This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world’s books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that’s often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book’s long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ **Make non-commercial use of the files** We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ **Refrain from automated querying** Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google’s system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ **Maintain attribution** The Google “watermark” you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ **Keep it legal** Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can’t offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book’s appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google’s mission is to organize the world’s information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world’s books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at [http://books.google.com/](http://books.google.com/)
PERMISSION GRANTED TO A BONDEMA TO CHANGE HIS MASTER

Anno ab inurende dedi e-o rex. Fia e-que tuo in suo dum. A paro e-nuo

do e. Convenit uendre loca er parte uno e-culdemo. Sedati de Tanalouer. Fio

mun eroz ligu e-namur er alsu. Sedati e-ruin e-caz rarnur. E-quit

S e-pu e-nur e-caz rarnur plauvver. R e-ger. S e-iz e-nu e-nu eru sub

narea e-suo phedur e-ult. Depedur e daz pola e-convenit plauvver


scurt. A

mun solute e-miu. E-ult e-liqui e-regur. Rarnur hauvser. Piu e

acmorty. Uma labra cypo e-assiport de acmort. E-ja demur. E-logi e-nun

in habeur. Convenit plauvver. Umo fihol de daz-ju. Est. E-convenit de o-zur. E-


Convenit plauvver. Umo fihol de daz-ju. Est. E-convenit de o-zur. E-


FRAGMENTS

OF

SCOTISH HISTORY.

-----------
CUM ALTEA LUX VENIT,
IAM CRAS HESTERUM CONSUMPSIMUS: ECCE ALIUD CRAS
ERIT HOS ANNOS, ET SEMPER PAULUM ERIT ULTRA.

Paris, 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.

THES PAGES ARE INSCRIBED

IN TESTIMONY

OF

GRATITUDE.
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 manners of mankind form an interesting subject. We must not
search for these in Courts, or in Theatres; but the rude and unculti-
vated savage of the more inhospitable climes, when viewed with a philo-
sophic eye, presents a picture of man nearly in his primitive state. Facts, ap-
parently 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 up-
on the narrator. What is here said, is not deduced from one or two au-
thorities only, but from nearly the whole voyages and travels of this cen-
tury, and many of the last. The more modern, of Charlevoix, Carver,
Byron, Wallis, Carteret, Cook, Bougainville, Hearne, Paterson, Spar-
man, 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 spe-
cify 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 Ca-
talogue Raisonnée 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, momentaneously 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, encroaches 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 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.
CONTENTS.


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.
THE field of Scotch 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 climate, 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 raving 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, wretched...
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 tedium 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 Scotch dominions are in the latitude of Cape Farewell.—

—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.—Man-kind 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 Ilinois, 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 Calmucks 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, ac-

( ¹ ) Ammian. Marcellin, lib. 22.
( 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, "erectae femina 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 (\(^11\)),

\(^7\) Lib. 4. 94.
\(^8\) Herod. lib. 2. 35. Vid. Adair's hist. of the Indians, &c.
\(^9\) Herod. 4. 62. Strab. lib. 7.
the Cimbri (13), the Britons (11), the Albani (14), all the Gauls (15), the Suevi (16), Germans (17); those were chiefly barbarous nations. We need not speak of the Phcenicians, 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 pyroque, 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 Maelstrom, no Hecla, no Andes:—yet were the natives barbarous.—

—Far from the seat of splendour, Scotland stood unimportant in the political 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,

(13) Strabo, lib. 7. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 5.
(14) Strabo, i. p. 768.
(16) Tacit. de Morib. German.
(17) Ib. c. 9.
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 ("9); a degree of fierceness, blended with courage, and pride with generosity ("9). Hence, says the historian, a Gallic proverb, "Il est fier comme ung Escossais" ("9).—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 ("9).—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 Scotch 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

("9) Tacitus in Agricola.
("0) Croniques de Froissart. Diodor. Sic. lib. 5.
("1) Major de Gest. Scotor. 1. 7.
("2) Erbyggia Saga, ad ann. 1000.
STATE OF ANCIENT SCOTLAND.

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 (11). 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 peri-

"cula 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 (14), 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 (15). 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 (16): 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

b

Christ. Will. of Malmesb. &c.
(11) Gilb. Stuart’s View of Society in Europe. Richardson on Eastern Manners, &c.
(14) 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" (19). Yet we are told, the Persian king "governed the queen like a master" (20). The Egyptians, according to Diodorus, allowed a queen more authority than a king (21). Some of the Germans brought portions to their wives (20), as well as some of the ancient nations in Spain (19).—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 (19). In later times, there was a law enacted—"Ne quastum cor- pore facet, cui avus, aut pater, aut maritus, eques Romanus fuerit" (21). 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 (18). The infidelity of the wife has always been more severely punished, than that of the husband. In most cases, it was death; which is

(19) Heraclides à Gronov.
(20) Dinon. ap. Atheneum.
(21) Lib. i. cap. 23.
(19) Tacitus de Morib. German.
(21) Strabo, p. 251. edit. 1707.
(21) Tacit. Hist. ii. 75.
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 Scotch women were amorous; and that kisses were less valued in Scotland, than touching the hand was in Italy (17). 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 referred.—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” (19). O tempora! O mores! How different, at one period, the customs of the neighbouring countries! Robert Duke of Normandy, constituted one Baldric custos meretricium publice venalium (11). And over the doors of a palace belonging to Cardinal Wolsey, was inscribed, “Domus meretricium 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 Scotch 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: casta sunt mille: quid ergo
Casta facit? non dat: non tamen illa negat.”


—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

\( b \ ij \)

(11) Pope Pius II.
(19) 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 Ἐθiopians (42), the Triballi, had, according to Damascenus, four ranks in their armies; the last of women, to recall 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 pugnabantibus gestant (44). The same was practised in Britain, that they might witness the valour of their husbands (44). And there is reason to believe, that, at a later period, the women of England partook this Amazonian amusement (45).

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) Cosmographic, fol. 9.
(41) Ctesiæ 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'Espec, "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 Dicto, ad ann. 1173. "Sinistrum latum munientem cultellis armatis "quibus formidandis, jaculis jaciendis et dirigendis in longinquum, manum habentem ap- "tissimam 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 ("1"). 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 ("1"): and in the sixteenth, Holinshed says, “To saie the truth, we have not manie beuers, but onelie in the Teifie in “Wales” ("4"). 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.—

("1") Fol. 9. Sir Rob. Sibbald. Prodom. hist. nat. Scotiz, “an nunc repcriatur ne-
feio.”

("4") Rhedi opera varia.

("1") Giraldus Cambrensis, p. 178.

("8") Vol. 1. p. 326.
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 (17). Bishop Lesly praises their number and quality (18); and the collection of Alexander I. receives the commendations of a cotemporary (19). 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 Angliae” 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 (20). Alexander III. fought against the Manks, 1275: he conveyed his troops in a fleet (21). In ancient charters, the reddendo is often a vessel of 18, 22, 26, or 40 oars; particularly in the time of Robert I. (22). Barbour gives a curious account of this King’s navigation.

(18) De orig. Scotor.
(21) Ibid. p. 41.
(22) 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.
DESLUTORY REFLECTIONS ON THE

gation among the Western Isles. It would appear that sails were not in common use ("1"). 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 circumutis" ("4"). They are described by Cæsar, who, by a hint from savages, at one time saved his army ("2"). The construction seems always to have been the same. In the life of St Ninian, their capacity is said to be, "tanta magnitudi-
"nis, ut sedentes juxta se tres homines capere sufficiat" ("6"). 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" ("7").

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 ("8"). Upon this, as usual, Boyce bestows his liberal encomium, 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 ouir gret riuers thairwith; and quhen thay haue done "thair fysching, thay beir it to ony place on thair bak quhair thay "pleis"

("1") P. 314. edit. 1758.
("2") De Bello civili, c. 54. "Quum in his angustiis res esset, atque omnes vivi ab "Afranianiis, militibus equitibusque obsiderentur, nec pontes perfici possent : imperat mi- "litibus Cæsar, ut naves faciant, cujus generis cum superioribus annis usus Britanniae "docuerat. Carinae primum cx levi materia siebant, reliquum corpus navium, viminibus "contextum coriis integebatur."
("6") Vita Niniani, cap. 10.
("7") P. 53.
STATE OF ANCIENT SCOTLAND.

