without hurt or stay of ony, as priuiledged with a certein immunitie & freedō of passage: Lykewife as during ȳ time of ony such message, hostilitie on both sydes should vtterly ceas. The Scottes notwithstanding, what mooued them I knowe not, but sumwhat bisyde the rules of *Stans puer ad mensam*, shot iii. or iiii. shot at vs in the midst of this message dooig, but, as hap was, wyde ynough.

inough. On y morowe after, thei had their gunnes taken from them euery chone, & put into the hādes of them y coulde vse them more w good maner.

It becummeth not me, I wot, apertly to tax their gouuernour w y note of dissimulaciō : for how euer he be our enemy, yet a mā of honorable estat & woorthy (for ought I knowe) of the office he beares. Howbeit touchyng this message sent by the heraulde, to say as I thinke, I am fully persuaded he neuer sent it, either bicaus he thought it would be receyued by my Lordes Grace, whoos couorage of custume he knue to be suche that would neuer brook so much dishonour as to trauaile so far to returne in vain ; or els y he mēt ony sparing or pitee of vs whō ī his hart he had al redy deuoured : But only to shewe a colour of kindness, by y refusal whearof he might firste in hys fighte the more iustely (as he shoulde lyst) vse extremittee against vs, and then vpō victorie triumph with more glorie. For asfor of victorie, he thought hymself no les sure, then he was sure he was willynge to fyght. That makes me in this case nowe to be so quite oute of doute, wear the causes whearof I was after so certainly enformed. And they were, firste, his respecte of our onely strength (as he thought) our horsmen, the which not so much vpon pollecie to make his men hardy agaynste vs, as for that he plainly so took it, he caused to be published in his hoste, that it was hooly but of very yoong men, vnskilfull of the warres, and easie to be delt with al. And thē his regarde tō y number & place of our powr & his, y whiche indede wear far vnequall. And hereto his assured hope of xii. galleys and l. ships that alweys he lookt for to be sent out of Fraūce to cum in at our backes. He with hys hoste made themselves hereby so sure of the matter, that in the night of this day, they fel afore hande to plaiynge at dyce for certeine of our noble men and captains of fame. For asfor al the rest, they thought quite to dispatch, and wear of nothings so mooch afeard, as least we woulde haue made away out of the cuntrey ear they and wee had met, brutyng among them, that our ships the day before remooued from before Lyeth, but

onely to take in our footmen and caryage, to the entent our horsmen then, w̄ more hast and les cumber, might thence be able to hie them homeward: for the fear hearof also, appointed they this night to haue geuen vs a camisado in our cāpe as we lay, whearof euen then we hapt to haue an inkelyng, & thearfore late in ȳ night entrenched our cariages, and waggēboorowe had good skout without, and sure watch within, so that yf they had kept pointment (as what letted them I coulde not lerne) they shoulde neyther haue bene vnwelcummed nor vnlooked for. Ye, the great fear thei had of our hasty departure, made them so hasty, as ȳ next morowe (beyng ȳ day of the battaile) so early to cum towarde vs out of their campe, agaynst whom then, though they sawe our horsmen redily to make, yet woold thei not thike, but that it was for a pollecie to stay them while our footmē and cariage might fully be stowed a shipboorde. Meruailous men, thei woold not beleue thear wear ony bees in ȳ hyue, til thei cam out and stang them by the noses. They fared herein (yf I may cōpare great things to small, & earnestie to game) like as I haue wyst a good fellowe ear this, that hath cum to a dycyng boord very hastely thrustyng, for fear least all shoold be doon ear he could begin, and hath foon bene shred of al that euer he brought: but after, when he hath cū fro ȳ boord with his handes in his boosom, & remembred thear was neuer a peny in his purse, he coulde quikly fynde, ȳ ȳ fondnes was not in tariynge to long, but in cummyng to soon. We ar warned, if we wear wise, of these witles brūtes, by ȳ commune prouerbe that saith, *It is better sit still, then ryse vp and fall.* But bylyke they knowe it not.

In ȳ night of this dai, my Lords Grace appoited, ȳ early in ȳ next morning, part of our ordinaūce should be planted in the lane I spake of, vnder ȳ turf wall next to their campe; & sum also to be set vpō the hil nie to Undreske church afore remēbred: & these to thentent we should with our shot caus them either hooly to remooue their cāpe, or els much to anoy thē as thei lay: It was not ȳ least part of our meaning also,
hereby

hereby to wyn from them certein of their ordinaunce that lay ærest this church.

No great breach of order, I trust, though here I rehearse ẏ thing, ẏ not til after I harde, touchynge the trūpetours message from the Earle Huntley. Which was (as I harde ẏ Erle hymself say) that he neuer sent ẏ same to my Lordes Grace, but George Douglas in his name: and this by him deuised, not so specially for ony challēge sake, as for that the messenger should mayntein by mouth his talke to my Lordes Grace, whyle his eye wear rolling to toote & prie vpon the state of our campe, & whyther we wear pakkyng or no (as indede the fellowe had a very good coūtenaūce to make a spie): But my Lordes Grace of custume not vsyng so redyly to admit ony kynde of enemie to cum so nie, had dispatched thē both with their aunswers (as I sayd) ear euer they cam within a mile of our campe. As I hapt soon after to rehearse the excuse of the Earle and this drift of Douglas, a gentleman Skot that was prisoner and present, sware by the mis it was lyke inough, for he kend George ful well, and sayd he was a mete man to pike wharels for oother men to fight for. To thentent I wolde shewe my good will to make all thyng as easy to the sense of the reder as my knowledge coolde enstruct, and forasmuch as the assayler spetially of our horsmen at the firste, their retyre agayn, and our last onset, pursuit, and slaughter of the enemies, can not all be shewed well in one plot: I haue deuised and drawen, accordyng to my cunnyng, three seueral viewes of them, placed in their order as followe in the battayle. Whearin ar also oother tounes and places remembred, such as that tyme I thought mete to marke, and as my memorie could since call to mynde. No fyne portrayture indede, nor yet ony exquisite obseruaūce of geometricall dimēsiō, but yet neither so grose nor far from the truth, I trust, but that thei may sarue for sum eas of vnderstandyng. But since the skantnes of roome wil not suffer me plainly & at lēgth to write thear euery places name, but thearfore am fayin in stede of a name to set vp a letter; the reder must be cōtēt to learne his A. B. C. again, such as I haue thear deuised for
the

Aristot. the expounding of y^e same viewes. Thei that list to learne, I trust in this point will not much stik with me, considerynge also that *Ignoratis terminis, ignoratur & ars*. Yf thei know not my A. B. C. they cannot well knowe my matter : lyke as he that knowes not Raymūdes Alphabete shal neuer cum to the composicion of his quintessēce : what he shal doo though, sum practicioners doo dout. And mīding to interrupt y^e proces of the battaile y^e followeth with as fewe mean matters as I maye, I haue thought good, this here to haue before written.

In practica
testi sui,
ca. ii.

Saturday y^e
x. of Sep-
tēber being
y^e daye of y^e
battaile.

This day morenyng sumwhat before viii. of the clok, our campe dislodged, and our hoste marched straight toward the church of Undreske, aswell for entent to haue camped nie y^e same, as for placyng our ordenaunce & oother consideraciōs afore remēbred. The Scottes, I knowe not whither more for fear of our departyng or hope of our spoylyng, wear out of their campe cummyng toward vs, passed the ryuer, gathered in array, and wellny at thys church ear we wear halfe way to it. They had quite disapointed our purpose, and this at the first was so straunge in our eys, that we could not deuysse what tō make of their meaning. And so much the straunger, as it was quite bysyde our expectacion or dout, that they woold euer forsake their strength to mete vs in felde. But we after vnderstood, that they dyd not onely thus purpose to doo, but also to haue assayled vs in our campe as we lay, yf we had not bene sturring the tymelyer.

And to thentent at this tyme, that aswell none of their souldiours shoold lurke behinde them in their campos, as also that none of their captayns shoold be able to flee from their enterprise, they had first caused all their tentes to be let flat doū to the ground ear thei cam out, & then al that had horses aswel nobles as oother (fewe except) that were not horsmen appointed, to leaue their horses behinde them, & march on with theyr souldiours afoot. We cam on spedily a both sydes, neither as thento ony whit (I dare saye) ware of others entent : but y^e Scots indede wth a rounder pace : Betwent the ii. hillockes betwixt vs and the church, thei mousted sumwhat brim in our eyes, at whom, as they
stayed

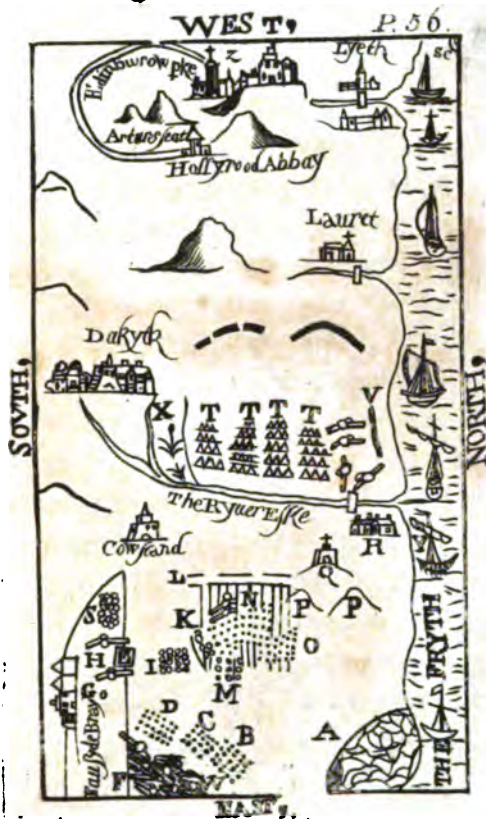
stayed thear a while, our galley shot of and slewe the Master of Greym with a fue & twenty nere by him, and thearwith so skarred the iii. thousand Irish archers brought by the Erle of Arguile, that whear (as it was sayd) they shoulde haue bene a wyng to the forewarde, thei coold neuer after be made to cum forwarde. Hereupon dyd their armie hastily remooue, & from thence declyning southwarde, took their direct wey towarde Fauxsyde Bray. Of this, Sir Rafe Vane, Lieutenaunt of all our horsmen (as I thinke of al mē he first did note it) quickly aduertised my Lord, whoos Grace thearby did redily conceiue much of their meaning : which was to wyn of vs ŷ hill, & thearby the wynde and ŷ sun yf it had shynded, as it did not (for the weather was cloudy & lowrig). The gain of which iii. thynges, whyther party, in fight of battaile, can hap to obtain, hath his force doubled against his enemie. In all this enterprife, thei vsed for haste so lytle the help of horse, that they pluct foorth their ordinaūce by draught of men, whiche at this tyme begā freely to shoot of toward vs : whearby we wear further warned they mēt more thē a skirmish. Here w̄ began euery man to be smittē with ŷ care of his office & chardge, & thearupō accordyngly to applie him about it : hearwith began still ridyng too & fro : herewith a generall rumor & buzzing amoōg ŷ souldiours, not vnlyke ŷ nois of ŷ sea beyng harde a far of : & herewith my Lordes Grace & the couēsel, on horsback as thei wear, fell straight in consultacion.

The sharpnes of whoos circūspect wysedomes, as it quyckly spyed out the enemies ententes, so did it amoong other thinges prōptly prouide thearin to preuent them, (as nedefull it was, for the tyme askt no leasure).

Their deuise was this, that my Lorde Gray with his bande of Buleners & with my Lord Protectours bāde & my Lord Lieutenautes, al to ŷ number of an xviii. C. horsmē on ŷ east half : & Sir Rafe Vane w̄ Sir Thomas Darcy captain of ŷ pencioners & men of armes, & my Lord Fitzwaters w̄ his bāde of dimilaūces, all to ŷ nūber also of a xvi. C. to be redy & euē w̄ my Lorde Marshall on ŷ west half, & thus all these
together

together afore to encoūter ȳ enemies a frūt, whearby either to break their array, & ȳ wey weakē their powr by disorder, or at ȳ lest to stop them of their gate, & force them to stay while our forewarde might hooly haue ȳ hilles syde, & our battaile and rerewarde be placed in groundes next that in order, and best for aduauntage.