"pleis" ("9). 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 ("6). 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 ("11).—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 ("15). 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.

("9) Cosmographic, ch. 16.
("6) Herodotus, vii. 184, 185.
("11) Apollonius Rhodius, lib. i. v. 955. i. 166. iv. 1335.
("15) Knyghton, ad ann. 1357.
eighty-two ("\textsuperscript{11}"). The fleet of Edward III. was numerous, consisting chiefly of small vessels ("\textsuperscript{14}"). In the reign of Mary, the ships were small. And only in that of Elizabeth and James, did the English navy become really important ("\textsuperscript{17}"). 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 ("\textsuperscript{16}"), "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 uostri, 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" ("\textsuperscript{18}"). 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,

\textsuperscript{11} Archæologia, vol. 6. p. 197.
\textsuperscript{14} Hakluyt, vol. 2.
\textsuperscript{17} Vid. Hakluyt; Sir William Monson; Archæolog. vol. 12.; Bree's sketches of the 14th century; and other lists of the navies.
\textsuperscript{16} David Hume.
\textsuperscript{17} Commentarii Rer. Memorab.
STATE OF ANCIENT SCOTLAND.

oacies, I find "xii porpoises and seals" devoted 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 loof of "brede in trenchors, 2 manchetts, 1 quart of bere, a quart of "wyne, 2 pecys of salt fish, 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 chambrer, 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 Scotch 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 presented

(18) Leland's Collectanea, vol. 6. edit. 1770.
(19) Archæologia, vol. 3.
(20) Northumberland household book, p. 73.
(21) Ibid. p. 16.
(22) Wheaten, (Holinshed).
(23) Archæologia, vol. 3.
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 countrie, be not after such sorte as in uther countries" (\(^*\)).

—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 Scotish, 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 (\(^*\)), 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* (\(^*\)). His work is full of fables, entirely copied from Boyce. He confounds the Orcadians with the

\(^*\) Sadler's Embassies, MS. Advocates Library, A. ii. 21. p. 313. To my Lord of Suffolk, 12th December 1543.

\(^*\) Buffon.

\(^*\) Descriptio Britanniae, &c. Ven. 1578.
the Sheillanders, who, Buchanan affirms, were attired "Germanico ritu, sed juxta facultates non indecora" (**). 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 (**).

Our ancient agriculture was wretched. So late as the sixteenth century, we have a fragment upon its state in the Orkneys: "They teill not whilk ye spring of the zeir; and as they teill, so they saw ther aittes; ther plouche is drawin be foure bestis going syde for syde; the caller gangis backward with a whipe" (**). 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. finc.
(***) Moryson's Itinerary.
and would as ill suit the thirteenth century, as those of that period would apply to us.—King James IV. entered the Scotish capital riding, with his Queen behind him, 1503 (91); and, at the marriage feast, "the furst course she 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 (91).

"Sanguine et igne micant oculi, riget horrida cervix."

Ovid. Met. 1. 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 (91).—Their neighbours, the Ethiopians, had different ideas. They had no locked places; and things left in the highways were

(91) "He cam downe of his horse, and monted upon the pallefroy of the said Queene, "and the said Queene behinde him, and so rode thorow the said town of Edinburgh" ——

Fysacell of James and Margaret, by John Young, ap. Lel. Collect. v. 4.

(94) Ibid. p. 294.

(91) Pinkerton's hist. of Scotland, v. 1. p. 432. from de Coucy.—For the use of


(96) Froissart, tom. iii. ch. 125.—"sont grans laroms."

(97) Diodor. Sic. lib. 1.
were never stolen (**).—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, qua 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 immovable roof.—The Northern pirates added cruelty to plunder. An ordinary amusement was, tossing children from one, and receiving it upon the lance of another (***).—Of the Borderers, Lesly affirms, "non multum "interesse putant, sive a Scotis sive ab Anglis furentur" (****). And theft by "landed men," is by the Legislature declared treason (***)—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 (**).-----

—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—"Desti-"tute 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;

(****) Pagin. 61.
(***) Stat. 1587, c. 50.
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: Punicæ 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; a

* In leço mori reputant segniciem, in campo interfici arbitrantur gloriam....

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

"Hec qualis pietas, hec 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 confign 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 villainage." (105). It is true, I have not found many. Some did exist: and I question if we are entitled to say they were uncommon. Villainage 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 (104). 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 Inchar; 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, Nò 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 Inchar. 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 "Maria Comyn, cum licentia abducendi tenentem, 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 1693, 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."—

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."
(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 divinae "legis et humanae precepta, decima debentur, de blado, feno, lino, de ortis, "de molendinis, de piscariis, de fructibus animalium, lana, lacte, caseis, pullis, "ovis, negociatione, venacione, silva cadua, de fructibus....." (111).—

Our ancestors might have said with Gildas, "Sacerdotes habet Britannia, sed insipientes; quamplurimos ministros, sed impudentes; clerics, 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.
(116) Vide Keith's Hist. of religious houses.
(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) Arnott's Criminal Trials.
book upon the subject. His opinion is, that "no age, sexe, or ranck, "should be exempted from punishment." However, he cautions judge-
es, "to beware to condemne, except those that are guiltie;" and la-
ments, that witches "were never so rife as they are now" (126). Sir
George M'Kenzie, a man esteemed learned; a man who defended the
antiquity of the Scotish royal line, and died in the last decade of the for-
mer 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?!!" (127).—Those who are curious to
know the expence of burning a witch, will find an account in Arnot's
Criminal Trials (128).——

-Men who live in woods, are savage; and countries overgrown
with wood, in general contain a savage people. The progress of agri-
culture 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 de-
clares 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" (129). Eneas Sylvius
affirms Scotland to be "terram frigidam, magna ex parte arboribus ca-
"rentem" (130). And in another place, he says, "they burn a kind
"of sulphurous stone instead of wood, quo regio nuda est" (131).
And the preamble of a statute is, that "the greene wood of Scotland
"is utterly destroyed" (132).—Yet it must appear to an unprejudiced
enquirer,

(126) Daemonologia, p. 77. 78. 81.
(127) Criminal Law.
(128) Appendix.
(129) Nature and descent of Peerages, p. 34.
(130) Commentarii Rer. Memorabil.
(131) Descriptio Asiae et Europe.
(132) 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 moses, which must have lain there for ages. Will this surprise us? Fordun, who flourished in the reign of Robert II, assures us, "subterranae radices arborum ingentes et trunci reperiuntur immanes, immo quo nusquam antea silvas crevisse diceres ullo signo"("113"); and often speaks of "ingentia circa radices montium nemora."—We all know the vast extent of the famous Silva Caledonicae. Part of this may have existed in the days of Boece ("114"), 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 ("115"); and here, says Fordun, died Edward, eldest son of Malcolm III. ("116"). Froissart says, this forest was uninhabitable by the English ("117"). 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.

("113") Scotichronicon, lib. i. cap. 36.
("114") Fol. 10.
("115") Par l'Hyver et par l'Esté, Croniq. i. 56.
("116") Scotichr. lib. v. cap. 25.
("117") Liv. i. ch. 27.
drove the cattle into the forests (\textsuperscript{118}).—The right to woods, and hunting, is often reserved in ancient grants of land.—The appearance of the adjacent isles is uncertain. Böeae, as Mr Wallace observes, affirms there was little wood in Ila (\textsuperscript{119}). This is no general rule. In an account nearly contemporaneous, the author says, the isle of "Ywst is full "of heighe hills and forests" (\textsuperscript{140}). According to Sir Robert Sibbald, "trees are unfrequent in the Shetland isles; but vast roots and "trunks are sometimes dug up" (\textsuperscript{141}). All our chartularies and chronicles, record many debates, between their convents and powerful hereitors, respecting woods; and that of Melrose relates, that the boundaries of a royal forest were, \textit{i 184}, tried by a jury, who swore upon relics belonging to the Abbey (\textsuperscript{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:

\begin{quote}
"\textit{Nuda Caledonio sic pectora prabuit urso,}
"\textit{Non falsa pendens in cruce Laureolus.}"
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Martial, Lib. Spectac. 7.}
\end{flushright}

Should this be read \textit{Calydonio urso}? The

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{118} Liv. iii. ch. 12.
\textsuperscript{119} Fol. 14.
\textsuperscript{140} Description of the Western Isles, by \textit{Donald Monro, 1549, MS. Adv. Libr.}
\textsuperscript{141} Description of the Shetland Isles.
\textsuperscript{142} Ad an. \textit{1184.}\
\end{flushleft}
The wild boar had an abode in Scotland. In the sixth century, it seems to have been common, both here and in Wales (\textsuperscript{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 (\textsuperscript{144}). Here, they were not extirpated until 1680 (\textsuperscript{145}); and they were known in Ireland, 1710. Lesly, who wrote towards the end of the sixteenth century, complains of "lupos quam plurimos, et eos saevisimos" (\textsuperscript{146}).—A French author says, "lay ouy dire vulgairment, que en Angleterre ny avoit point des loups, mais ie puis bien assayer den auoir vœu pardeca Beruic."—To hunt the wolf, was a matter of national concern, in ancient times; and rewards were given for the head of each (\textsuperscript{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 Cumbernaul (\textsuperscript{148}). Lesly relates the same, evidently copied from Boyce, with some additions, "nunc quidem rarior...tribus tantum locis est reliquis, Strivilingi, Cummer-" "naldia, et Kincarnie."—Sir Robert Sibbald assures us, that while he lived, wild white cattle were found on the mountains (\textsuperscript{149}).—The

\textsuperscript{143} Vita Kentigerni, cap. 24. Vita Sanct. Colomb. ab Adomnan. lib. ii. c. 27.
\textsuperscript{144} Rym. Fœder. v. 2.
\textsuperscript{145} Arctic Zoology.
\textsuperscript{146} Pagin. 19.
* "Bien est vray, que au pays Dangoux en Escosse, en la vallee de Glenmores, les loups semblent auoir pris autre nature qu'ilz nont en autres lieux. Car la, ilz ne vivent que de la proye de plusieurs sortes de bestes sauvagez, quiz chassent sans faire aucun mal aux berzins." 
La sommaire des antiquitez & merveilles Descouz, redige et mys par Johan de Moustiers escuyer...... Paris 1538. This is a very rare book, in 13mo, consisting of about 40 leaves. I have only seen one copy, now in the Advocates Library.
\textsuperscript{147} Stat. 1427, ch. 104. 1457, ch. 87.
\textsuperscript{148} Fol. 11.
\textsuperscript{149} Procrom. hist. natur. Scot. lib. iii. "In pluribus locis montane partis Scotticæ quidam boves feri albi quoque." Vide Johnson hist. nat. &c.
**Desultory Reflections on the**

*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 Slebs 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, faizied, and decayed," and ordered to be cut down.—Our Kings went to hunt in the more remote quarters. Pitcoddie 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

---

(110) Bellenden's transl. of Boetius.
(1'1') Stat. 1457, c. 80.
(113) Stat. 1555.
(114) 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 era. 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 (***)

*ij*

The

(***) Flores historiarum, p. 441, edit. 1570. "Porro Dunfermlin infra prociunctum suum ampla erat nimis, continens tres carrucatas terrae palatia, quasi regia continens in se multa, ita ut tres inclyti reges cum corum sequula singuli, sine alterius impetrate, 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" (116). Among other things, David I. grants it "a tenth of all the "gold found in Fife and Forthrie" (117).—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, Berwick, Edinburg, Scone, Abernethie, Ercheldon, Elbotle, Strathyrewyn in Galwegia, Hadintune, Pblis, 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, Lannarc, 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


STATE OF ANCIENT SCOTLAND.

title Earl, or Comes, was introduced by Malcolm Canmore. Some older authors, and a late able writer, in a puerile essay on the subject (\textsuperscript{119}), may have an imaginary weight. It has been said, indeed it is generally believed, that the title, Earl, supplanted Thane (\textsuperscript{119}). It may be imprudent to maintain, in opposition to the more respectable authorities, that Earls existed here before the time even of Malcolm IL; or that Earls and Thanes were cotemporary. Torfæus speaks thus: “Fuit “quidam Comes in Scotia Melbrigdius,” inter 860 et 870 (\textsuperscript{160}). “Dun-“gadus Comes Catenesia,” ad an. 875 (\textsuperscript{161}). Inter 870 et 880,“Meldun quidam Comes in Scotia” (\textsuperscript{162}). There are “Adils et“Hringus Comites” 937 (\textsuperscript{163}); “Macbeth Comes” 952; “Finleikus“Comes Scotorum” 985 (\textsuperscript{164}); “Hundius et Melnatius Comites” 993;“Melcolfus Comes” 1015 \textsuperscript{*}. If we might credit Torfæus, who is an historian in universal esteem, Malcolm Mackenneth was in use to create Earls. “Secundum mortem Sigurdi Comitis, filii illius a-“duliores, Sumerlidius, Brusi et Einar, Orcades et Hialtlandiam, æ-“quis portionibus, inter se dividebant; transmarinis pro vincis, Catenesia“et

\textsuperscript{118} Lord Kames, Essay on honour and dignity.

\textsuperscript{119} Scala Chronica; and many others. There is scarcely an author who does not adopt this theory.

\textsuperscript{160} Historie Orkadum, lib. i. cap. 4. Snorro, v. i. p. 99.

\textsuperscript{161} Ibid. cap. 15. Orkneyinga Saga, p. 5.


\textsuperscript{163} Eglli Skallagrím 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. Scandica. in a note, says, “Olaus is by Simeon of Durham named Hu-“valis, et alio eiam nomine, opud Bromtonum (nomen legere nequeo).” The names, in these two authors, are, “Huval, Rex Occidentium Britonum.—Constantinus, Rex Scotorum.” Sim. Dunelm. ad an. 926. . . . . “Aulaf, Rex Pagonum Hiberniae.—Constantinus, Rex Sco-“tiae.” 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.

\textsuperscript{164} Ol. Tryggvaasonar. Saga. Torfæus, p. 28.

* Niala Saga.
DESULTORY REFLECTIONS ON THE

"et Sudderlandia, Thorfinno fratrum minimo permisis : eum namque avus
"maternus Scotia Rex Melcolmus (nostri Melkofus prouinciatr) Co-
"mitem creavit" (164). 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*. Torfaeus proceeds ----- After
Malcolm II. died, one was king ---- "nostri scriptores Karl vel Karolum
"quendam Hundii filium ---- filium sororis sui Moddanem Comitem crea-
"vit" (166). Great latitude must be given to the imperfect accounts
Torfaeus and the writers of the Sagas might obtain. This Karl pro-
ably 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 regarded
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 Cruchnie Earl of Angus
(165). 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 Knyg was rydand hys hey way,
" Of hys awyne Cwrt, al suddanly
" Agayne hym ras a cumpayn.

" Into

* Tyrgguas. Saga.
(166) Capit. 13. Orkneyinga Saga.
(167) 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 ora-
"re consueverat vel legere : ille ignarus licet litterarum saepe manuversare
"solebat et inspicere" (169).—The meaning of an Earl, was very dif-
ferent, 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 viccomes 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.
(171) Lib. iv. cap. 43.
(172) Fol. 20.
DESLUTORY REFLECTIONS ON THE

appear of great antiquity. Mr Pinkerton supposes the title was introduced after the time of Malcolm Canmore (174).—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 Banquo 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 bereditary Thane (175). 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 (176). The last, Vilzem Thayn of Caldor, 1492 (177). Nisbet and other authors say there were no Thanes after 1476 (178) John is Thane of Fordale 1451 (179).—

—Concerning the station of an Abthane, I am in still greater doubt. An Abthane, says Fordun, is chief of the Thanes—"quasi ab abba pas-
ter..... velut officio fungens aconomi sive camerarii" (180). 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

(175) Chartulary of Dunfermline.
(179) Chartul. of Dunfermline. Vid. some particulars regarding this subject, Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 27.
(180) 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" (f11). Fordun tells us, Malcolm II. bestowed his daughter upon Crinan, Abthane of Dull (f11). Mr Pinkerton derides the idea of an Abthane; and seems to prove, that Abthane should there be Abbot (f11). Wyntown, indeed, calls him Cryny, Abbot of Dunkeldyn (f11). Which is also corroborated by the annals of Ulster, where he is called Crionain, Abbot of Dunkeld (f11). 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 (f11): and Mr Pinkerton himself, in a posterior work, quotes an instrument which mentions the Abthanrie of Dull (f11). There is also another instrument, of an earlier date, which mentions the Abthanrie of Dull (f11). 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 (f11).—

—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.—

(111) Lib. iii. cap. 43.
(112) Loc. sup. cit. iv. 43.
(114) Cronykil, b. vii. cap. 10.
(119) 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 Scotia, justiciarius Laodonie, and justiciarius ex parte boreali aquae 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.
9 Dauid Olifard - - - 1174.
13 Gilbert Earle of Stratherne - 1178.
19 Duncanus Comes de Fyffe - 1184.
Robertus Auennell
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 - 1255.
7 Allanus Ostiarius - - 1256 (198).