And after this then, that ȳ same our horsmen shoolde retyre vp the hilles syde to cum down in order a fresh, and infest them on both their sydes, whiles our battayles should occupie them in fight a frunt. The pollecie of this deuise for the state of ȳ case, as it was to al ȳ knue of it generally allowed to be ȳ best ȳ could be, euen so also takē to be of no small daūger for my Lord Marshall, Sir Rafe Vane & oother ȳ assayers, the which neuertheles I knowe not whither more nobly and wisely deuised of ȳ counsell, or more valiaūtly and willingly executed of them, for euen thear w̄ good coorage takyng theyr leaues of ȳ counsel, my Lord Marshal requyrīg onely, that yf it went not well w̄ him, my Lordes Grace would be good to his wyfe and chyldrē, he said he would mete these Scottes : and so with their bandes these captayns took theyr wey toward the enemy. By this, wear our forewarde and theyrs within a ii. flightshot asunder : The Scottes hasted with so fast a pace, that it was thought of the most parte of vs, they wear rather horsmen then footmen. Our men again wear led ȳ more w̄ spede. The master of the ordinaunce, to our great aduaūtage, pluct vp the hill then certeyn peces, and soon after planted ii. or iii. canons of them, well nie vpon the top thear, whearby hauing so much the helpe of the hill, he might ouer oure mens heddes shoot nyest at the enemy. As my Lordes Grace had so circūspectly takē order for the array and station of the armie, & for thexecuciō of euery mās office beside : Euē as it is metest that hed to be highest, that shoolde wel look about for ȳ safegarde of all the other membres and partes of the body, so did his Grace (first perfily appointed in fayre harneys, accompanied with no mo (as I noted) then with Sir Thomas Chaloner knight, one of the clerkes of the Kynges Maiesties priue coūsail) take hys way toward the heyth of the hyll to
tary



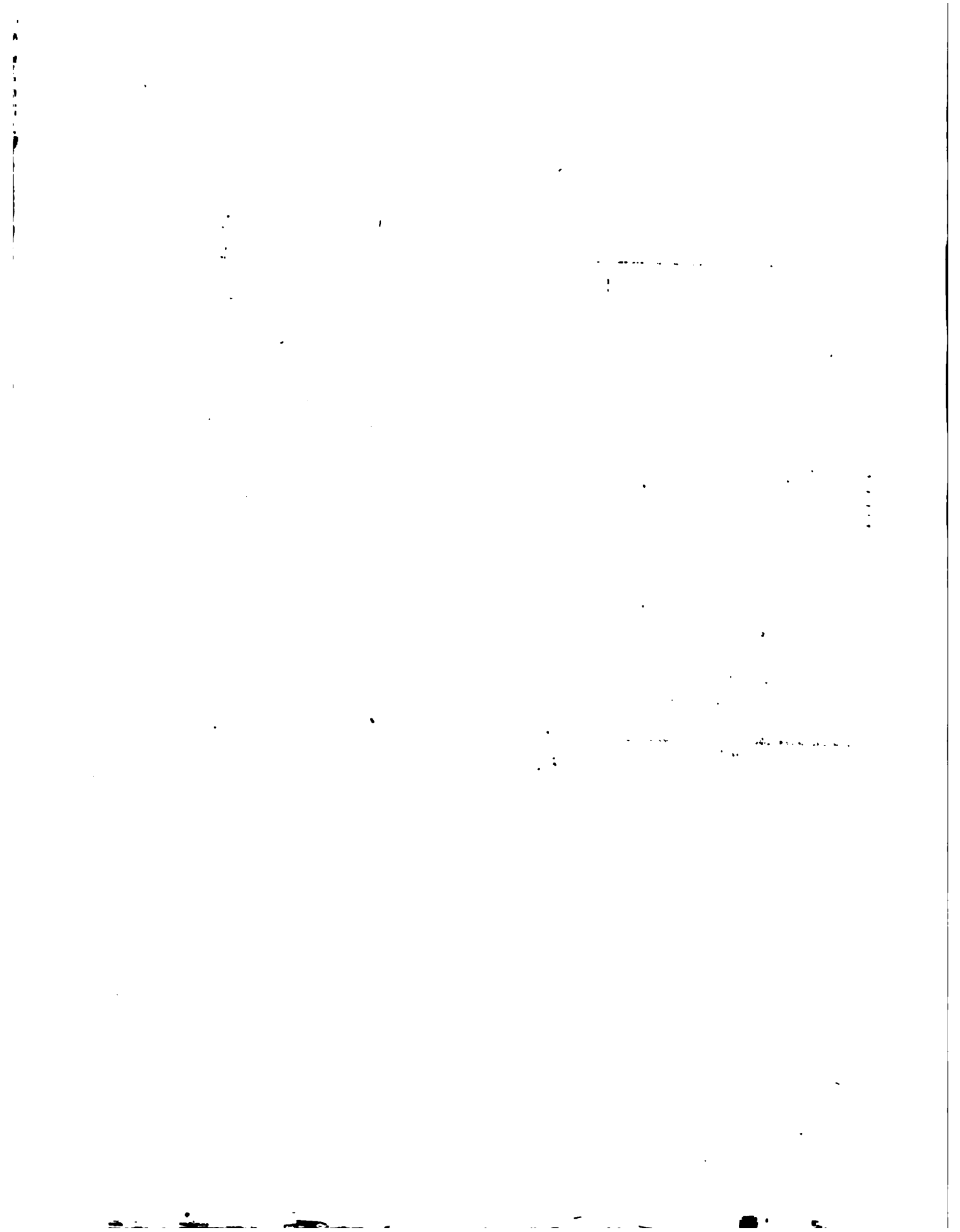
The EXPOSICIŌ of ŷ LETTERS of this TABLE.

- A Signifieth the place we camped in before the battaile.
- B Our rerewarde.
- C Our battaile.
- D Our forewarde.
- E The square close.
- F The foot of the hylles syde.
- G My Lorde Protectours Grace.
- H The Master of the ordinaunce.
- I Our horsmen.
- K The slough.
- L The lane and the ii. turf walles.
- M Their forewarde & horsmē by ŷ same.
- N Their battaile.
- O Their rerewarde.
- PP The ii. hillockes before the church.
- Q Saint Mighels of Vndreske.
- R Muskelborowe.
- S Their horsmen at the ende of Fauside Bray.
- TTTT Their rewes of tentes.
- V The turf wall toward the frith.
- W Our cariages.
- X The marish.
- Y Our galley.
- Z Edinborow castell.

The SIGNIFICACIŌ of certein other NOTES.

- Signifieth a footman.
- A horsman.
- ⊢ A hakbutter a foot.
- ⊙ A hakbutter on horsback.
- ⋄ An archer.
- ⊥ A footman slayn.
- ⋄ A horsman slayn.
- ⏏ The fallowe felde, whearon their armye stode.

To face p. 56. of the *Expeditiō.*



tary by the ordinaunce, whearas he mought both best suruey vs al, and succour with ayde whear most he sawe nede, and also by hys presence be a defence to the thing y stood weakest in place and most in daūger, the which thearby how much it did stede, anon shall I shewe. As hys Grace was half vp the hill (my Lord Lieutenaūt as it chaūced by hym) he was ware the enemies were all at a sodeyn stay and stood still a good while.

The sighte and eause hereof was marueyllous too vs all, but vnderstādable of none: my Lordes Grace thought (as in dede the most lykely was) that the men had mucche ouer shotte themselues, and wolde fayne haue bene home again, & herewith sayd to this effect: These men surely wil cum no further; it wear mete to cast whear we shoold campe, for peyn of my lyfe they will neuer fight. It had bene hardely, I wot not howe bad, but I am sure no good deuise for our pour to haue forsaken their groūde to assaile them whearthey stood, so far from the hill, that we had wellnie wunne so hardly, and shoold kepe to so much aduaūtage. And in warfare allways, tymely prouision is counted great pollecie. Hereto his Grace was sure that wee wear able, better and longer to kepe our hyll, then they their playne. Asfor fighting now, it mought be more then likely to who that cōsidered it, their courage was quite quayled, & thearfore had no will to cum ony further, but woold haue bene glad to haue bene whence they cam. Firste, because at that time, besyde the ful mouster of our horsmen before them, they had sum sight of our foot men, of whoome they thought we had had none thear, but all to haue ben eyther shipt or a shipping: then they sawe playne that we wear sure to haue the gain of y hil, and they the ground of disaduauntage, out of their holde, & put fro their hope. And hereto, for that their herauld gaue my Lordes Grace no warning, y whiche by him (if they had mēt to fight it out) whoo woold not haue presumed, that for the estimacion of their honour, they woold little stuck to haue sent, and he againe and it had bene but for his thousande crounes woold haue bene right glad to haue brought? These be the

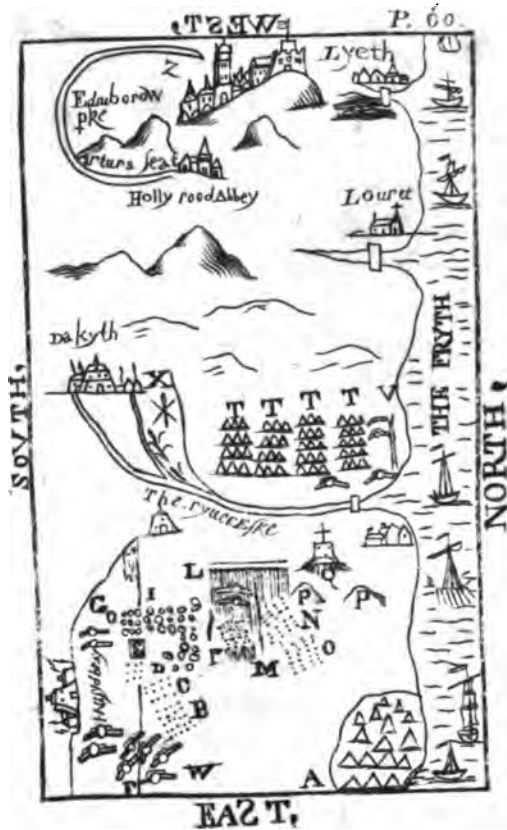
cōsideracions that both then and since did persuade me, my Lordes Grace had good cause too say thei woold not fight. Howbeit, hereunto if I wist & disclosed but half as muche now, as (I am sure) of circumspencion his Grace knue then, I doo not dout, but I were able sufficiētly to prooue, he might well be no les certeyn of ȳ he had sayd, then ony man might bec of an vndoon dede : the which neuertheles how true it was, ȳ proof of the matter soon after did declare, which was, that ȳ Scottes ran quite their way, & wold neuer tary stroke w̄ oure footmen, whear the fight on bothe sydes shold haue bene shewed. Notwithstondyng by thys tyme consyderyng bylyke ȳ state they stood in, that as they had left their strength to soon, soo now to be to late to repent, vpō a change of countenaūce thei made hastely toward vs agai, I knowe not (to sai truth) whither more stoutly of courage or more strongly of order, me thoughte then I mighte noote bothe in their marche. But what after I lerned, specially touchyng their order, their armour and their maner of fight, aswel in goyng to offende as in standing to defende, I haue thought necessarie here to vtter. Hakbutters haue they few or none, & appoint theyr fight most commonly alwais a foot. They cum to the felde wel furnished all with jak and skull, dagger, buckler, and swoordes all notably brode and thin, of excēdinge good temper & vniuersally so made to slyce, that as I neuer sawe none so good, so think I it harde to deuise ȳ better : hereto euery mā hys pyke & a great kercher wrapped twyse or thrise about his neck, not for colde but for cuttig. In their aray toward ȳ ioining w̄ ȳ enemie, they cling & thrust so nere in ȳ foreranke shoulder to shoulder together, wyth their pykes in bothe handes strayght afore them, and their followers in that order soo harde at their backes, laiynge their pykes ouer theyr fooregoers shoulders, that if they doo assaile vndisseuered, no force can well withstond thē. Standing at defēce, they thrust shoulders lykewise so nie together, ȳ fore rākes wel nie to kneling, stoop lowe before for their fellowes behynde, holdyng their pykes in both handes, and thearwith in their left their bucklers, the one ende of the pyke agaynste their right foot, thother

The maner of
the Scottish
order in bat-
tailc.

ther agaist the enemie brest hie, their followers crossing theyr pyke pointes with theim forewarde, and thus each with other so nye as place & space wil suffer, through the hole warde so thick, that as easly shall a bare fynger perce through the skyn of an angrie hedgehog, as ony encoüter the frunt of their pykes. My Lord Marshall, notwithstandinge, whom no daunger detracted from dooing his enterpryse, w the cumpanie and order afore appointed, cam full in their faces from y hilles syde towarde them. Herewith waxt it very hot on both sydes, with piteful cryes, horrible rore and terrible thunderinge of gunnes besyde, the day darkened abouue hed with smoke of shot, y sight and apparauce of the enemye euen at hand before, the daüger of death on euery syde els, the bullettes, pelletes & arrowes fliying each whear so thik, and so vncertainly lightynge, that no whear was thear ony suerty of safety, euery man strooken with a dreadfull fear, not soo muche perchaunce of death as of hurt, which thinges, though they wear but certeyn to sum, yet douted of all, assured crueltie at the enemies hādes without hope of mercy, death to flye and daüger to fyght. The hole face of the felde on bothe sydes vpō this point of ioining, both to the eye and to the ear, so heauy, so deadly, lamentable, furious, outragious, terribly confuse, & so quite against y quiet nature of man: as if to our nobilite the régard of their honor and fame, to the knightes & capitaines, the estimaciō of their wurship and honestie: and generally to vs all, the naturall motion of bounden duetie, our oun safetie, hope of victorie, & the fauour of God that we trusted we had for y equite of our quarel, had not bene a more vehemēt cause of courage, then y daüger of death was cause of feare, y very horroure of y thing hadben able to make ony mā to forget both prowes & pollecie. But my Lord Marshal & the other, with present mynde & courage waerely and quikly continued their coorse towarde thē: And my Lordes Grace then at his place by thordinaūce aloft. The enemies were in a fallowe felde, wherof the furrowes lay sydelyng towarde our men; by the syde of thesame furrowes, next vs and a stones cast from them, was thear a

The countenance of warre.

crosdich or slough, which our mē must nedes pas to cum to thē, whear-
 in many that could not leap ouer stack fast, to no small daunger of
 theim selues, and sum disorder of their fellowes. The enemies percei-
 uing our men faste approche, disposed themselues to abyde the brunt,
 and in this order stood still to receyue thē. The Erle of Anguish next
 vs in their forewarde, as capitayn of the same with an viii. M. & iiiii. or
 v. peces of ordinaunce on hys right syde, and a iiiii. C. horsemen on hys
 lefte: Behind him sumwhat westwarde, the gouernour with a x. M. in-
 lōd men (as they call them) ȳ choysest men counted of their cōtre:
 And the Erle Huntley in the rerewarde, wellnie euen with the battaile
 on the left syde, w̄ viii. M. also. The iiiii. M. Irish archers as a wyng
 to them both, last indede in order, & first (as they sayd) that rā a way.
 These battailes & rereward wear warded also with their ordinaunce ac-
 cordinge. Edward Shelley, Lieutenaunt vnder my Lorde Gray of hys
 bande of Bulleners, was the first on our syde that was ouer this slough,
 my Lord Gray next, and so then after two or thre rākes of the former
 bandes. But badly yet coolde they make their race, by reason the fur-
 rowes laye trauers to their course. That notwithstondyng, and
 thoughte also thei wear nothyng likely well to bee able thus a frunt to
 cum within them to hurt them, aswell because the Scottishmens pykes
 wear as long or lēger then their staues, as also for that their horses wear
 all naked without barbes, wherof though thear wear right many among
 vs, yet not one put on, forasmuch as at our cumming foorth in the
 mornig, we loked for nothing les then for battail that daye, yet did my
 Lorde and Shelley with ȳ residue, so valiauntly and strongly gyue the
 charge vpō them, that whither it wear by theyr prowes or power, the
 left side of the enemies that his Lordship did set vpon (though their or-
 der remayned vnbroken) was yet compelled to swey a good wey bak &
 gyue ground largely, and all the residue of them besyde, to stonde
 much amased. Before this, as our men wear well nie at them, they
 stood very braue & bragging, shaking their pyke pointes, cryng, cum
 here loundes, cum here tykes, cum here heretykes, & such lyke (as
 hardely