—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

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 ('91); but he is not termed Justiciarius Scotiae.—A fragment of the series may be this.—

Duncan Comes de Fife, Justiciarius Scotiae ('92). He is cotemporary with Hugo, Cancellarius, who was in office 1189—1199 ('91). In another charter, where Hugo is also witness, he is termed simply Justiciarius ('94).—This was Duncan, sixth Earl of Fife. He died 1203 ('91).

Willielmus Cumyn, Justiciarius Scotiae, anno 1210 ('94). This is Fordun's account. If he is right, Douglas errs, when he says William was constituted justiciar 1220 ('94); likewise Crawford, 1230 ('94). He is mentioned before 1214 ('95).—This was William first Earl of Buchan. He died 1233 ('90).

Walterus filius Alani Senescalli, Justiciarius Scotiae, was, according to Wyntown, constituted justiciar 1231 ('91). Stewart says, "he was

\[ f i j \]
" constituted


('93) Charter to the borough of Inverness. Sibbald's Hist. of Fife, p. 95.

('94) Lives of the Officers of State.


('94) Douglas's Peerage.

('94) Scoicnic, lib. viii. cap. 70.

('97) Peerage, p. 92.

('98) Peerage, p. 46.

('99) Chartulary of Dunfermline, fol. 12.

('00) Peerages, &c.

('01) 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 (201); 1236, 1237, (204); 1249, (205). According to Stewart, he died about 1246. —At this period, there seems to be an irreconcileable confusion. Cyphers are easily mistaken; but it seems to consist in something more than mere mistake.

*Philippus de Malevilla, Justiciarius Scotiae 1242 (106).* This might be an ancestor of the Earls of Melville.

*Alanus Hostiarius, Justiciarius Scotiae, 1243 (107).* He is in office, 1249 (108).—"Anno 1275 obiit Alanus Ostiarius, vir dapsilis, et stre-" "nuissimus in armis" (109).

*Alexander Cumyn, Comes de Buchan, Justiciarius Scotiae, 1249 (110).* He is in office, 1258 (111); 1265, 1267 (112); 1284, &c. He was third Earl of Buchan. A man of great power; both high constable and justiciar. He died 1290—1292 (113).

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


(204) Chartulary of Dunfermline.


(206) Extracts from the chartulary of Glasgow.

(207) Fordun, lib. ix. cap. 61.

(208) Chartulary of Dunfermline.

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

(110) Chartulary of Dunfermline.

(111) Douglas’s Peerage.


(113) Douglas’s Peerage, p. 93.
STATE OF ANCIENT SCOTLAND.

"justiciary of Scotland, 1174, and immediately succeeded Duncan Earl
"of Fife, as appears from the chartulary of Scone" (114).—There is
no such person, in this manuscript, justiciary of Scotland. In the 31st
charter of the Stormont copy, indeed, there is "Dd: Olifard, Justi-
ciarius;" but it is not said, of Scotland.—

—The justiciar of Lothian is of great antiquity. Robertus Avenel is
Justiciarius Laodonie, ante 1189 (111).

Hugo de Berkley, Justiciarius Laodonie (116). He is cotemporary
with W. Bishop of St Andrews: this must be William Malvoisine,
who was translated from the see of Glasgow, 1202 (117). The charter
where he is named, is granted by King William: therefore, Hugo is
justiciary, 1202—1214. He is in office, 1230 (118); 1231 (119).—It
is almost impossible to complete a perfect series of these justiciaries.

Walterus Olifard, Justiciarius Laodonie, 1222 (120); 1227, 1232,
1235, 1236, 1242 (111). "Anno 1242 obiit Gualtherus de Olifard, Ju-
sticiarius Laodonie, et in capitule de Metros sepelitur honorifice" (113).

David de Lyndesay, Justiciarius Laodonie, 1246 (221).

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, concern-
ing the site of ancient Lothian.—Lord Hailes seems to prove there has
been

(115) Chartulary of Dunfermline.
(116) Chartulary of Newbattle.
(117) Keith's Catalogue of the Bishops.
(118) Anderson's Diplomata.
(120) Registrum Hospitalis de Soltre, MS. Adv. Libr.
(120) Cartularium Prioratus de Coldingham, MS. Adv. Libr. Cartularium de Calchon,
(Kelso) MS. Adv. Libr.
Chartulary of Kelso. Chartulary of Coldingham and Dunfermline.
(118) 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 Norumbriae et Loidam disterminat" (226). Eadgar grants to the monks of Durham, "Coldingham, et omnes illas terras quas habent "in Laudoneio."—David I. grants "bas terras in Laudoneio, Colding-"ham, Aldcambus, Lumisdin, Riston, Rennington, Swinwodie, Prendre-"gresst, Eiton, Lambton, Paxton, et Swinton, A.D. 1126" (227). In the year 1356 is dispossessed, "insula de le Bass, juxta Aldham in Lau-"donia" (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 Scotiae 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.
(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 Lodo-"nesi, nunc vero juris Episcopi Sancti Andree Scotiae, 6 millia ab occidentali parte ab "illo quondam nobili et eximio monasterio de Meilros." Hist. Briton. c. 63.
(227) Haddington’s Collections.
(229) Chartulary of Aberdeen.
Fergus is Justiciarius ex parte boreali Scotiae, 1219 (**10**).—The distinction continued long. Williebus, Comes de Ross, Dominus de Sky, is justiciar ex parte aquilonali de Forth, 1348 (**11**). And Andrew, Lord Gray, holds the same office, 1506 (**11**). In that year, he was constituted Justiciarius Scotiae (**11**).—

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 |
| Donald VII. | Rothericke Earle of Stratherne |
| 2 Duncane II. | Philipe de Maulca, knight | - | - | 1097 |
| 1 Edgar. | Sir Eustace de Mal-erbe, or Malherba | - | - | 1098 |

(**10**) Chartulary of Aberdeen.
(**11**) Registrum de Abirbrothock, MS. Adv. Libr.
(**12**) Sir James Dalrymple, and Sir James Balfour.
(**13**) Crawford's Peerage.
| Alexander I. | Sir Eustace de Morweill, knight | - | - | 1109 |
| 1 David I. | Eduard | - | - | - | 1124 |
| 2 | Humphrey de Morweill | - | - | - | 1126 |
| Malcolm IV. | Humphrey de Morweill | - | - | - | 1156 |
| | Richard de Morweill | - | - | - | 1159 |
| | Heuge de Morweill | - | - | - | 1167 |
| | William | - | - | - | 1196 |

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 ("14"). 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 ("11"); with Robert, bishop of St Andrews; John, bishop and chancellor; and Duncan, *Comes* ("16"). Herbert died 1126 ("13"); Robert was consecrated 1127 ("18"); John was chancellor until about 1140; and this Duncan might be third Earl of Fife, who succeeded 1139 ("19"). Therefore, Edward might be in office, 1125—1140.

In a charter granted by *Willielmus, nepos regis Scotiae, filius regis Dun-canii*, there is one *Ranulphus Constabularius, inter 1220—1230* ("40").

Whether

("14") Cart. de Scone.
("17") Chartulary of Dunfermline.
("21") 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 ecclesiae de Drieburgh, Hugo de Moreville (242). Hugo de Moreville, senior, says Fordun (241). 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 Scotorum, addresses a charter Gulielmo de Umfraville, Constabulo suo (247). 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).

(241) Chartulary of Newbattle.
(243) Lib. viii. cap. 7.
(244) Additional Case of the Countess of Sutherland.
(246) Fordun, lib. x. c. 28. Additional Case.
(247) Carta Reg. Edg. ap. Anders. Diplom,
(248) Cart. de Scone.
(249) Anderson's Diplomat.
DESLUTORY REFLECTIONS ON THE

Ruphus de Soules, pincerna Domini Regis, 1170 (210). Anno 1207, Ruphus de Soules, in domo suo, à domestica 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 Golrin (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 Kyrmes collata a Rege Matthet filio Finlath (215), et a Gruoch Regina.—Cum omni libertate collata fuit "villa de Kyrmes Deo Omnipotenti et Keledeis, aboque omni munere et exactione Regis et filii Regis, Vicecomitis et alcuibus" (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 Goaspatriicus Vicecomes (219). In the reign of David I, they are not unfrequent. Goaspatriicus Viccomes, 1126 (220); Thor Viccomes; Durandus.

(210) Chartulary of Newbattle.
(211) Chronicle of Melros, p. 182.
(213) Cartular. de Coldingham.
(214) De Feudis, lib. i. dieg. 12, § 14.
(217) Lib. v. cap. 56.
(218) B. vii. c. 5. L. 185.
(219) Chartul. of Kelso.
(220) Haddington's collections.
STATE OF ANCIENT SCOTLAND.

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 Malothen Vicecomes de Scona, and the Vicecomes of Dunfermline. In the reign of Alexander II, Randulf is Vicecomes de Scona (**48**): and in the reign of Malcolm IV, or William the Lyon, Nicolaus is Vicecomes de Liberton (**68**), 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 (**61**): 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 Shiera (**68**), “the latter being a less jurisdiction and district.” Although we do not know the particular description or properties of a Shiera, it often occurs. The distinction is ancient. In a charter of Malcolm III, there is given Shira de Kircaldun, Shira de Fotbriffe et Musselburge (**65**). There are Sira de Chellyn, Sira de Chere, given by David I. (**60**), termed in a charter of William, Shira de Kelbyn, Shira de Karal (**67**). We find, Shira de Gellad, Shira de Gatemile, Coldinghamshire, &c.—

---

**261** Chartularies of Scone and Newbattle.
**262** Cartularium Abbat. Scit Crucis. MS. Adv. Lib.
**264** Hist. Collect. p. 400.
**265** Cart. Fundation. Canob. de Dunferm.
**266** Monastic. Anglica. v. i. p. 432.
**267** Al. cart. pag. cad.
DESLUTORY REFLECTIONS ON THE

—We had a person termed *Judex*, whose station or office I cannot precisely discover.—" After the introduction of Sheriffs," says Sir James Dalrymple, "the officiary 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*" (169).—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 Lothiana*, is called, in old charters, the *Judex Laudonius*" (169). 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. Amongst others are, *Leying et Ogga Cumbrènes Judices, circa 1118* (169); *Meldoineth Judex bonus et discretus, ante 1127* (171); *Maldouen Judex, ante 1139* (171); *Malisius Judex, circa 1200* (171); *Malcolmus Judex* (174); *Laurentius Judex de Perth* (171); *Beldin Judex de Ferne* (176); *Rogerus Raynr Judex Domini Regis* (177). Probably, there were different gradations in the office.—Once or twice I have seen royal charters, wherein the Sheriff is designated, simply, *Vicecomes meus*. I know not whether he had any pre-eminence. *Inter 1115—1127*, is *Constantinus Comes de Efi, magnus Judex in Scotia* (178). At first, I thought he might be the Justiciar, as I had seen none.


Enq. &c.

(171) Registrum Priorat. Seti Andr.
(172) Chartulary of Dunfermline.
(173) Original charters, No. 49.
(175) Chartulary of Scone.
(176) Original charters, No. 27.
(177) Cartularium de Balmyrnoch, fol. 17.
(178) Regist. Seti Andr.
STATE OF ANCIENT SCOTLAND

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 ('"'); 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 " (210). 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 Scotiae or Laudoniae, and Pincerna Regis, with the characteristic, might first be assumed. Perhaps, Justiciarius Scotiae or Laudoniae, might mean a justiciar of Scotland or of Lothian. In the charters of David I,

(210) Ford. lib. viii. cap. 56. " Datis septingentis marcis argenti Willielmo Regi Sco-
" torum, pro hereditate et honore Constabulariae."
DESLUTORY REFLECTIONS ON THE

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 (**'). 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 " (**').

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 Scotish Songs.
(231) Cronykil, B. 10. 6me.
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 Scotch not only equalled, but then excelled the Irish music (\textsuperscript{211}). 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 utun-
" tur, cujus chordas ex are, et non ex intestinis animalium fociunt, in qua
" dulcissime modulantur" (\textsuperscript{214}).—What were the most ancient instruments, is uncertain. Giraldus says they had three, cithara, tympana, et choru-
" rus (\textsuperscript{211}).—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. Befside 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 conce-
jecture, 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 Merse-
" nne 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

\begin{itemize}
\item[(\textsuperscript{211})] Fordun, lib. xvi. cap. 28.
\item[(\textsuperscript{214})] Major, lib. 5. cap. 1. & 8.
\item[(\textsuperscript{215})] De Mirabilib. Hiberniae.
\end{itemize}
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 (***): 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 " (**). Upon the harp he excelled the Irish, or " sylvestres Scoti, qui in illa arte precipui sunt " (**).—James III. cultivated the sciences; and, in his reign, William Rogers, a famous English musician, came to Scotland (**).—James IV. was skilled in music. At his marriage, " he played of the clarycordes, " and after of the lute " —— " Lastynge the dinner, they blew " trumpets, mynstrells, and sakkebouts " (**).—Horns were anciently used in battle, and, it would seem, trumpets (**). The trumpet is but a simple elongation of the horn, and is perhaps one of the most

(**) Page 340, line 195.
(*7) Ford. lib. xvi. cap. 28.
(*8) Major, lib. vi. cap. 4.
(*9) Pinkerton's history.
(*11) Froissart, liv. i. ch. 18. Deux trompettes d'Escosse.
most ancient instruments (**99**). Each warrior carried a horn, suspended by a cord, about his neck—"*tanquam venator, et cum praelium ingrediuntur, tali sono se ad bellum animant*" (**291**). Froissart often mentions those horns. Buchanan copies Froissart, with some additions, probably of his own invention (**94**). Also Barbour (**91**). 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 (**97**). 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 : iiiij. (**98**).—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 with Flora quene*, is in a collection of poems and ballads in the Advocates Library, printed 1508.

**b**


(**91**) Major, loc. sup. cit. c. 4.

(**94**) Lib. ix.

(**97**) P. 418, l. 223 ; 419, l. 15.

(**96**) Froissart, liv. iii.

(**97**) Pitcottie, p. 123. and the life of Cochran; a weak production.


(**99**) About 1549. There is one copy in the British Museum, another belonging to his Grace the Duke of Roxburgh, one belonging to Mr McGowan 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 myt bcf 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 Scotch 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 aI*, (101) might be appropriated to a tune in Oswald's and the Macfarlane collection (101). And two are named among the Spiritual Songs.—

It has been thought, that the Chinese resemble the Scotch 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 (101). 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 Kamstchadal 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 Scotch music. He gives no specimens, which is unfortunate, as it is more than probable no person will in future


(101) Folio 30.


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

—What can exceed the beauty of the Scotish 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, Giornovichi, or Viotti.—Can such be the production of savages? How such be the feelings of minds harassed by the cares of humbler life? Amidst solicitude and want, can the soul unbend to pleasure, and pour forth its effusions in harmonic strains? Or, shall we say, that in grief we melt at music, and record our sufferings in pathetic song?—

FINIS.
APPENDIX.

I.

DE RAGEWIN ET GILLEPATRIC ET ULCHIL.

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

II.

DE FUGITIVIS QUI VOCANTUR CUMBERLACH.