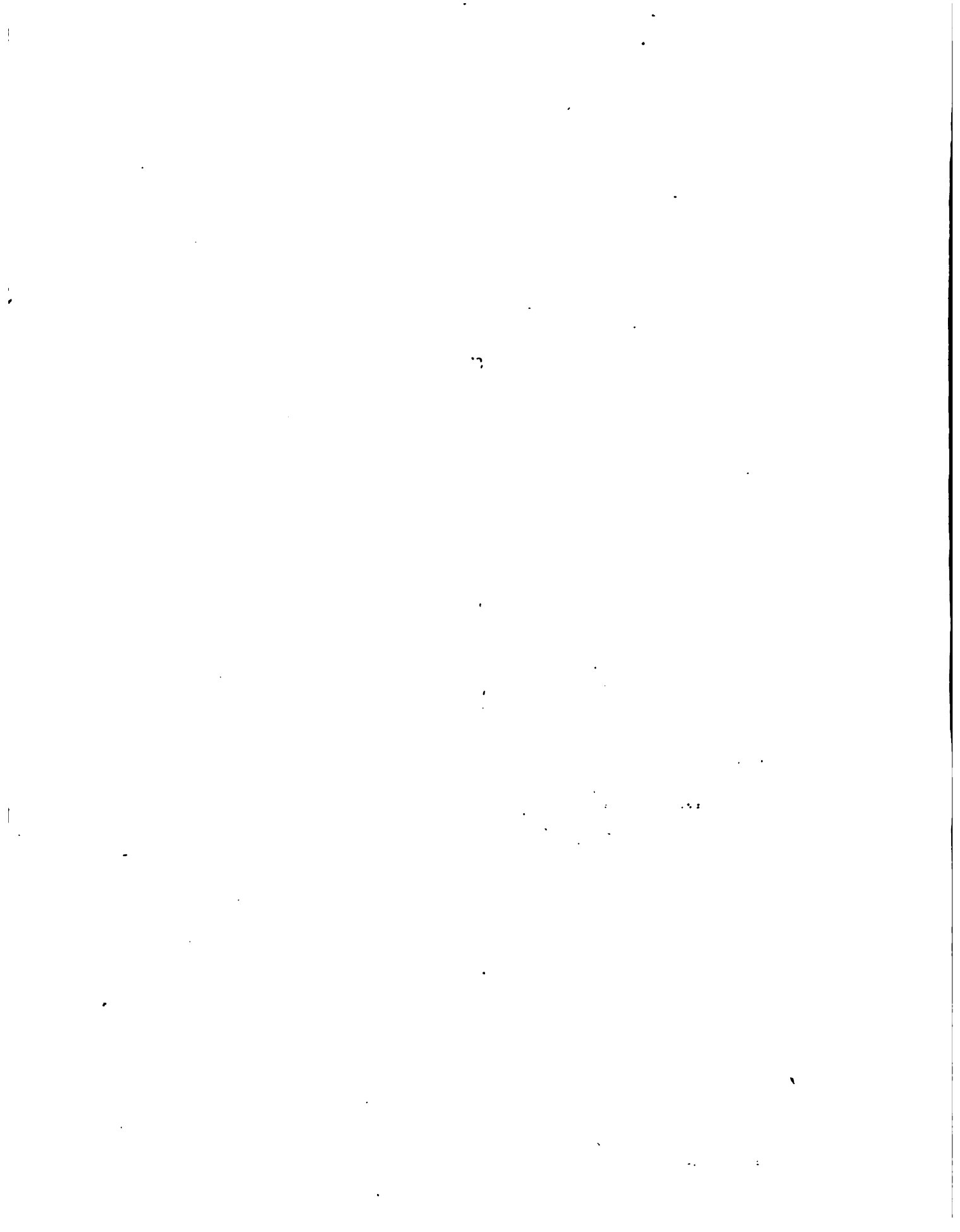


THYS SECUNDE TABLE

Sheweth the-placing of our footmen ;
 the slaughter of EDUARDE SHELLEY
 and the oother ;
 the retyre of oure bande of horsemēn
 vp to the hil ;
 and the breach of array of the
 straglers from thē.

But,
 Touchyng the exposition
 of the
 Notes and Letters,
 I refer
 the Reder to the
TABLE
 before.

To face p. 60. of the *Expedicion*.



hardely they are fayre mouthed men). Thoughe they ment but small humanite, yet shewed thei hereby much ciuillite, both of fayre play to warne ear thei strook, & of formall order to chyde ear they fought.

Our captains that wear behinde, perceyuinge at eye, that both by the vnevinnes of the grounde, by the sturdy order of the enemie, and for that their fellowes wear so nie & straight before them, they were not able to ony aduaūtage to mainteine this onset, did thearfore, according to the deuise in ȳ point appointed, turne themselues & made a soft retyre vp towarde the hyll agayne. Howbeit, too confes the truth, sum of the nūber that knue not the prepēsed pollecie of the counsaill in this case, made of a sober aduised retyre, an hasty temerarious flyght. Sound to ony mans ear as it may, I shal neuer admit for ony affection towarde coūtree or kyn, to be so partial, as wil wittingly either bolster the fals-hod or bery the truthe; for honor, in myn opiniō, ȳ way gotten, wear vnworthely wun, and a very vyle gain: howbeit hereby I cānot count ony lost, whear but a fewe leude souldiours ran rashely out of array without standard or captayn, vpon no cause of nede, but of a mere vn-discretion & madnes: A madnes in dede; for fyrste the Scottes were not able to pursue because they wear footmen, & thē, if they coold, what hope by flight, so far from home in their enemies londe, whear no place of refuge?

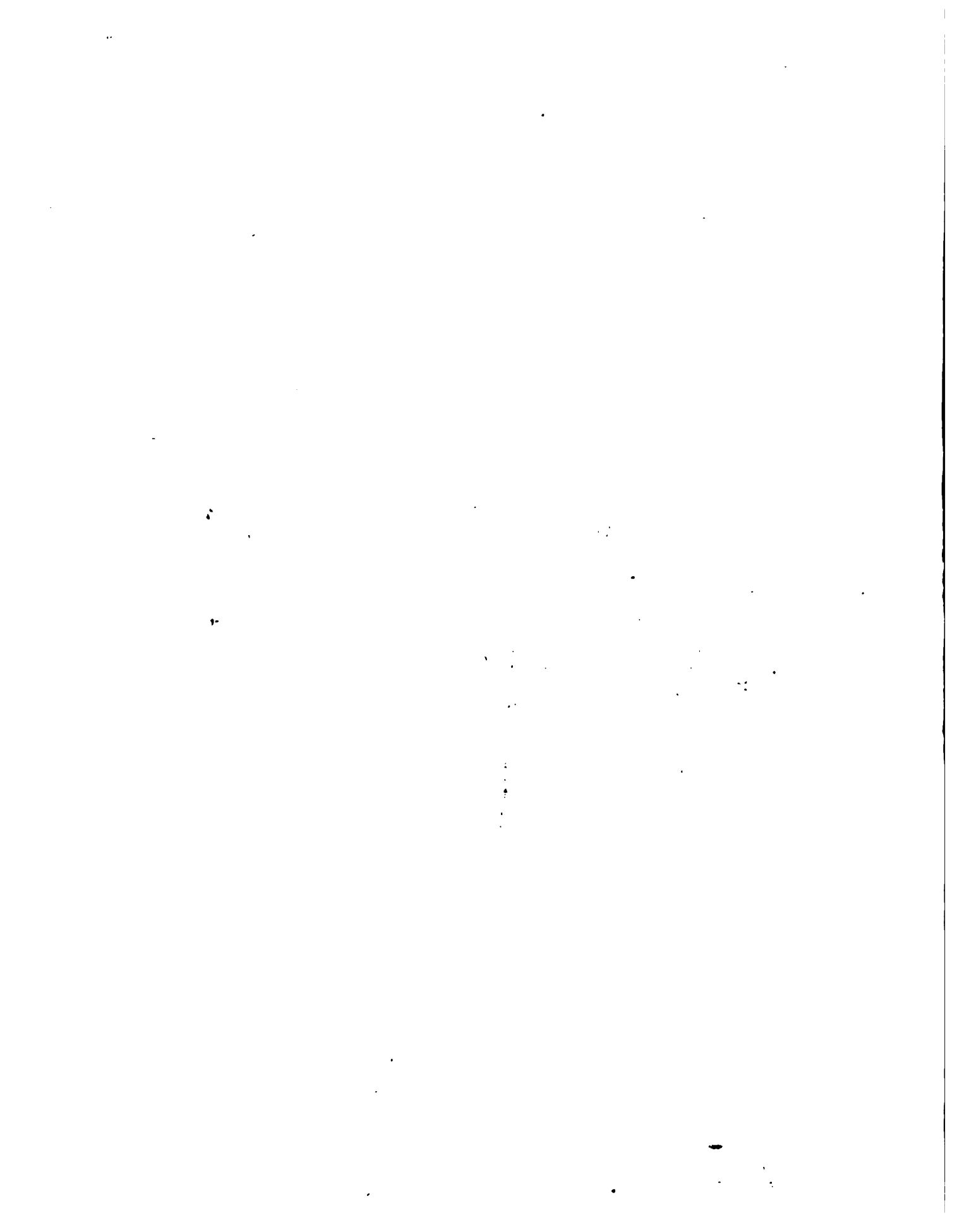
My Lord Marshal, Edward Shelley, litle Prestō, Brampton and Gerningham, Bulleners, Ratclyf, the Lord Fitzwaters brother, Syr Jhon Cleres son & heyr, Digges of Kēt, Ellerker a pēcioner Segraue. Of my Lorde Protectours bād, my Lorde Edward, hys Graces sonne, captain of ȳ same bāde, Stāley, Woodhous, Coonisby, Horgill, Norris, Dennys, Arthur and Atkinson, with other in the forerāke, not being able in this earnest assault, both to tende to their fight afore, & to ȳ retyre behynde: ȳ Scottes again, wel considering hereby how weak thei remayned, caught courage a fresh, rā sharply forward vpon them, and without ony mercy slewe euery man of our men that abode furthest in prece: a vi. mo (of Bulleners and other) then I haue here named, in all

to

to the number of a xxvi. and most part gentlemē. My Lord Grey, yet, and my Lord Edward (as sum grace was) returned agayne, but neyther all in safetie nor without eident markes they had bene thear: for the one with a pyke through the mouth was raced a longe from the tip of the tunge, and thrust that way very daungerously more then twoo inches wythin the neck, and my Lorde Edward had hys horse vnder hym with swoordes wounded sore, and I thiike to death. Lyke as also a litle before this onset, Syr Thomas Darcy, vpon hys approach to the enemies, was strooken glauncing wyse on the ryght syde, with a bullet of one of their felde peces, and thearby his body broosed wyth the boowyng in of hys harneys, hys sword hiltes broken, & the forefynger of his right hāde beatē flat. Euen so vppon the partyng of thys fray, was Syr Arthur Darcy slasht at with swoordes, and so hurt vppon the wedding fynger of hys righte hande also, as it was counted for the fyrst parte of medecine, too haue it quite cut awaye. About the same time, certein of the Scottes ran out hastely to ȳ Kynges Maiesties standerde of the horsmen (the whiche Syr Androwe Flammak bare) and laiying fast holde vpon the staf thearof, cryed, a kyng! a kyng! That if both his strength, hys hart and hys horse had not ben good, and hereto, sumwhat ayded at this pinch by Sir Raulph Coppinger a pencioner: bothe he had bene slain, and the standerd lost, whiche the Scottes neuertheles hilde so fast, ȳ they brake and bare away ȳ nether ende of the staff to the burrel, & intended so much to the gayne of the stāderd, that Syr Androw (as hap was) skaped home all safe, and els without hurt. At this bysines also, was my Lord Fitzwaters, captain of a number of dimilaunces, vnhorste, but soone mounted againe, skaped yet in great daunger, and hys horse al hewē: Hereat further wear Cauarley the standard bearer of the men of armes, and Clemēt Paston a pēcioner, thrust eche of them into the leg with pykes: and Don Philip a Spaniard, in ȳ knee: diuers other maymed and hurt, and many horses sore woūded besyde.