DAVID Rex Scottorum, omnibus fidelibus suis tocius Scotie et Lau-
donie salutem. Precipio quatenus cito Cumerlachi redduntur 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 inveniantur,
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. Willielmo de Lyndesay camerario nostro Scotiæ, et Joanni filio Uroningis justiciario nostro, ad hoc specialiter deputat: evidentem extitit conspectum et declaratum quod, Ad: filius Adam lator presentium non est hominom ligius seu nativus, 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 suorum supradict: viz. Robertum, Joannem, Reginaldum et Duncanum, liberos, solutos fore declaramus ac ipsos ab omni juge et onere servitutis quietos reddimus per pntes, 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 LORDES CHIEFFE JUSTICIARS OR GRATE JUSTICIARS, SINCE YE I. ZEIR OF YE RAINGE OF K. MALCOLME YE 3d TO THIS PRESENT 1643.

APPENDIX.

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 donatione of this Kings, monachis et monasterio S. Trinitatis de Dumfermlin in Fyffe, de vno tosto in burgo de Edinbrughe, possesid by Robert de Loudoniis. Ex Regist. dicti Monasterii, fol. 10. 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 Malcolm 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 Kings to ye mounkes and monasterey of Dumfermlin in Fyffe, ratifying to them ye donatione of Saierus de Quinci and of Waldeuïus, of ye landes of Beeth. Apud Perth, 20 Augusti. Ex Regist. dicti Monasterii, fol. 13. pag. 2.

Robertus
APPENDIX.

Robertus Aueneel, Justiciarius Scotiae, I find witnes in a chartor of excambium of some landes neire adiacent to ye toune and castell of Streulin, wich K. William exchanged with ye mounkes of Dumfermlin, and annexed ye same to his chapell royall of Streulin: wich landes formerly belonged to Roger ye sonne of Odo. Ex Regist. dicti Monasterii, fol. 13. pag. 2.

K. Alexander ye Second.—William Earle of Ross, Justiciarius Scotiae ex parte boreali Aquae de Forth (callid Maris Scotican) by his sentence ordanis Sr Dauid Wymes de eodem, ShriFFE of Fyffe, to make payment of the aught pairt of ye Kings rent in Fyffe & ForthriFFE 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 Scotiae Ao. 23. regni Regis Alexandri 2di. Him I find witnes in donatone of this Kings 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 avenis; as also in full contentment and satisfaction omnium rectitudinum quas praecipere consueuerunt e culinis nostris et Reginar sponsae nostrae, &c. in puram et perpetuum elimosinam. Ex Regist. dicti Monasterii, fol. 15. pag. 2.

Allanus Hostiarius, or Ostiarius, I find justiciarius Scotiae in Ao: 1243. He is witnes in diuers donations of this Kings to ye mounkes and monastereye 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 2di. He is witnes in a donatione of this Kings to ye mounkes and monasterey of St Marey of Coupar.
APPENDIX.


K. Alexander ye 3d.—Alexander Cumin, Earle of Buchan, Justiciarii Scotiae, one of ye priuye counsil to K. Alexander ye Thrid, befor quhom and ye rest of ye priuye 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 barony of Muskilbroughe, dotat to them by K. Da. i. of good memorey, &c. Ex Regist. dicti Monasterii, fol. 17. pag.

The names of K. Alexanders priuye counsellers, 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' Alexander Steuarte.
S' Robert Ross.
S' Dauid Grhome.

i ij  S'
APPENDIX.

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

Allanus Ostiarus, dapisfer Regis, I find to be Justiciarius Scotiae
Ao. 17. regni Regis Alexandri Tertii et Sal. 1256, as ye record
of ye monasterey of Aberbrothic, vol. 2d. fol. 82. This Allane
was restored to K. Alexander ye 3d's fauor by the mediation of
Henrey King of England, and at ye said Kings earnest intrettery
made Lord Chieffe Justice of Scotland for 7 zeires, in Ao. 1253.
As witneses ye booke of Melrosse.— — —

V.

CHARTER TO THE MONASTERY OF DURHAM.

EDGARUS 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 salut-
e animæ meæ, ac fratrum ac sororum meorum, Coldinghame et omnes
illas terras quas habent in Laudoneio, ita liberas et quietas, cum omni-
bus consuetudinibus, sicut eas ego ipse habeo in propria mea manu. Et
volo et precipio omnibus meis hominibus, ne ullus illorum, eis aliquam
molestiam vel injuriarum, inde faciat vel hanc donationem meam infringat,
sed in pace et quieta et honorifice in perpetuo habeant eas et teneant.
APPENDIX.

VI.

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

Vnalene Earle of Stratherne, I find aboute ye latter end of ye fourte
zeir of ye rainge of K. Malcolme the 3d, to be constable of
Scotland be northe ye Riuier of Forthe.
Fergus ye sone of Earl Madock, neir yat same tyme, I lykways
find to be constable of Scotland be south Forth to ye Riuier 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 witnes in a donacione of this Kinges Deo et S.
Seruano & Keledes heremitis de Insula de Lochleuin terrarum
de Cathro.

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

K. Edgar.—S' Eustasse de Mal-erbe or Malaherba, a Frencheman by
birthe, one quho was trained vpe zoung with this King, being
his favorite, 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 witnes in diuers donationes and confirmations of this Kinges to the Culdeis of Lochleuin and monasterey of Dumfermlinge.

K. Alexander the First.—S' Eustace de Morweill, Knight, was by K. Alexander the First made Grate Constable of Scotland in Ao. 1109. I find him witnes in a donacione of this Kinges to ye monasterey of Dunfermling in Fyfe shyre, De Toftis Burgorum.

K. Davud ye First.—Eduard (of quhat surname doe I not find) is Constable of Scotland Ao. 1 reg. Da. 1. And him I find witnes in a charter of donacione of this Kinges to ye monckes & monasterey of Cambuskenneth, called then Monasterio de Strueling. 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 here-tably by K. Davud ye 1. Ao. 2. regni et Sal: 1124. He is wit-nes in a donacione of this Kinges of ye landes of Kethick confirming yat gift of the saids lands to St Marey and ye monckes of Coupar by Malcomle Earle of Athole.

K. Malcolm 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, succeitt hes father Humphrey both in estait and office in anno 1156. Him I find a witnes in a charter of K. Malcolm ye Fourth, of the lands and baroney of Settone in Lauthaine, 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 Archbishop of Canterbury, he then living at ye Englische courte, returns home prudently. His father's death hapning shortly therafter, to him he succeeds both in estait and office in Ao. 1159. He foundit ye monasteries of Kilwining in Cuninghame ordinis Tyronensis, nd yat of Drybrughe in Teuiotdaill ord. Praemonstratensis, and endowd them bothe werey richeley, and dyed Ao. 2. regni Regis Villielmi.

Williame de Morweill, Lord Lauderdaill, succeedit hes father, and was Grate Constable of Scotland in Ao. 1167: in ye begining of wich zeir hes father departed this lyffe, wich was ye 2d of K. Villiam. He dyed about ye latter end of ye raiinge of K. Alexander ye 2d, and was interred 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. 2d regni Regis Alexandri 2d, 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. 2d.

Sr Alexander Setitone Knight, Roger Earle of Winchester being recalled to England wnder ye painé of ye forfeiture of his landes: ther was by K. Alexander ye 2d in his absence made Grate Constable of Scotland. Him I find witnesse 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, wch donatione is confirmed by K. Alex. 2d. Ex Regist. Monast. de Cupro, fol. 7. pag. 2.
K. Alexander ye 3d—Sayer de Quincey, Earle of Winchester in England, after his fathers death was Grate Constable of Scotland, Reg. Alex. 3d, 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 3d, was invested in ye office of Grate Constable of Scotland; wich he possessed till ye Parl: decerned it to his cousin Alex' 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' 3d, 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 Abbacæ de Scona, Ordinis Sancti Agustini, Per Alexandrum Istius Nominis Primum Scotorum Regem.*

*Universis Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiae filiis et fidelibus Scotis, Franci, Anglis et Gallowidensibus, clericis et laicis, totius terræ meæ, salutem. Sciatis*
APPENDIX.