By this tyme had our forewarde accordingly gotten the full vaūtage of the hilles side, and in respect of their march, stood sydeling toward
the

the encmie : Who neuertheles wear not able in all partes to stonde full square in array, by reason that at the west ende of them vpon their right hand, and toward the enemie, thear was a square plot enclosed with turfe (as their maner of fencyng in thoose partes is) one corner whearof, did let the square of the same arraye. Our battaile in good order next them, but so as in continuaunce of array, the former parte thearof stood vpon the hilles syde, the tayle vpon the playn; and the rerewarde hoolly vpon the playn. So that by the placing and countenance of oure armye in this wyse, wee shewed ourselues in a maner to cumpas them in, that they shoold no way skape vs : the whiche, by our poure and nūmber we wear as well able to doo, as a spynners webbe to catche a swarme of bees. Howebeit for hart and courage we ment too mete wyth them, had they bene as many mo. These vndiscrete gadlinges, that so fondly brake array from the horsmen in the retyre (as I sayde) ran so hastely thurgh the orders and rankes of our forewarde as it stood, that it did both ther disorder many, feared many, & was great encouraging to the enemie. My Lorde Lieutenaūt, who had the gyding of our forewarde, right valiauntly had conducted the same to their stōdyng, and thear did very nobly encourage & comfort thē; bidding them plucke vp their hartes, & shew thēselfes mē, for thear was no cause of fear : asfor victorie, it was in their oun handes if they did abyde by it, & he himself euen thear woold lyue and dye amōg them. And surely, as hys wurthines allwayes right well deserueth, so was hys honour at that tyme accordingly furnished w̄ wurthy captains. First Syr Jhon Lutterel, who had the leading of a iii. C. of hys Lordships mē that wear the formost of thys forewarde, all with harneys & weapon, and in all pointes els so well trimmed for war, that lyke as at that tyme I coulde well note my Lordes great cost and honour, for that their choyse and perfet appointment and furnitoure : so did I then also cōsider Syr Jhon Luttrels proowes and wisdom for their valiaunt conductiō and exact obseruance of order, whom (knowynge as I knowe) for his wit, manhod, good qualitees & aptnes to all gentle feates besyde, I haue good
cause



rest of our strengths, by y^e pollecie of my Lordes Grace, and diligence of euery captain and officer bysyde, wear so oportunely and aptly applyed in their feat, that whear this repulse of the enemie, & retyre of vs was douted of many to turne to the daunger of our los, y^e same was wrought and aduaunced (accordyng as it was deuysed) to our certeinte of gayn and victorie. For first at this sloughe whear most of our horsmē had stond, Syr Peter Mewtus captain of all y^e hakbutters a foot, did very valiauntly conduct & place a good number of hys men, in a maner harde at the faces of the enemies. Wherunto Syr Peter Gamboa, a Spanyard, captain of a ii. C. hakbutters on horsback, did redily bring his mē also, whoo with y^e hot cōtinuaūce of their shot on both partes, did so stoutly stay the enemies, that thei could not well cum forther forward: then our archers that marched in array on the right hande of oure footmen, & next to the ennemie, prict them sharply wth arrowes as they stode. Thearwith the Master of the ordinaunce, to their great anoyauce, did gall them with hailshot & other out of the great ordinaūce directly from the hil top, and certeyn other gunners with their peces, a flanke from our rerewarde, most of our artillerie & missiue engins, then holy thus at ones with great puissancē & vehemēcie occupied about thē: Herewith, the full sight of our footmen all shadowed from them before by oure horsmen & dust reysed, whoom then they wearware in such order to be so nere vpō them. And to this the perfet aray of our horsmen again cummig cooragiously to set on them afresh. Miserable mē, perceyuyng themselues then al to late, howe muche to much they weare misenformed, began sodeinly to shrink. Their gouernour that brought thē firste to y^e bargain, lyke a doughty capitain, took hastely hys horse, that he might run foremost away. Indede it stood sumwhat with reason, that he should make first homewarde that fyrste made outwarde, but (as sum of them sayde) skant with honour, & with shame inough. The Erle of Anguish, & other chefe capitains, did quickly followe as their gouernour led: and with the formoste their Irishmen. Thearwith then turned all the hole rout, kest down their

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weapons,

weapons, ran out of their wardes, of with their iackes, & with all that euer they might, betooke them to the race ȳ their gouernour began. Oure men had foūd them at the first (as what could escape so many thousand eyes?) and sharply and quikly with an vniuersall outcrie, thei flye! they flye! pursued after in chase amain: and thearto so eagerly, and with suche fiersnes, that they ouertooke many, and spared indede but fewe; (as it mought then hardly haue bene both folie & parell to haue shewed ony pitee). But when they wear ones turned, it was a wōder to see how soō & in how sundry sortes they wear skattered: The place they stood on, like a wood of staues strewed on the ground as rushes in a chāber, vnpassable (thei lay so thik) for eyther horse or mā. Here at the first had thei let fal al their pykes: After that, euery whear skatred swordes, buklers, daggers, iackes, and all thing els that eyther was of ony weyght, or mighte be ony let too their course; which course amōg thē, three weys specially thei made; sum along the sandes by the Fryth toward Lyeth; sū straight toward Edinborow, whearof parte throughe the parke thear, (in the walles whearof, though they be rounde about of flynte stone, yet wear thear many holes al redy made); and parte of them by the hye waye that leades alonge by Hollyrood Abbey; and the residue, & (as we noted then) the moste of them toward Dakyth, whiche wey, by meanes of the marish, our horsmen wear woorst able to followe. Sundry shyftes, sum shrewd, sū sory, made they in their running; diuers of thē in their courses, as they wear ware they wear pursued but of one, would sodenly start back, & lashe at ȳ legges of the horse, or foyne him in ȳ belly, & sumtyme did they reach at the rider also: wherby Clemēt Pastō in the arme, and diuers other otherwyse, in thys chase weare hurt. Sum other lay flat in a furrowe as though they wear dead, therby past by of our mē vntouched: as I harde say, the Erle of Anguishe confessed he couched till hys hors hapt to be brought hym. Oother sum, to stay in the ryuer cowering doun hys body, hys hed vnder the rote of a willowe tree, with skant hys nose aboue water for breath: A shift, but no succour it was too many that had

had their skulles on, at the stroke of the follower, too shrinke w̄ their heddes into their shulders, lyke a tortuis into hys shell : Oothers again, for their more lightnes, cast awai shoos and dobles, and ran in their shirtes : And sum also seen in this race all breathles to fal flat down, and haue run themselues to death.

Before thys, at the tyme of our onset cam thear eastward a v. C. of their horsmen vp alonge thys Fauxsyde Bray, strayght vpon our ordinaunce and cariage. My Lordes Grace (as I sayde) most specially for the dout of the same, placynge hymself thearby, caused a pece or two to be turned towarde them, with a few shottes whearof, they wear soon turned also, and fled to Dakyth. But had they kept on, they wear prouided for accordingly ; for one parson Keble, a chaplain of hys Graces, and two or thre oother, by and by discharged foure or fyue of the cartes of municion, and thearwith bestowed pykes, billes, bowes, and arrowes, to as many as came, soo that of carters and other thear wear soon weaponed thear about a thousand, whoom parson Keble and the oother dyd very handsomely dispose in array, and made a prety mouster. To returne nowe : Soon after thys notable strewyng of theyr footmens weapons, beganne a pitefull sight of the dead corpses liyng dispersed abrode ; sum their legges of, sum but hought, and left liyngē half dead, sum thrust quite thrughe ȳ body, oothers the armes cut of, diuers their neckes half a sunder, many their heddes clouen, of sundry the braynes pasht out, sum others agā their heddes quite of, w̄ other M. kyndes of kyllig. After ȳ, & further in chase, al for ȳ most part kyllid either in the hed or in ȳ nek, for our horsmē coolde not well reach thē lower w̄ their swoordes. And thus w̄ blod & slaughter of ȳ enemie, this chase was continued v. miles in length westward frō the place of their standyng, whiche was in the fallow felde of Vndreske, vntill Edinborowe parke, & well nye to the gates of the toune itself, and vnto Lyeth ; and in breadth nie iiii. myle, from the Fryth sandes vp towarde Daketh southwarde. In all whiche space, the dead bodyes lay as thik as a man may note cattell grasing in a full replenished pas-

ture. The ryuer ran al red with blood, soo that in the same chase wear counted, aswell by sum of our men that sumwhat diligently did marke it, as by sum of them takē prisoners, that very muche did lament it, to haue bene slayn abooue xiiii. thousande. In all thys cumpas of grounde, what with weapons, armes, handes, legges, heddes, blood, and dead bodyes, their flight mought haue easily bene tracted to euery of theyr iii. refuges. And for the smallnes of our number, and shortnes of the tyme (whiche was skant v. houres, from one till wellnie vi.) the mortalite was so great, as it was thought, the lyke afore time not to haue bene sene. Indede it was the better maynteyned with theyr oun swoordes that lay each whear skattered by the waye, whearof our men, as they had broke one, stil tooke vp another; thear was store inough, and they layd it on freely, that righte many among theim, at thys bysynes, brake thre or foure ear they returned homeward to y^e armye. I may well perchaunce confes, that herein we vsed sum sharpnes (although not asmuche as we mought) and little curtesie; and yet I can safely avowe, all doon by vs, as rather by sundry respectes dryuen and compeld, then eyther of crueltie or of delight in slaughter. And lyke (sumwaye) to the diligent master that sharpely sumtime (when warnynge will not serue) dooth beat hys scholler, not hardely for hate of the chylde, or hys oun delyghte in beatynge, but for looue he wolde haue hym amende hys fautes or negligence, and beates hym ones surely, because he wolde nede to beat hym no more. One cause of the correction we vsed, I maye well count to be their tyrannous vowe they made (which we certainly hard of) that whensoever they fought and ouercam, they wolde slea so many, and spare so fewe: a sure proof wherof thei plainly had shewed at our onset before, whear they kylde all, and saued not a man.

Another respecte was, to reuenge their great and cruel tyranny shewed at Panyar hough (as I haue before sayde) whear they slewe the Lorde Euers (whome otherwyse they mought haue taken prisoner and saued) and cruelly kylde as many els of oure men as came into theyr handes. We wear forced yet hereto by a further & very earnest regarde,

garde, whiche was the dout of assemble of their armie again, whearof a cantell (for the number) had bene able to compare with our hole hoste, when it was at the greatest: and so perchaunce we shoulde haue bene driuen with dooble labour to beat thē again, and make two woorkes of one: whearas we well remēbred, that a thyng ones well doon is twyse doon. To these, anoother and not the meanest matter was, their armour among them so little differing, and their apparail so base and beggerly, whearin the Lurdein was in a maner all one wyth the Lorde, and the Lounde wyth the Larde: all clad a lyke in iackes couerd wyth whyte leather, dooblettes of y̅ same or of fustian, and most commonly al white hosen. Not one w̅ either cheine, brooch, ryng, or garment of silke that I could see, onles cheynes of latten drawen four or fyue tymes along y̅ thighs of their hosen and dooblet sleues for cuttyng: and of y̅ sort I sawe many. This vilenes of port, was the caus that so many of their great men and gentlemen wear kyld & so fewe saued. The outwarde sheaw, the semblaunce & sign, whearby a straūger might discern a villain from a gentleman, was not amoong them to be seen. As for woordes & goodly proffer of great raundsums, wear as commō and ryfe in the mouths of the tone as in the toother. And thearfore hereby it cam to pas that after, at the examinacion and countyng of the prisoners, we found taken aboue twenty of their villayns to one of their gentlemen: whoō no man nede to dout, we had rather haue spared, then the villayns, yf we could haue knowen ony difference betwene thē in takyng: And yet notwithstanding all these our iust causes and quarels to kyll them, we shewed more grace & tooke mo to mercy, then the case on our syde, for the causes aforesayd, did well deserue or require: for bysyde the Erle Huntley, who in good harneys appointed lykest a gentleman of ony of them that I could here of or see, (but could not then eskafe, bicaus he lact his horse, and thearfore hapt to be taken by Sir Rafe Vane), and bysyde the Lorde of Yester, Hobby Hambleton captayn of Dunbar, the Master of Sāpoole, the Larde of Wimmes taken by John Bren, a broother of y̅ Erle of Cassils, and bysyde one Moutrell taken

The name of Lorde, y̅ Scottes take in lyke signification of speche as we do. But a Larde with them (I take it) is as a Squyer wyth vs. A Lound is a name of reproch, as a villain, or suche lyke.

A kynsmā
bylyke of y
Erle of Ar-
guiles, whoos
proper sur
name is Cam-
all, lyke as
the Erle of
Anguishes is
Douglas, &
y Erle Hunt-
leys Gordon.
A Scottish
heraulde was
also takē, but
here not
placed, bi-
caus my
Lords Grace
caused hī
foorthwith
freely to be
releaced home,
wout rāidsō
or los.

taken by Cornelius cōtroller of the ordinaunce in this armie, and bi-
syde one of y Camals an Irish gentlemā takē by Edward Chamberlain,
& bysyde many oother Skottish gētleme mo, whoos names & takers I
wel remēber not. The prisoners accōted by y Marshals book wear
numbred to abooue xv. C. Touching y slaughter, sure we kyld no-
thyng so many, as (if we had mynded crueltie so much) for the tyme
and oportunitēe right well we mought: for my Lords Grace, of his
woonted mercy, mooch mooued w y pitee of this sight, and rather glad
of victorie, then desyrus of crueltie, soon after (by ges) v. of the klok,
stayed his standerd of his horsmen at the furthest part of their campe
westward, and caused the trumpettes to blowe a retreat. Whearat also
Sir Rafe Sadleyr treasurer (whoos great diligēce at y time, and redy for-
wardenes in y chefest of y fray before, did woorthely merit no small
commendacion) caused al the footmen to stay, and then, w much trauaile
and great peyn, made them to be brought in sū order agayn: It was a
thyng yet not easly to be doon, by reason they all as then sumwhat bisy-
ly applied their market, the spoile of this Scottish campe: Whearin wear
foūd good prouision of whyte bread, ale, otencakes, otemeal, mutton,
butter in pottes, chese, & in diuers tentes good wyne also; good store,
to say truth, of good vitale for the maner of their cuntree. And in
sum tentes amoong them, (as I hard say) wear also founde of siluer plate
a dish or ii: ii. or iii. goblettes, and iii. or iiii. chalices, the whiche the
fynders, (I know not with what reuerence, but w sum deuotion hardely),
pluct out of the colde clouts, & thrust into their warme boosōs.

Here now to say sumwhat of the maner of their campe: As they had
no panyons or roūd houses of ony cōmendable cumpas, so wear thear
fewe oother tentes w postes as y vsed maner of makyng is: And of these
fewe also, none of abooue xx. foot lēgth, but most far vnder; for y
most part all very sumptuously beset (after their faciō) for the looue of
Fraunce, with fleur de lices, sum of blue buckeram, sum of black, and
sum of sum oother colours. These whyte ridges (as I calld them) that
as we stood on Fauxsyde Bray dyd make so great mouster toward vs,
which

which I dyd take then to be a number of tentes ; when we cam, we found it a lynnē draperie, of the coorser cameryk in dede, for it was all of canuas sheets, and wear the tenticles or rather cabayns and couches of theyr souldiours, the which (much after the common byldyng of their cuntree besyde) had they framed of iiii. sticks, about an elle long a pece, whearof ii. fastened toogyther at one ende a loft, and ȳ ii. endes beneath stict in ȳ ground an elle a sunder, standing in facion lyke the bowe of a soowes yoke : Ouer ii. such bowes (one as it wear at their hed, thooother at their feet) thei stretched a shete down on both sides, whearby their cabain becam roofed lyke a ridge ; but skant shit at both endes, & not very close beneath on the sydes, onles their stiks wear the shorter, or their wiues ȳ more liberal to lend them larger naperie : Howbeit, win they had lyned them and stuff them so thick with strawe, ȳ the weather as it was not very cold, when they wear ones couched, thei wear as warme as thei had bene wrapt in horsdung.

This the plot of their campe was called Edminstō edge, nie Gilberton, a place of the Lorde of Brimstons, halfe a mile beyond Muskelboorowe, and a iiii. mile on this syde Edenborowe, and occupied in largenes with diuers tentes and tenticles, that stood in sundry partes out of square about a miles cumpas : whearin as our mē vpon ȳ sound of retreat at their retire wear sumwhat assembled, we all with a loud and entyer outcrie and hallowyng, in sign of gladnes and victorie, made an vniuersall noys and shout, whearof the shrilnes (as after we hard) was hard vntil Edinboorowe.

It was a woonder to see, but that (as they say) many handes make lyght woork, how soon the dead bodyes wear stryped out of their garments starke naked, euen from as far as the chase went, vntil the place of our onset ; whearby the parsonages of the enemies, might by ȳ wey easily be viewed and considered ; ȳ which for their tallnes of stature, cleanes of skyn, bignes of bone, with due proportion in al partes, I for my part aduisedly noted to be such, as but that I well sawe that it was so, I woolde not haue beleued sure so many of that sort to haue bene in
all

* As their fel
sodeinly in
Roō a great
dungeō &
swallowīg of
groūd, Cur-
tius, a Ro-
mane gentle-
mā, for ȳ
pleasyng of ȳ
goddes, & ȳ
ȳ same might
ceas, mouēd
on his horse
and lept down
into the same,
which straight
then after
closed vp a-
gaync. *Va-
ler. Max. li.
vi. ca. vi.*
Decius Mus,
& Publius
Decius his
sun, consuls
of Robm, as
thei shoold
fight, the fa-
ther against
ȳ Latines, &
the sun after
ȳ agaiēt the
Sānites, &
wear warned
by dream that
those armies
shoold haue
the victorie,
whoos cap-
tains wear
first slayn in
felde, thei
both ran wil-
lingly in to ȳ
hostes of their
enemies; they
wear slayn, &
theyr armies
wan the felde.

Plutarch. de

Decio pr. paral. xxxvii. et Liu de P. Decio li. x. dec. 1.

all their cūtree : Amoong them lay thear, many prestes and kirkmen as thei call them, of whom it was bruted amoong vs, that thear was a hole band of a iii. or iiii. M. but we wear after enfourmed, it was not altog- ther so. At the place of the chardge at the first by vs gyuen, thear found we our horses slayn, all gored and heawē, and our men so rufu- ly gasht and mangled in the hed spetially, as not one by the face could be knowen who he was. Litle Preston was found thear with both his handes cut of by the wreasts, and knowen to be he, for that it was knowen he had of each arme a bracelet of golde, for ȳ which they so chopt hym. Edward Shelley, alas, that woorthy gentleman and valiaunt captain, all piteefully disfigured and mangled, amoong them lay; and but by his bearde nothing discernable; of whom (bysyde the propernes of parson) for his wit, his good qualitees, his actiuitee in feates of war, and his perfet honestie (for the whiche with all men of all estates he was alwey so much estemed & so well belooued) & hereto for that he was so nere my frende : I had caus inough here, without parsimonie, to prays his lyfe, & lament his death, wear it not that thesame shoold be to great a digression and to mucche interrupcion of the matter : But, touching the maner of his death, I thinke his merit to mooch to be let pas in silence * ; who not inferiour in fortitude of mynde eyther vnto the Romæ Curtius or the ii. Decii, he being in this busines formost of all our men against the enemies; consyderyng with hymself, that as his hardy charge vpon them, was sure to be their terrour, and very lykely to turne to the breach of their order; and herewith also ȳ the same shoold be greate coorage to his followers that cam to gyue the charge with hym; and ponderynge, agayn, that his turnynge bak at thys point, shoold caus the contrarye, and be great daunger of our confusion : was content, in his Kyngs and contrees quarell, in hope the rather to leaue victorie vnto his cuntremen, thus honorably to take death to hym selfe : Whoom, let no man thynke, no foolysh hardines or werynes of lyfe draue vnto so harde an enterprise; whoos sober valiaunce of coorage had often ootherwyse, in the late warres with Fraunce, bene sufficiently before.

before approued, and whoos state of lyuing my selfe I knue to be such, as lact nothing y might pertain to perfit worldly wealth. I trust it shall not be taken that I mean hearby to derogate fame from any of the rest that dyed thear (G O D haue their solles) who I wot bought the bargain as deere as he, but only to doo that in me may lye to make his name famous, whoo amoong these (in my opinion) towarde his prince and cuntree did best deserue.

Nye this place of onset, whear the Scottes, at their rŭnyng away, had let fall their weapons (as I sayd) thear found we, bysyde their common maner of armour, certeyn nice instrumentes for war (as we thought). And they wear, nue boordes endes cut of, being about a foot in breadth and half a yarde in leangth; hauyng on the insyde, handels made very cunninggly of ii. cordes endes: These a Gods name wear their targettes again the shot of our small artillerie, for they wear not able to hold out a canon. And with these, found we great rattels, swellyng bygger then the belly of a pottell pot, coouered with old parchement or dooble papers, small stones put in them to make noys, and set vpon the ende of a staff of more then twoo els long: and this was their fyne deuysse to fray our horses when our horsmen shoulde cum at them: Howbeeit, bycaus the ryders wear no babyes, nor their horses no colts, they could neyther duddle the tone, nor fray the toother: so that this pollecy was as witles as their powr forceles.

Amoong these weapons, and bysyde diuers oother banners, standerds, and penons, a banner of whyte sarcenet was fouŭd, vnder whiche it was sayd these kirkmen cam, whearupon was paynted a wooman with her hear about her shoulders, knelyng before a crucifix, and on her right hande a church; after that, written a long vpon the banner in greate Romanē letters, *Afflicta sponsa ne obliuiscaris*; whiche woordes declared that they woold haue this wooman to signifie the church, Christes spouse, and thus in humble wyse makynge her petition vnto Christ her husband, that he woold not now forget her, his spouse, beyng skourged and persecuted, meanyng at this tyme by vs. It was sayd it was the Abbot of

Donforlings banner ; but whyther yt wear his, or the Bysshop of Dunkels, ȳ gouernours broothers, (who I vnderstood wear both in the felde), and what the number of these kirkmen was, I could not certainly learne : but sure it was sum deuout papistes deuise, that not onely bylyke woold not endeavour to doo ought for atonement and peacemaking betwene vs, but al contrariwise brought foorth his standard stoutly to fyght in feld himself against vs : pretextyng this his great vngodlines thus bent toward ȳ maintnaunce of a noughtie quarell, with coolour of religion to cum in ayde of Christes church. Which church, to say truth, cūmyng thus to battaile full appointed with weapon and garded with such a sorte of deacōs to fight ; how euer in payntyng he had set her out, a man might well thinke that in condicion he had rather framed her after a curst quean that woolde pluk her husband by the pate except she had her will, then lyke a meke spouse that went aboute humbly by submission and prayer to desyre her husbands help for redres of thinges amisse. Howbeit, for sauynge vpright the suttilltie of this godly mā's deuise ; it is best we take hym he ment the most lykely : that is, the church malignaunt and cōgregacion of the wicked, whearvnto that Antichrist the Bysshop of Roome is husbond, whome, Christ sayd, as a thefe cums neuer but to steal, slea, & destroy ; and whoos good sun, this holly Prelate, in his thus cummyng to the felde with his *Afflicte*, now shewed hym self to be.

Io. ca. x.

Thear was vpon this Fauxsyde Bray (as I haue before said) a litle castel or pile which was very bysy all the tyme of the battaile, as ony of our men cam nye it, to shoot at them w̄ suche artillerie as they had (which was none oother then of handgunnes and hakbutes, and of them not a doosein neyther) litle hurt dyd they ; but as they sawe their felowes in the feld thus driuen and beaten away before their faces, they pluct in their peces, lyke a dog his taile : and couched them selves within all muet : but by and by ȳ hous was set on fyre, and they for their good will brent & smothered within.

Thus,

Thus, through the fauour of Gods bounty, by the valiaunce and pol-
 lecie of my Lordes Protectours Grace, by the foreward endeuour of all
 the nobles and counsell thear besyde, and by ȳ willing diligence of euery
 captain, officer, and true subiecte els, we most valiauntly and honour-
 ably wan the victorie ouer our enemies ; of whoō xiiii. M. wear slai thus
 in felde ; of which nūber (as we wear certainly enfourmed by sundry
 and the best of the prisoners then taken) bysyde the Erle of Loghen-
 war, ȳ Lorde Flemmyng, the Master of Greym, the Master of Arskyn,
 ȳ Master of Ogleby, the Master of Auendale, the Master of Rouen,
 and many oother of noble birth amōg them, thear wear of Lardes,
 Lardes sūnes & oother gentlemen, slayn abooue xxvi. C : & v. C. wear
 takē prisoners, wherof many gentlemen also, amōg whome wear thear
 of name (as I haue before named) ȳ Erle Huntley Lord Chauncelour of
 the Ream thear ; the Lord of Yester, Hobby Hambleton captayn of
 Dunbar ; the Master of Sampoolle ; the Larde of Wymmes, and a broo-
 ther of ȳ Erle of Cassyls. Too thousand, by lurkyng & liyng as though
 they wear dead, skaped away in ȳ night all maymed and hurt. Here-
 with wan we of their weapons and armour more then we wolde vouch-
 safe tō gyue cariage for, & yet wear thear conueyed thence by ship into
 these parties, of iakkes spetially and swords, abooue xxx. M. This night
 with great gladnes and thankes gyuyng to God (as good caus we had)
 about vii. of the klok we pitched our campe at Edgebuklyng Bray by-
 syde Pynkersclough, and a mile beyond the place we camped at afore.

About an hour after that, in sum tokē (as I took it) of God's assent
 and applause shewed to vs touchyng this victorie, the heauens relented
 and poured down a great shour of rayne that lasted wel nie an hour,
 not vnlyke and accordyng as after our late souereigne Lordes conquest
 of Bullein plētifull shoures did also then ensue.

And as we wear then a setlig, & ȳ tentes a setting vp, amoōg all
 things els commendable in our hole iorney, one thīg semed to me an
 intollerable disorder & abuse, that wher as allweys, both in al tounes
 of war & in al cāpes of armies, quietnes & stilnes without nois is princi-

pally in the night after the watch set, obserued, (I nede not reason why) our northern prikkers ȳ borderers, notwithstanding w̄ great enormite (as thought me) & not vnlyke (to be playn) vnto a masterles hound howlyng in a hie wey when he hath lost him he wayted on : sum hoopynge, sum whistelyng, and most with crying, a Berwyke a Berwyke, a Fenwyke a Fenwyke, a Bulmer a Bulmer, or so ootherwise as theyr captains names wear, neuer linde these troublous & daungerous noyses all ȳ night long. They sayd they did it to fynd out their captain & fellowes ; but yf the souldiours of our oother coūtrees and sheres had vsed ȳ same maner, in that case, we shoold haue oft tymes had the state of our camp more lyke the outrage of a dissolute huntynge then ȳ quiet of a well ordred armye. It is a feat of war, in myne opiniō, that might right well be left. I could reherse causes (but ȳ I take it, they ar better vnspoken then vtred, onles the faut wear sure to be amēded) that might shewe, thei mooue alweis more perel to our armie but in their one nightes so doynge, then thei shewe good seruice (as sum sey) in a hoole vyage. And since it is my part to be playn in my proces I wil be ȳ bolder to shewe what further I noted & hard. Anooother maner haue they amoong them of wearyng handkerchers rolled about their armes, & letters broudred apō their cappes : thei sayd themselues the vse thearof was, ȳ ech of them might know his fellowe, & thearby ȳ sooner assemble, or in nede to ayde one another, & such lyke respectes : Howbeit thear wear of tharmy amoōg vs (sum suspicious mē perchaūce) ȳ thought thei vsed them for collusion, & rather bycaus they might be knowen to thenemie, as ȳ enemies ar knowen to them (for thei haue their markes too) & so in cōflict either ech to spare oother, or gētly ech to take oother. Indede me haue bene mooued ȳ rather to thinke so, bycaus sum of their crosses wear so narrowe & so singly set on, that a puff of wynde might haue blowē thē frō their brestes, & ȳ thei wear found right often talkig w̄ ȳ Skottish prikkers win les then their gads length a sunder ; & when thei perceiued thei had bene spied, thei haue begun one to run at another, but so appauntly perlassent, as ȳ lookers on resembled their chasyng

chasyng like y running at base, in an vplondish·toun, whear the match is made for a quart of good ale ; or like y play in Robin Cooks skole, whear, bicaus the punies may lerne, thei strike fewe strokes but by assent & appointemēt. I hard sum men say, it did mooch augment their suspiciō y wey, bicaus, at y battail, thei sawe these prikkers so badly demean them, more intēding y takīg of prisoners, then y suerty of victorie ; for while oother men fought, they fell to their prey ; that as thear wear but few of them but brought home his prisoner, so wear thear many y had vi. or vii. Many men, yet, I must cōfes, ar not disposed all weys to say all of the best, but more redy haply to fynde oothers mēs fautes then to amend their oun. Howbeit I thiike sure as for our prikkers, yf their fautes had bene fewer, their infamy had bene les : yet say I not this so moch to disprais them, as for mean of amēdement. Their captains and gentlemen again, ar men for y most part al of right honest seruice and approoued prowes, & such sure as for their well dooing, woold soon becum famous, yf their souldiours wear as toward as thēselues be forward.