Sciatis me fundasse Abbaciam in Thanagio meo de Scona, in honorem Dei Omnipotentis et S. Michaelis Archangeli de ordine Sancti Agustini, pro salute animarum Malcolm 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 canonici 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 Kinhauener, tenendum de nobis et successoribus nostris, in perpetuam, per rectas divisas suas, et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, libere, quiete, plenarie, et honorifice; Redendo inde annuatim quadraginta chaldras boni frumenti, et sexaginta chaldras boni brasii ordei solvendas in grangius suis de Raith et Kinhauener, et faciendo forincicum servitium quod ad easdem terras pertinet; Salvis ejusdem canoniciis secundis decimiis suis a nobis et successoribus nostris in perpetuam elimosinam collatis. Dedi quoque dictis canoniciis 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 canoniciis omnes decimas villarum nostrarum de Blaire, libere, quiete, et honorifice. Dedi insuper et concessi iisdem canoniciis, Innerbos cum quinque carucatis terræ, Bentorne cum tribus carucatis terræ, Forthroie cum una carucata terræ, Kynchtred cum una carucata terræ, Fingasc cum una carucata, Dufotheyn 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 Kynkerkeyne, 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 Cancellario,
APPENDIX.


Concordat cum principali,
Ja: Balfoure, Lyon.

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, concesisse et hac presenti carta confirmasse Gilberto de Haya militi, directo et fidei nostro, pro homagio et servitio suo, officium Constabulariam Scotiae cum pertinentibus. Tenend: et habend: dixto Gilberto et hereditibus suis de nobis et hereditibus nostris in feode et hereditate, cum hostilagiis 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 hereditibus 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 URI MAGISTRI DAVID TRAILE SACRISTE DICTE ECCLESIE, QUARTO DIE MENSIS NOVEMBRIS DE ANNO DNI MILLESIMO QUINTENTO.**


Item, duo candelabra orca 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 dominů Jacobum pettygew fabricatum. Item, duo ly flacottis de stanno. Item, crux de stanno deaurato portans ymaginę crucifixi. Item, tria tintinabula. Item, una crux signa rubri coloris habens hastam longam. Item, una hasta longa ad portandam ymaginę crucifixi extra ecclesiam. Item, duo magni ambones de lignis stantes in choro. Item, tria paria organorum, quorū unum ġ de lignis, et duo alia de stanno siue de plūbo. Item, tria seruicialia ad supponendũ missaliz in altari. Item, vna tabula cum tribz foliis, ubi deingunt ymago dne nostra gerētis filium sum 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 tenebrar in septimana dominice passionis. Item, boxa correa apta ad seruandũ euidencias ecclesie. Item, habentur in pictura multa arma regis et regiē pro
APPENDIX.

X.

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

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

XI.

DECRETUM DOMINORUM PARLIAMENTI.

THE DELIUYANCE OF YE LORDIS UPON YE PAYMENT OF YE SECUND TENDIS OF WARDIS RELEWS, AND UVIR ESCAET OF YE KYNGS GRACE WITHIN YE SCHRIFDOMIS OF ABERDEIN AND BANFF.

JAMES, be ye grace of God, King of Scottis, To oure louittis ———— our Schirreffs in yat parte coniunctlye and seueralye specealy greting: For sa meyll as it humyly menit and schawin to ws be ane Reuerand Fadyr in God and our traist consuloure Gawyne Bishopp of Abberdein, Yat quhair his predecessouris Bisshoppis of Abberdein ar infet 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 happen in tymis cumyng within ye boundis betuex ye vatteris of Spey and Dee; and in corroboration yairof, and for ye weill and eys of ye Bisshoppis of Abberdein, oure maist nobill fadyr, quhom God assolze, gef ane new infestment and chertiyr to umquhill ane Reuerend Fadir in God Willzam yan Bishopp of Abberdein and his successouris, of the tend part of all landys yat happynit to warde withyn ye saiddys boundis, haill and togyddir, in ane competent place, during ye tyme of ye warld yairof, in contentation of ye said secund teynd penny to be assignait to ye Bisshoppis 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 peceabill possession wythout interruption, quhill now laightly 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 justice gif
APPENDIX.

gif sa be. Oure will is heirfore, and we chaire zow straitly and commandys, yat incontinent yir oure letteris seyne, ze pass, and in oure name and autorite command and cherge oure Shirreff of Banf and his deputis, y he incontinent summonde of ye best and worthayst baronys fre-haldarlis 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' propirtee and tenandryis haill and togidder in ane competent place. And yat ye said Shirreff and his deputis, 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 infeftment. 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\textsuperscript{d} lib. to be inbro' 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 deputis put ye delyuerance giffin to him in ye said matter to dew exequuciou, and keip and defend ye said Reuerend Fadyr in peceabill brouking and josing of ye said warde landys, ondir ye paine of refounding to him and his successouris of all damagnes and schaythis yat thai sall happin to sustein in default of putting of the said delyuerance to dewe exequicion, 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 Apyrle, and of oure reyng ye nynte zeir.

Ex deliberacione Dominorum Consiliii.

L. CHEPMAN.

I

XII.
APPENDIX.

XIV.

K. JA. 6. HIS CHARECTER.

This Kinges character 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 character was obvious to eureye 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 doublets quilted for steletto proosfe, his breeches in grate pleits & full stuffed. He was naturalie of a timorous dispositione, wich was ye gratest reasone of his quilted doublets. 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 was werely thin; his young too large for his mouthe, wich euer made him drinke verey uncomelie, as if eattung his drinke, wich cam out into ye cup in each syde of his mouthe. His skin was als softe as Tafta sarssnet, wich felt so, because he neuer waßht his hands, onlie rubb'd his fingers ends slightly with ye vett end of a napkin. His legs wer verey weake, hauing had (as was thoght) some soule play in his youte, or rather befor he was borne, yat he was not able to stand at sevin yeares of age: that weakness made him euir leaning one other mens shoulders. His walk was euer circular; his fingers euer in that valke sidling about his cod pecece. He was werey temperate in his exercisses and in his dyet, and not intemperat in his drinking. However, in his old age, and Buckinghames joviall supperes, quhen he had aney turne to doe with him, made him sometimes ouertakin; wich he wold ye ver-
APPENDIX.

rey nixt day remember, & repent with teares. It is trew he dranke wery often, vich was rather out of a custome then aney delight; and his drinkes wer of yat kynd, for streth, as Frontiniack, Canarey, Heigh countrey wyne, Tent and strong ale. Yat he had not a wery strong braine, might haue dailie beine ouertakin; altho he soldome dranke at aney one tyme aboue foure-spoonfulls, maney tymes not aboue one or tuo. He was wery constant in all thinges (his favorites excepted) in vich he loued change; zet neuir cast doune aney (he once raised) from the height of granesse throghe their 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 wery last gaspe, than at ye first minut of his fauoritschip. In his dyet, apparrell and journys, he was wery constant: In his apparel 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 shooses, he asked if they wold make him a ruff footed Done? one zard of sex penmie 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 vold tell quher ye King eurey day had beine, and euerie dish he had had one his table.

He was not wery uxorious (though he had a wery braye Queen) that neuer crossed hes desaignes, nor intermeddled with stait affaires, bot euer complayed with him (euen against the natur of aney bot of a milde spirite). In the change of favorites, he was euer best quhen furthest from hes Queen; and yat was thought to be ye first grounds of his remoues, vich afterwards proved habituall. He was unfortunate in the marriage of his daughter, & so was all Chrystendome bydes; bot sure
sure the daughter was more unfortunat in a father, than he in a daugh-
ter. He naturally loued not ye sight of a soouldier, nor of aney valiant
man; and it was ane observation, yat S' Robert Mansell was the onely
valiant man he euuer loued, and him he loued so intirely, that for all
Buckinghame's gratesse with ye King, & his hattred of S' Robert
Mansell, zet could not yat alienat the Kinges affections for him; in so
much as, quhen, by the instigatone of Cottington (then ambassador in
Spaine) by Buckingham's procurement, ye Spanishe ambassador came
with a grate complaint against S' Robert Mansell, then at Angiers, to
suppresse 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 be-
leeue this, for I made choyse myselffe of him out of these reasons:
"I know him to be valiant, honest, & noblie discendit 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 mercenarey myndes ar carried away with a grat-
er prize, bot noble myndes alienat with nothing bot publack disgraces.