As thyngs fell after in comunicacion, one question amōg oother arose, who kyld the first man this day in felde, the glorie whearof one Jeronimo an Italian woold fayn haue had : howbeit it was after well tryed, y it was one Cuthbert Musgraue, a gentlemā of my Lord of Warwykes, who right hardely kyld a gūner at his pece in y Scottes foreward, ear euer they begon ony whit to turne : The fact, for the forwardnes, well deseruyng remembraūce, I thought it not mete to be let slip in silence.

This nyght the Skottish gouernor, when he thought ones him self in sum safetie, with all spede caused the Erle Bothwel to be let out of prisō : which whither he did for the doubt he had that we woold haue releaced him, wild he nild he, or whither he woold shew hiself fayn to doo sumwhat before y peple, to make sum amendes of his former faut, I doo not knowe ; but this sure, rather for sū caus of fear, then for ony good will : whiche was well apparaunt to all men, in that he had kept the Erle so long before in hold, without ony iust caus.

In

Sunday the
xi. of Sep-
tember.

In the morenyng a great sort of vs rode to the place of onset whear our mē lay slayn, and what by gentlemē for their frēdes, and seruaūtes for their masters, al of thē y wear knowē to be ours wear buried. In y mean time, y master & officers of y ordinaūcé, did very diligētly get to gyther all y Skottish ordinaūce, which, bycaus it lay in sundry places thei could not inne all ouer night. And these wear in nūber a xxx. peces, whearof one culuerine, iii. sacres, ix. smaller peces of bras & of iron, 17 peces mo mouēd on cariage.

These thinges thus done, sūwhat a fore none our cāpe reysed, we marched alōg the Fryth syde straight toward Lyeth : & approachig nie y same about iii. of the clok in thafter none, we pyght our fyeld a prik-shot on thissyde the toun : being on the southest half sumwhat shadowed frō Edinborowe by a hill, but y most of it liyng win y ful sight & shot of the Castell thear, & in distaunce sumwhat abooue a quarter of a mile. My Lordes Grace, garded but with a small cūpeny was cūmē to Lyeth well nie half an hour before the armie, the whiche he found all desolate of resistaūce or ony body els. Thear wear in y hauen that runneth into the mids of the toun, vessels of diuers sortes, a xiii. sumwhat of ode, wyne, wainskot and salt wear found in the toun, but as but litle of y, so nothig else of value : for how much of oother things as could wel be caried, y inhabitauntes ouernight had pact awei w them. My Lord Marshall and most of our horsmen wear bestowed & lodged in the toun ; my Lordes Grace, my Lord Lieutenaunt, & the rest of tharmie in the campe.

Monday the
xii. of Sep-
tember.

This day my Lordes Grace with the counsell and Sir Rychard Lee, rode about y toun, & to the plottes and hilloks on eyther syde nie to it, to viewe & consider whither the same, by byldyng, might be made tenable and defensible.

Tuysday the
xiii. of Sep-
tember.

Certayne of our smaller vessels burnt Kynkorne and a toun or twoo mo, stondyng on the northe shore of the Frith against Lyeth.

In the after noon, my Lords Grace rowed vp the Fryth a vi. or vii. myles westward as it runneth into the land, and took in his way an iland thear,

thear, called Saint Coomes Ins, which stōdeth a iiii. mile beyōd Lieth, and a good wey nerar the north shore then the south, yet not win a mile of the nerest. It is but half a myle about, and hath in it a prety Abbey, (but ȳ moōks wear gone) freshwater inough, and also coonyes, and is so naturally strong as but by one way it can be entred. The plot whear of, my Lordes Grace consideryng, did quikly cast to haue it kept, whearby al traffik of marchaūdise, all cōmodities els commyng by the Fryth into their land, & vtterly ȳ hole vse of the Fryth it self, with all the hauens vppon it, shoold quyte be taken from them.

This day my Lords Grace ridyng bak again estward to vyew diuers things and places, tooke Dakyth in his way, whear a howse of George Douglasses dooth stande: and commyng sumwhat nere it, he sent Soomerset his herald with a trompet before to knowe whoo kept it, and whether the keepers woold holde it or yelde it to his Grace. Aunswere was made, that thear was a lx. parsons within, whom their maister liyng thear the Saturday at night after the batell, dyd will that they, the hous, and all that was in yt, shoold be at my Lordes Graces commaundement and pleasure. Whear vppōn the chefest came out, and in the name of all the rest humbled hymself vnto my Lords will, proferynge his Grace in his Masters name, diuers fayr goshaukes; the whiche my Lords Grace, how nobly soeuer he listed to shew mercy vpō submissiō, yet vttering a more maiestie of honor, then to base his generositie to the reward of hisemie, did (but not cōtemptuously) refuse, and so, without cūmyng in, past by, and rode to the place whear the battell was begun to be strooken: the whiche hauyng a prety while ouerseen, he retorne by Muskelborowe and so along by the Frythe, diligently markyng and notyng thinges by ȳ way. And aswell in his retorne, as in his out goyng, many wear the houses, gentlemen, and oother, that vpon submission, his Grace receiued in to his protection.

This dai my Lords Grace, aswell for countenance of buyldyng, as though he woold tary long, as also to kepe our pioners sumwhat in exercise (whoō a litle rest woold soone make nought) caused along the
east

Wednesday
ȳ xiiii. of
September.

east syde of Lyeth a greate dich and trench to be cast toward the Frith, the woorke whearof cōtinued till the mornyng of our departyng.

Thursday the
xv. of Septē-
ber.

My Lorde Clynton, hye Admiral (as I said) of this flete, takyng with hym the galley (whearof one Broke is captain) and iii. or v. of our smaller vessels besides, all well appoynted with municion & men, rowed vp the Frith a ten myle westward to an hauen toun stondyng on the south shore called Blaknestes, whearat towardes the water syde is a castel of a prety strength. As nie whear vnto as the depth of the water thear woold suffer, the Skots, for sauegard, had laied ȳ Mary Willoughby and the Antony of Newcastle, ii. tall ships, whiche with extreme iniurie they had stollē from vs before tyme, whē no war betwene vs: with these ley thear also an oother large vessel called (by them) the Bosse and a vii. mo, whear of part laden with marchaūdize. My Lord Clynton, & his cōpenie, w̄ right hardy approche, after a great conflict betwixt the castel & our vessels, by fyne force, wan from them those iii. ships of name, & burnt all ȳ residew before their faces as they ley.

Friday ȳ xvi.
of September.

The Lard of Brimston, a Skottish gentleman, who cam to my Lordes Grace from their counsell for caus of comunicacion bilyke, retourned again to them hauing w̄ him Norrey an herald & king of armes of ours: whoo foūd them w̄ ȳ olde Quene at Sterlyng, a toun stondyng westward vppon ȳ Frith a xx. mile beyond Edinborowe.

Saterday the
xvii. of Sep-
tember.

Thear was a fellowe taken in our cāpe, whoō ȳ Scottes called English William, an English man indede, ȳ before tyme hauyng doon a robbery in Lincolnshier, did after rū awai into Scotlād, & at this time cūmē out of Edēborowe castel as a spie for ȳ Scottes, was spied himself with the maner, and hāged for his mede in ȳ best wise (bicaus he wel deserued) vpō a nue giebet somewhat biside our camp, in ȳ sight bothe of ȳ toun & castel. God haue mercy on his soule. Thear is no good logicioner, but woold think, I thik, ȳ a syllogisim thus formed of such a theuing *maior*, a rūaway *minor*, and a trayterous *consequent*, must nedes prooue (at ȳ weakest) to such a hanging argument.

Sir

Sir Jhon Luttrell knight, hauyng bene by my Lords Grace and the counsell, elect abbot, by Gods suffraunce, of the monastery of Sainct. Coomes Ins afore remembred, in the after noon of this day departed to-wardes the iland, to be stalled in his see thear accordyngly : & had with him a coouent of a C. hakbutters and l. pioners to kepe his house and land thear, and ii. rowe barkes well furnished with municion, & lxx. mariners for them, to kepe his waters. Whearby it is thought he shal soō becū a prelate of great powr. The perfytnes of his religion, is not alwaies to tarry at home, but sumtime to rowe out abrode a visitacion ; & when he goithe, I haue hard say he taketh alweyes his sumners in barke with hym, which ar very open mouthed, & neuer talk but they ar harde a mile of ; so that either for looue of his blessynges, or feare of his cursinges, he is lyke to be soueraigne ouer most of his neighbours.

My Lords Grace as this day geuyng warnyng that our departure shoold be on y morowe ; and myndyng before, with recompence somewhat accordyng, to rewarde one Bartō that had plaid an vntrue part, cōmaunded that ouer night his hous in Lyeth shoolde be set afyer. And as the same, thesame night about v. of the clok, was doon, many of our souldiours that wear very forward in fying, fyered with al hast all the toun besyde. But so farfborth (as I may thinke) without commissiō or knowledge of my Lords Grace, as right many horses both of his Graces and of diuers others, wear in great daunger, ear they could be quited then from out of the toun ; vi. greate ships liyng in the hauen thear, that for age and decay wear not so apt for vse, wear then also set a fyer, which all the night with great flame did burne very solemnly.

In the tyme of our here campyng, many lardes and gentlemen of the cuntry nie thear, cam in to my Lorde to require his protection, the whiche his Grace, to whom he thought good, did graunt.

This day also, cam the Erle Bothwell to my Lordes Grace, a gentleman of a right cumly porte and stature, and hereto of right honourable and iust meanyng and dealyng toward the Kyngs Maiestie, whom

my Lords Grace did thearfore accordyng vnto his degree & demerites, very frendly welcum and entertein, & hauing supped this night w' his Grace, he then after departed.

Thear stode southwestward about a quarter of a mile from our cāpe, a monasterie, thei call it Holly roode abbey. Sir Water Bonhā and Edward Chāberlayne gat lycence to suppress it: whearupō these commissioners makyng first theyr visitacion thear, they found the moōks all gone: but the church and mooch parte of y' house well couered with leade. Soon after, thei pluct of the leade, & had down y' bells, (which wear but ii.), and accordyng to y' statute did somewhat hearby disgrace y' hous. As touchyng the moōkes, bicaus they wear gone, thei put them to their pencions at large.

Sunday the
xviii. of Sep-
tember.

My Lords Grace, for consideracions moouyng hym to pitee, hauing al this while spared Edinborowe from hurt, did so leaue it, but Lieth and the ships still burnyng, soon after vii. of y' clock in this morenyng caused y' cāpe to dislodge. And as we wear parted from whear we laye, the castel shot of a peal (with chambers hardely & all) of a xxiiii. peces: we marched sowtheast from the Frith, into y' landward. But part of vs kept the wey y' the chiefe of the chase was continued in, whearby we founde most parte of the dead corpses liyng very rufully with y' colour of their skynnes chaūged grenish, about y' place they had be smitten in, and as thento abooue grounde vnberied; many also we perceyued to haue bene beried in Vndreske church yarde, the graues of whom, y' Scots had very slyly for sight couered agayn with grene turfe. By diuerse of these dead bodies wear thear set vp a stik with a clowte, with a rag, with an olde shoe, or sū oother marke, for knowledge, the which we vnderstode to be markes made by y' frendes of y' partie dead when they had found him; whoō then, sith they durst not for feare or lack of leasure conuey away to bery while we wear in those partes, thei had stict vp a mark to fynde hym the sooner when we wear goon. And passyng that day all quietly a vii. mile, we camped early for that night at Crainston, by a place of the Lorde of Ormstons. This morenyng his
Grace

Grace makynge Master Andrew Dudley knight, broother vnto the Erie of Warwyk, (as his valiaunce, sundry whear tried, had well before deserued it), dispatched my Lorde Admirall and hym by shippes full fraught wyth men and municion, towarde the wynnyng of an holde in the east syde of Skotland called Broughty Crak, whiche stondest in such sort at the mouth of the ryuer of Tey, as that beyng gotten, both Dundy, Saint Johns town, and many townes els (the best of the cuntrey in those partes, set vppon the Tey) shall eyther be cum subiecte vnto this holde, or els be compelled to for goo their hole vse of the riuer, for hauyng ony thyng thearby cummynge inwarde or outwarde.

We went a ten myle, and camped towarde night a littell a thissyde a market town called Lawder; at the whiche as we had indede no frendely enterteynment, so had we no enuious resistaunce, for thear was no body at home. Here, as our tentes wear a pytchyng, a doosein or xx. of their hedge crepers horsmen, that lay lurking thearby, lyke shepe byter cures, to snach vp and it wear but a sory lambe for their prey, vppon a hill about half a mile sowtheast from vs, ran at, and hurt one of our mē. For acquitaile whearof, my Lordes Grace commaunded that iii. or iiii. houses, (such as thei wear) stondyng also vppon a hill ii. flight shot southward from our cāpe, shoolde be burnt. Thomas Fisser his Graces secretarie rode straight thyther w̄ a burnyng brand in his tone hand, and his gun in the toother, accōpanied with no mo but one of his own men, and fyred them all by and by. I noted it for my part an enterprise of a right good hart & courage, peraduēture so mooch the rather, bicaus I woold not gladly haue taken in hand to haue doon it so my self, spetially since parte of these prikkers stode then within a flight shot of hi. Howbeit, as in al this iorney, vpon ony likelihode of bysines, I euer sawe hym right wel appointed, and as forward as the best; so at the skirmish which the Scottes profered at Hailes castell, on Wednesday afore written the vii. of this moneth, I sawe none so nere them as he: whearby I maye haue good cause to be ȳ les in doubt of his hardines. Here also as we wear setteled, our herauld Norrey re-

Mūday ȳ
xix. of Sep-
tember.

toured from the Skottes counsell, with the larde of Brimston, and Roze their heraulde; who, vpon theyr sute to my Lordes Grace, obteyned that v. of theyr counsell shoold haue his Graces safecundet, that at ony tyme and place within fifyten dayes duryng our abode in theyr cuntrey, or at Berwyke, the same v. might cum and comen with v. of our counsell touching the matters bitwene vs.

Tuysday the
xx. of Sep-
tember.

Rose the heraulde departed erely with this saufecundet, our campe reysed, and we went that day an vii. myle till as far as Hume castell; wher we camped on the westsyde of a rocky hill, that they call Harecrag, whyche stondesth about a myle westwarde from the castell. The Lorde of Hume (as I sayd) lay diseased at Edenborowe of his hurt in his flight at the Frydays skyrmysh before the battayle. The lady his wife cam straight to my Lordes Grace, makyng her humble sute, that lyke as hys goodnes had graciously bene shewed to right many oother, in receyunge them and their howses into his Graces protection and assurance, euen so, that it woold pleas him to receyue and assure her and her howse the castell. My Lordes Grace, myndyng neuer oother but to assure her she shoold be sure soon to forgo it, turned straight her sute of assurance into comunicacion of rendring: for my part I doubt not but the terrour of extremitie by their obstinacy, and proffit of frēdship by their submission, was sufficiētly shewed her: the which hauyng well (by like) considered, she lefte of her sute, and desired respite for consultacion, tyll the next day at noon; whiche hauyng graunted her, she returned to the castell. They say, a matche well made is half wun: we wear half put in assurance of a toward aunswer by the promesse of a prophecy among the Frenchmen, which sayeth, *Chasteau que parloit & femme que escote: lūg voet rendre, & lautre*; and so forth. Thear wear certē hakbutters that vpon appointment afore, had beset the castell: whoo then had further commaundement geuen them, that takyng diligent hede none shoold pas in or out without my Lordes Graces licence, they should also not occupie ony shot or annoyaunce tyll vpon further warnyng.

This

This lady in this mean tyme consulted with her sun & heir, prisoner with vs, and with oother her frendes the keepers of the castell, at the tyme appointed, returned this day to my Lordes Grace, requiryng first a longer respit till viii. a clock at night, and thearwith saufcundet for Andrew Hume her secund sun, and John Hume, Lord of Coldamknowes, a kinsman of her husbāds, captains of this castell, to cum and speake with his Grace in the meane while : It was graunted her; whearupon these captains, about iii. of the clock, cam to his Lordship, & after oother coouenaūtes, with long debatyng on bothe partes agreed vpon, she and these captains concluded to geue their assent to render ȳ castell, so far foorth as the rest of the keepers woold thearwith be content. For ii. or iii. within (saide they) wear also in charge w̄ keeping it, as wel as they : for knowledge of whose mīdes, my Lords Grace then sent Soomerset his herauld w̄ this lady to ȳ castel to them : who, as the herauld had made them priuie of the articles, wolde fayne haue had leasure for xxiiii. houres lenger, to send to their Lord to Edēborowe to kno his wil ; but beyng wisely & sharply cauld vpō by the herauld, thei agreed to the coouenautes, afore by their lady and capteyns concluded on. Whearof parte wear (as I sawe by ȳ sequele) that they shoold departe thence the next daie mornyng by x. of the klok with bagge and baggage as mooch as they could cary, sauynge all municion and vytayle to be left be hynde them in the castell. Howbeeit, for as mooche as before tyme, theyr nacion had not bene all together so iuste of coouenant, whearby as then we mought haue cause fyrmyly to credyt their promys, my Lords Grace prouidyng ech way to be redy for them, caused this night viii. peces of our ordinaunce, fenced w̄ baskets of earth, to be plāted on the southsyde towarde the castell within pour of batrie, & the hakbuttes to continue their watch and warde.

This mornyng my Lords Grace hauyng deputed my Lord Gray to receyue the rendryng of the castell, and Sir Edward Dudley after to be captayn of the same, they both departed to yt : & at the time set, Androwe Hume and iiiii. oother of ȳ chefest thear with hym cam out, & yeldyng

Wednesday
the xxi. of
September.

Thursday ȳ
xxii. of Sep-
tember.

yeldyng ȳ castell, deliuered my Lord the keis. His Lordship causyng the residue also to cumme out then, sauynge vi. or vii. to kepe their baggage win (who all wear in number lxxviii.) entred ȳ same with Master Dudley and diuers oother gentlemē with him. He found thear indifferent good store of vytayle & wyne: and of ordinaunce, twoo basterd culuerins, one sacre, iii. fawconets of bras, and of iren viii. peces beside. The castell stondesth vpon a rocky crag, with a proud heith ouer all the contrie about it, on euery syde well nie fenced by marrysh, almost rounde in foorme, w̄ thik walls, & (which is a rare thing. vpō so hie and stonie a groūd) a faire well within yt. The keypyng of this castell, my Lord betakyng vnto Master Dudley accordyngly, returned to my Lordes Grace at the campe.

Friday ȳ
xxiii. of Sep-
tember.

We reised, and cam that mornynge to Rokesborow, and iii. myle from Hume. Our camp occupied a greate fallowe felde betwene Rokesborowe and Kelseye, stondyng eastward a quarter of a myle of; a prety market toun to; but they wear all goon fourth thear. My Lordes Grace, wyth dyuers of the counsell, and Sir Richard Lee knight (whose chardge in this expedycon spetially was to appoynt the pioners ech whear in work as he shoold thynke meete, and then (whear my Lordes Grace assigned) to deuyse the fourme of byldyng for fortificacion; whom suerly the goodnes of his wytt and hys greate experience hath made in that science right excellent) went straight to Rokesborowe to caste what thear for strengthnyng might be doon. The plot and syte whearof hath bene in tyme paste a castell, and standeth naturally very strong vpon a hyll east and west of an eyght skore in length, and iii. skore in bredth, drawynge to narrownes at the easte ende; the hole grounde whearof, the old walles doo yet enuyron. Besyde the heyth and hardines to cum to, it is strōgly fenced on eythter syde with the course of ii. great riuers, Tyuet on the north, and Twede on the sowth: both which ioynyng sum what nie to gyther at the west ende of it, Tyuet by a large cumpas a bowte the felde wec laye in, at Kelsey dooth fall into this Twede, which w̄ greate deapth & swiftnes runneth from thence eastward into the
sea.

Rokesborow.

sea at Berwyk, and is notable and famous for ii. commodities specially, salmons, and whetstones. Ouer this, betwyxte Kelsey and Rokesborowe, hath thear bene a great stone bridge with arches, the which ȳ Skottes in time paste haue all to broken, bycaus we shoold not that wei cum to them. Soō after my Lords Graces survey of the plot and determination to doo asmuch indeede for makynge it defencyble, as shortnes of the tyme and season of ȳ yere could suffer, (which was, ȳ one great trench of twenty foot brode, with deapth accordyng, and a wall of lyke breadth and heyth, shoold be made a cros win the castel from the tone sidewall to thooother, and a xl. foot from the west ende; and that a like trēch and wall shoold likewise be cast a trauers within, about a quoyts cast frō theast ende, and hereto that the castell walles on either syde, whear neede was, shoold be mended with turfe, and made w̄ loopholes as well for shooting directly foorthward, as for flankyng at hand; the woork of which devise did make, that bisyde the sauegard of these trenches & walles, ȳ kepers shoold also be much fenced by both the ende walles of the castel) ȳ pioners wear set a woork, and diligently applied in the same.

This day the lard of Cesfoorth and many oother lards and gentlemen of Tyuetdale and their marches thear hauyng cum and communed with my Lordes Grace, made vs an assuraunce (which was a frendship and as it wear a truis) for that daye till the next day at nyght.

This daye in the meane while theyr assuraunce lasted, these lardea and gentlemen aforesayde, beyng the chefeste in the hole marches and Tyuetdale, cam in agayn, whoom my Lords Grace with wysdom and pollecie, without any fightyng or bloodshed, dyd wyn then vnto the obedience of the Kyngs Maiestie: for the whyche they dyd wylyngly then also receyue an oth, whose names ensue.

LARDS.

The lard of Cesfoorth.

The lard of Fernyherst.

The

The lard of Grenehed.
 The lard of Hunthill.
 The lard of Hundley.
 The lard of Markestone by Mersyde.
 The lard of Bouniedworth.
 The lard of Ormeston.
 The lard of Mallestaynes.
 The lard of Warmesey.
 The lard of Lynton.
 The lard of Egerston.
 The lard of Marton.
 The lard of Mowe.
 The lard of Ryddell.
 The lard of Beamersyde.

GENTLEMEN.

George Trombull.
 Jhon Hollyburton.
 Robert Car.
 Robert Car of Greyden.
 Adam Kyrton.
 Andrew Meyther.
 Saunder Spuruose of Erleston.
 Mark Car of Litleden.
 George Car of Faldenside.
 Alexander Makdowell.
 Charles Rotherford.
 Thomas Car of the Yere.
 Jhon Car of Meynthorn.
 Walter Holyburton.
 Richard Hangansyde.
 Andrew Car.

James

James Douglas of Cauers.
 James Car of Mersyngtō.
 George Hoppringle.
 William Ormeston of Endmerden.
 Jhon Grymslowe.

Many wear thear mo besyde, whose names also, for that they re-
 mayne in regester with these, I haue thought the lesse mister here to
 wryt.

My Lords Grace did tender so mooch y furtheraūce of y work in y
 castell, y this daie (as euery day els duryng our campyng thear) his
 Grace dyd not styk to digge w a spade abooue ii. houres him self; Curti.lib,viii.
 whearby, as his estate sure was no more embased then y Maiestie of
 great Alexāder, what time w his oun hādes he set the poor colde sol-
 diour in his oun chaire of estate to releue hym by his fier; so, by y
 example herof was euery man so mooued, as thear wear but fewe of
 lordes, knightes, and gentlemen in the feld, but with spade, shoouel,
 or mattook, did thearin right willyngly & vncompeld their partes.

This daye began the Skottes to bryng vitayll to our campe, for the Sunday the
xxv. of Sep-
tember.
 whiche they wear so well entreated and paide, that duryng the tyme
 we laye thear, we wanted none of the commodities their cōtry could
 minister.

No notable thyng but the continuaunce of our woork at the castell: Munday the
xxvi. of Sep-
tember.
 for furtheraunce whearof, order was taken that the captayns of foot-
 men, eche after oother, shoolde send vp his C. of souldiours thither to
 woorke an houres space.

The larde of Coldehamknowes not hauyng so fully kepte hys ap-
 poyntment made at Hume castell, touchyng his cummyng agayn. to my Tuisday the
xxvii. of Sep-
tember.
 Lordes Grace, at Rokesborowe; Sir Raufe Vane with a twoo or iii. C.
 horses, about iii. of the clock in this mornyng, was sent for hym to his
 house, whiche was a vii. myle from vs: the whyche chardge Master
 Vane dyd so earnestly applye, as he was thear wyth his number be fore

vi. ; but the larde, whither he was warned thearof by priuie skout or spie, he was passed by an oother waye, and was soon after vii. with my Lordes Grace in the campe. Master Vane was welcūmed, and hauing no resistaunce made, but al submitted, & proffer of chere (for so had the lorde charged his wyfe to doe) soon after he retourned to y. campe.

This day my Lordes Grace was certefied by letter from my Lorde Clynton and Sir Andrew Dudley, that on the Wednesday last, beyng y. xxi. of this moōth, after certein of their shott discharged against the castell of Browghty Crak, thesame was yeldyng vnto them, the whiche Sir Andrew dyd then enter, and after kepe as captain.

Wedynsday
the xxviii. of
September.

A Skottysch heraulde accompanied with certein Frēchmen y. wearperchaunce more desierous to marke our armie then to wit of our welfare, cam and declared from their coūsell, y. within a seuenight after, their commissioners to whom my Lords Grace had before graunted his safecundet, shoold cum & commune with our counsel at Berwyk : whose cūming my Lorde Lieutenaūt & Master Treasurer & thooother of our commissioners did so long while there abyde. But these Skottes (as men that are neuer so iuste, and in nothing so true as in breache of promys and vsyng vntruth) neither cam, nor by like ment to cū : And yet sure take I this no fetch of no fine deuise, oles thei mean hereby to wyn, y. thei shal nede neuer after to promys : vsyng the feate of *Arnus*, who, w his all weys swearying and his euer liyng, at last obtained that his bare woorde was as much in credyt as his solemn oth, but his solemn oth indeede no more then an impudent lye. Howbeit, since I am certeyn that sundry of them haue shewed themselues right honest, I would be loth here to be coūted so vnaduised, as to arret y. fautes of many to y. infamie of al.

In Epigrā.
Mori.

It was sayde amoong vs, they had in the meane tyme receyued letters of consolacion and of many gay offers from the French Kyng : yet had that bene no cause to haue broken promys w y. coūsel of a ream. Howbeit, as these letters wear to thē but an vnprofitable plaster to heale their

their hurt then, so ar thei full likly (if thei trust much therin) to fynd thē a corzey that will freate them a nue sore.

My Lords Grace consideryng that of vertue and welldooyng the proper mede is honour; aswell thearfore for rewarde to them that had afore doon well, as for cause of encoorage to oother then after to doo the lyke, dyd this daye after noon adourne many lordes, knyghtes, and gentlemen, with dignitees as folowe. The names and promotiōs of whō I haue here set in order, as they wear placed in the herauldes book.

Sir Rafe Sadlier, treasurer.

Banerets.

Sir Fraunces Bryan, capteyn of the light horsmen.

Sir Rafe Vane, lieutenaūt of all the horsmen.

These knyghtes wear made banerettes, a dignitie abooue a knight, and next to a baron, whose acts I haue partly touched in the story before.

The Lord Graie of Wylton, High Marshall.

Knyghtes.

The Lord Edward Seimor, my Lordes Graces sun.

Of these, the reder shal also fynde before.

The Lord Thomas Haward.

The Lord Walldyke.

Sir Thomas Dacres.

Sir Edward Hastyng.

Sir Edmund Brydges.

Sir Jhō Thinne, my Lords Graces stuard of howshold.

Sir Miles Partrich.

Sir Jhon Conwey.

Sir Giles Poole.

Sir Rafe Bagnolle.

Sir Oliuer Laurence.

Sir Henry Gates.

Sir Thomas Chaloner, one of the clerks of the Kyngs Maiesties priuie coūsel, and in this armie (as I mought call him) chefe secretarie,

x ij

who

who with his great peyns and expedite diligēce in dispatch of things passyng from my Lords Grace and the coūsel thear, did make ȳ his merite was not with ȳ meanest.

Sir Fraunces Flemmynge master of thordinaunce thear, a gentlemā whom long exercife & good obseruaunce hath made in that feate right perfit, whear vnto in this viage he ioyned so mooch hede and diligence, as it was well found how much his seruice did stede.

Sir Jhon Greshám.

Sir William Skipwyth.

Sir Jhon Buttes.

Sir George Blaag.

Sir William Frauncis.

Sir Fraunces Knolles.

Sir William Thorborow.

Sir George Haward.

Sir James Wylforde.

Sir Rauf Coppinger.

But ȳ I haue writtē in ȳ storie before w̄ what forward hardines Sir George Haward did bear ȳ Kings Maiesties stāderd in ȳ battail, & thear also of ȳ industrious peyn of Sir James Wilford, & how Sir Rauf Coppiger did aied not smally in saufgard of the standard of our horsmen, I wolde haue bene more diligent to haue rehersed it here.

Sir Thomas Wētwoorth.

Sir Jhon Maruen.

Sir Nychās Straunge.

Sir Charles Sturton.

Sir Hugh Askue.

Sir Frauncis Salmyn.

Sir Richard Tounley.

Sir Marmaduke Cūstable.

Sir George Awdeley.

Sir Jhon Holcroft.

Yet knyghtes.

Sir

Sir Jhon Soutwoorth.

Sir Thomas Danby.

Sir Jhon Talbott.

Sir Rowland Clerke.

Sir Jhon Horsely.

Sir John Forster.

Sir Christofer Dies.

Sir Peter Negroo.

Sir Alonzo de Vile.

Sir Henry Hussey.

Sir James Granado.

Sir Water Bonham.

Sir Robert Brādling, mayr of New castell, and made knight thear at my Lordes Graces retourne.

As it is not to be douted but right many mo in the armie beside these, did also well and valiauntly quite them; although their prefermente was rather then differred, then their deserts yet to forgotten: euen so among these wear thear right many, the knowledge of whose actes and demerytes, I coold not cū by; and yet woold haue no man no more to doubt of the worthines of their aduauncemēt, then they ar certein of his circūspectiō and wisdomē, who preferd them to it. Whearupon all mē may safely thus far foorth without offence presume, ȳ his Grace vnworthely bestowed this honour on no man.

By this day, as Rokesborowe was sufficiently made tenable and defensible, (ȳ whiche to see, my Lordes Grace semed half to haue vowed before he woold thence departe) his Grace and the counsell did first determine, that my Lord Gray shoold remayne vpō the borders thear as the Kynges Maiesties Lieutenaunt. And then took ordre for the forts; that Sir Andrew Dudley captein of Broughty Crak had leaft with hym CC. soldiours of hakbutters and oother, and a sufficient number of pyoners for his works; Sir Edwarde Dudley, captain of Hume castell; lx. hakbutters, xl. horsemē, and a C. pioners; Sir Rafe Bulmer, captain.

iii. Spaniards.

tain of Rokesborowe, CCC. souldyours of hakbutteres & oother, & CC. pioners.

Thursday the
xxix. of Sep-
tember, being
Mighelmas
day.

As thinges wear thus concluded, & warnyng gyuen ouer night that our cāpe should this day dissolue, euery man fell to pakkyng a pace. My Lordes Grace this morening soon after vii. of the clok was passed ouer the Twede here. The best place whearof for gettig ouer (whych was ouer against the west ende of our cāp, and not farr from ȳ brokē arches of ȳ brokēbridge) was yet with great stones in ȳ bottom so vn-
euen of grounde, and, by reason of rayne that lately fel before, the wa-
ter so depe, and the streame so swyft, that right many of our horsemen
and footmen wear greatly at theyr passage in perell, and one or twoo
drowned; and many cariages ouerthrowen and in greate daunger also
of losyng.

My Lords Grace toke his wey strayght toward Nuecastell, and thence
homeward: And my Lord therle of Warwik, my Lord Grey, and Sir
Rafe Sadleyr, w̄ diuers oother, rode towarde Barwyke, to abide the
cūmyng of the Scottish commissiōners. In ȳ meā time of tariyng thear,
my Lord of Warwyk did make v. knights.

Sir Thomas Neuell, the Lord Neuels broother.

Sir Anthony Strelley.

Sir Verney.

Sir Jhon Barteuile, Frēch man. And anoother.

But the Skottes, lyke men, though slipper in couenaunt yet cōstant
in vsage, and thearfore les blusshing to break promes, then custome,
came not at all: whearupō my Lord & oother of our commissiōners,
hauyng taryed for them the full time of appoyntment, which was vntil
the iiii. of October, ȳ next day after departed thēce homeward. In part
of ȳ meane tyme, while my Lordes Grace was thus doyng theexploits in
Skotlād, as I haue before written, the Erle of Linuos, w̄ my Lord
Whartō, Lord Warden of our westmarches against Skotland (according
as his Grace had before takē order) w̄ a nūber of v. M. entred Skotlād
on the west marches. And first passing a ii. mile (after a dayes &
nighetes

nightes defence) they wan the church of Annan, a strōg place and very noysum alwey vnto oure men as they passed that wey. Thear they toke lxii. prisoners the keepers of thesame, burnt ẏ spoile for cumber of caryage, and caused the church to be blowen ẇ powder. Passinge thence a xvi. milē within the lōd, soon after they wan a hold, called ẏ Castle of Mylke, ẏ which they left well furnyshed with municion & mē, and so retourned. Diuers other actes notable they did, here left vnwrittē of me, because vnknown too me; but asmuche as I certainly hard of, I haue thought mete hereunto to adde: because I may wel cou̇t theim ās part of this expediō & viage.

A PERORACION VNTO THE GENTLE REDER, WITH A SHORTE
REHERSALL OF THE ACTES DOON.

I HAVE thus absolved my boke, but neyther w^t suche spede as perchaūce it had bene the office of hym that woold take vpō hym to wryte of this matter, nor as the dignitie of y^e argument required publicacion. For well it may be thought, a man with meane diligēce, that had ben forth in no parte of the viage, might in this space haue learned and written as muche by enquirie at home. And sith y^e pour of tyme is in eche case so great, as thinges indifferently good, by choyse of oportunitie are made muche comendable, & agayne by cumming out of season, maye muche be disgraced: Right small then maye I take my meryt to be, that cum nowe so intempestiuely to tell y^e tale, whearof al mens eares are ful of a four mooneths before. Yet for excuse of my slacknes (as who wolde not be blameles?) trustynge that my playne confession maye the rather mooue you too take thinges too the better, I haue thoughte it best, to render you the verye cause thearof: whiche is, that after I hadde sumwhat entred intoo thys busynes, and thearby compeld to consyder y^e precise obseruance of dedes, wordes, and in a manner of gestures; and y^e diligēt markinge of y^e situaciō of tounes, castels, and churches, of y^e lieng of hils, playns, and feldes, of y^e course of ryuers, of respect of wyndes and of infinite such other thinges that oughte fyrst too haue bene made thear, while they wear a doynge, & whyle a man had bene at them (the which indede I had not so perfitly written in my notes, and thearfore dryuen to stresse my memorie y^e more for callinge thē same too mind again); And herew^t regardyng y^e greate hede
that

that ought to be had in rehersall of circūstaunces, and placinge of thinges accordingly in writing as they wear done, seen or hard ; I foūd the enterprise a great dele more weyghtie, then the slēdernes of my wit was able quikly to pas with. Howbeit, whē vppon deper consideraūce I pondered with my self, what a thīg it was to make ony monument in this so prosperous a comminaltie, wherof the gouernours are so absolutely wise, & whear in an infinitie number of men soo fynely wytted and so profoundly learned are besyde : I rather regarded the counsell of the wyse poet *Horace*, whoo wils a man to kepe his writings in his handes nine yere, (meaning a good while, for correccion) then hadde any hast of publicatiō, whearby at ones I shold lose my libertie of amēdment. Which libertie, though, after, I mought haue neuer so well, yet becaufe it is nothings so commēdable to mend a faut as to make no faut, I woold gladly before haue had the leysure to loke ȳ the thyng might haue past as fautles from me, as my diligēce could haue made it. And surely had it not ben more for aūswering the expectacion of sum men of honour, whoo knew I was in hand w̄ the matter, and who els peradventure might haue doubted my diligence, then it was for myne own desyre to haue my doings soon to cūme abrode, I woold haue taken a better breath ear they had cum out yet. But sins the chaūce is cast, & the woord thus vttered cannot be called agayn, whearby I haue ieoperded w̄ your iii. houres reding to make you cēsour of my three moneths wryting : judge ye, I pray you, (as ye maye) with fauour, and constēr my meanyng to the best. My nede, I knowe, is much to pray ; for I am not so foolysh too thinke my self so wise, that with a text al fautles I can driue foorth the so lōnge a proces. But as I for the tyme haue endeoured to say, rather as wel as I can, then aswell as can be, soo shall thear be, for me, libertie too all men too wryte what els they can vtter, eyther foorth or better : which if thei do, I shal with all my hart becūm then as benign a reder to thē, as I woold wish you now to be here to me.

To the entent now, I woold quite from cumber of enquirie or question, suche as haply woold wyt what a do I had in the armie, or how I

hadde ony knowledge of that I haue written ; I haue thought it curtesie not to be daungerous, to shew that it pleased my very good Lord y^e Erle of Warwyke, lieutenaūt of the host, (who thearby had pour to make officers) too make me one of the Judges of the Marshalsey, as Master William Cycyl, now Master of the Requestes, with my Lorde Protectours Grace, was the other : whearby we both, not beyng bounde soo straightly in daies of trauel to ordre of marche, nor oother while, but when we sat in courte, too any great affayres, had libertie to ride, to see things that wear doon, and leysure too note occurrences y^e came ; the which thing (as it chaunced) we booth dyd ; but so far from appoyntmēt betwene vs, as neyther was wyting of others doing, tyll sumwhat before our departūre homeward. Mary, since my cūming home indede, his gētilnes being such as too communicate his notes with me, I haue (I cōfes) bene thearby bothe muche a certeyned in many thinges I douted, and sumwhat remembred of y^e, which els I mought hap to haue forgotten.

But now, forasmuch as it hath pleased the moste benign goodnes of God, so fauorably to ayd vs in these our affaires, and so moch to tender the equitie of our cause, as by hys mynister, and our hed in this iourney, my Lord Protectours Grace, we haue tourned oure enemies entents for destruccion of vs, vnto theyr own confusion : And fyrst ouerturned of thear holdes, Dunglas, Thornton, Anderwyke, and Annā church, ouercummē them with the half of their number xxxii. M. ; slain xv. M. iii. C. ; maymed ii. M. ; taken xv. C. ; burned Lyeth & Kynkorne, (as more of their tounes els we mought, if our Chieftai had bene as willing, as our capitayns wear redy) ; wun y^e best of their nauie, and burnt the residue ; wun from thē, and kepe in the midis of their londe Saint Coomes Ins and Broughty crak, and thearby (but by oure leaue) kepe thē from their hole entercours of merchaūtes ; wū also & kepe the castle of Mylk and Hume castle ; wun of ordinaūce in their fortes, and at the feld, aboue lxxx. peces ; bylded Rokesborow castle, & Aymouth, and gayned vnto the Kynges Maiesties obedience, al Tyuedale

dale and their marches : all this in so short a time, as within xxv. dayes ; with soo small a losse of oure syde, in all the hole viage, as vnder the nombre of lx. persons ; and that in this the fyrst yere of our Kynges Maiesties dominion & rule ; whearby, according vnto his singuler towardenes, els eident, we may well conceyue an assured hope, hys Hyghnes too shall haue a most happie reyn, and (with Gods grace) a longe : I woold wyshe and exhort, that ye, whiche wear not theare (for thoughte ye wear far from ony daunger of the los, yet can ye not be but full parteners of the winnyng) shoalde effectually with vs (accordynge as we all haue cause) gyue & wishe, firste glorie and prays vnto God, obediēce and victorie to our Soueraygn, honour and thanks vnto our Protectour and coūsellours, woorship to our chyualrie, commendaciō vnto the rest that wear out, and a better mynd vnto our enemies. And I, trustyng vnto the benignitie of your gentile acceptaunce, whoo of this woork shall hap to be reder, with such indifferencie of request touching thesame, as *Horace* made to hys welbeloued frēd *Numicius*, shal thus Epist. i. take my leaue of you.

*Viue, vale : si quid nouisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti : si non his utere mecum.*

Out of the parsonage of S. Mary hill in London, this xxviii. of January, 1548.

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