He was werey witty, and had als maney reedy vitry jests as aney
man liuinge, at vich he wold not smyle himselffe, bot deliuer them in a
grawe & serious maner. He vas verey liberal of quhat he had not in his
awen gripe, & vold rather pairt with 100 lib. he neuer had in his
keeping, then one 20 schilling pece withyn his awen custody. He spent
much, & had much usse of his subjectes purses, wich bred some clash-
ings with them in ye Parliament, zet wold alwayes come off & end
with a sweit & plausible close: and treuly his bountey was not discom-
mendable; for his raising fauoritts was the worst. Rewarding olde
servants, and reteining his natie countréymen, was infinitly more to be
commended
APPENDIX.

commended in him then condemned. His sending ambassadors wer no lesse chargeable, then dishonorble 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 armey yat wold haue forced peace with honor. He loued good lawes, & had mauey made in his tyme, & in his last Parliament: for ye good of his subjectes, & suppressing promotters and proging fellowes, gaue way to yat nullum tempus, &c. to be continued to sextie zeires; wicch was mor beneficall to ye subjectes 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 countreymen that liued in thosse tymes quhen they wer erected & wnderstood, ye causse of erecting them wer dedicated for a strange pcece of deuotione.

He wold make a grate deal 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 proceeded from passione. He had need of grate assurance, rather then hopes, yat wold make daylie so bold with God.

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

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

There Lord Chiefe Justices, set 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 a's easily breake ye bargaine, upon the nixt offer, saying he was mistaken and decaued, and therfor no reasone he should keepe ye bargaine. This was often ye caisse with ye farmers of ye customes.

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 Kings. Zet some tymes wold he show prettey flashes of valour, wich might easilly be decerned to be forced, not naturall: and being forced, could haue wished rather it wold haue recoiled back into himselffe, then car-ryed to yat King it had concerned, least he might haue beein 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 DIARY

OF

ROBERT BIRREL,

BURGESS OF EDINBURGHE.

CONTAINING

DIVERS PASSAGES OF STAITE, AND UTHERS

MEMORABLE ACCIDENTS.

FROME THE 1532 ZEIR OF OUR REDEMPTIONE, TILL YE BEGINNING

OF THE ZEIR 1605.
THE DIARY, &c.

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

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

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

James ye second wes slaine at Roxburgh Castell, (alias Marchmound), 1460.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\[ A \text{ } i j \] 1544 Feb. 27.

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.

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.

1549 June 29. The 29 of June, the inch betwixt Leith and Kingorne, wes voune frome the Englishmen by the Franchemen; and, one this same day, Bruchty Castell wes voune also, in anno 1549.

Pebleis brunt by Englishmen, in anno 1549.

1554 Apr. 12. The 12 day of Apryll, Queine Marey received ye government frome Duck Hamilton, 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 Hynamouth wes builded, and the Frenchmen wes in it, in anno 1557.

1560 Apr. 6. The 6 of Apryll, the toune of Leith wes besiegett, quhilk wes kepsett by Frenchmen, bot wes forced to randir ye same, and so gat lieve to goe with bage and baggage, after yat the Englishmen had foughten them sundrey tymes, in anno 1560.

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 Earl of Huntley slaine at the battell

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

The seige of Haddingtoun wes layd too by the Frenchmen, quhilk indurit ane hail zeir. In the quhilk tyme wes ye Tuesdays chaisse, quher money of England wer takin and slaine; and thereafter, the Gouernour held ane Parliament in the Abbey of Holyroodhouse.—George Mariotynker Analls of Scotland, from the zeir 1514 to the zeir 1591, MS. Advoc. Libr. ad ann. 1548.

Lesly, p. 503.  h  Lesly, p. 505.  i  Lesly, p. 531.

Tanta jam penuria rerum premebatur Galli, tam ii, qui Leythum propugnabant, quam qui in insula Inchekeitho erant, ut equinam earnem, in delitiis maximis, habent. Lesly.

Trollen to death, Robertson, edit. 1759, 2 vol. 410, i. 249.—Lives Office of State, p. 87.—Lesly, p. 587.
battell of Corrochi, and his sonne Johne beheadit at Aberdeine, in anno 1562. 1562.

The 4 day of Auguste, Matthew Earll of Lennox came to Edinburghe; also his sonne Henrey, quho mariet ye Queine upon ye 29 day of Julay, in the palace of Holyrouthous, and wes called Henrey the 2d in anno 1565.

The 9 day of March, Seingeour David, surnamed Risius, ane Italiane, quha wes the Queine’s secretary, a man very 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. 1566 Mar. 9.

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

At the same tyme, the abbothe of Kelso, named Ker, wes slaine by the laird of Cesfur, zounger, hes aven 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 proquoi of Ed; 1566 Oct. 7.

The 8 of October, the Queine went oute of Edinburghe to Jedworth, to hold aine justice aire.

James Earll of Bothuell wes deidly woundet in the hand, by Johne Elette, 1566 Aug. 8.


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

These Lords entered (or as others relaite ye storie) rushed togethir (and the Kyng wth them) in to the Queene’s dyning rowme at supper tyme, shee sitting at table wth ye Countesse of Argyle; assaulted the fellow wth 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 wth chylde, trembling wth feare, and setting a pistoll to hir breast, so yth shee was in danger of present abortion; and pulling the wretch out of hir hands (who grapt 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’out pittie 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 therafter o.

1566 Oct. 25. The 25 of October, vord came to the toune of Edinburghe, frome 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 lipned her life.

--- Nov. 2. Upone ye 2 day of Nouember, Count de Bryan, embassador from the Frenche Kinge, came to Edinburghe, and remained till ye 12 day of December, and then he departied to Striveling.

--- Dec. 10. The 10 day of December, the Earll of Bedford, embassador from the Queine of England, came to Edinburghe, and ther remained till the day of December; then he departied to Striveling, very well accompanied. Both these embassadors came to the Prince's baptizing.

--- 17. The Prince wes baptized upone the 17 p day of December, in the chappell royall of Strivelinge, and wes named Charles James, James Charles.


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 Dauid Risius, the Quein's secretarey.


--- 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 Glassgow of the small poks, bot some sayed he had gottene poysone.

--- 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 embassador came to Edinburghe, and the Duck of Savoy's also.

--- Vid. Robertson, i. 323.
--- 15th, according to others.
One the 9 day of this moneth, being Someday befor Fasteryng's even, the K. wes murthered 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 pouder; 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 vyrrriet, after he fell out of the aire, with his awen garters, he had leived 4.

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

The 11 day of this monythe, the embassadors depaorted homeward from Edinburghe.

The 15 day, K. Henrey wes buried verye secretly in the night at Holyruithous.

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

The 19 day of this moneth, the Prince wes convoyed oute of Edinburghe to Strivelinge Castell, and deliuered to the Earll of Mar, Lord Erskyne, till he came to the age of 17 yeairs.

The 21 of this moneth, the Castell of Edinburghe wes randred to Cockburne of Skirlinge, at ye Quein's command. This same day, ther rais ane vehement tempest of vunde, which blew a verye grate shipe out of the rode of Lieth, and sicklyk blew the taile from the cocke wiche 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 soung afternoone, and done in the chapell royal of Holyrooddous, for the said Henrey Steuarte and hes saule, by the papists, at her Majestie's command.

— Mar.19.

— 21.

— 25.

4 Several authors place those events upon the 10th.

5 Balf. An. i. 314.—Vid. Keith, p. 368, note.
THE DIARY.

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

At this tyme, after King Henrie's murther, ther wes daily placketts or challenges sett upone the Abby yet of Holyrowdhouse, and upone the crosse, tolbuith, and ports of the toune of Edinburghe, to seight the Earl of Bothuell, yat he wes ye Kinges murtherer; but no mor answuer 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 Edin-
burghe, quherin the Quein's Majestie, with consent of the Estaits, re-
stored 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 placketts or scanderous lybells upone the crosse, tolbuith, or Abbey yetts, and did not destroy them, should suffer death; with sundrey uther actes. Sicklyke, upon the same day, James Murray and Henrey Swanton wer summoned to underlay the law for putting one of placketts upone the crosse, tolbuith, or Abbey yetts.

Also the same day, the Queine raid to Strveling to visitit ye Prince.

— 24. Upon the 24 of Apryll, her Majestie, upon comeng back from Strveling to Edinburghe, at the bridge of Craumont, the Earll of Both-
uell,

* This paragraph seems to be singularly erroneous. The numbers in the text are, 5 Earls, 4. Lords, and 2 gentlemen. The assize consisted of Andrew E. of Rothes, George E. of Caitliness, Gilbert E. of Cassillis; Lord John Hamilton, commenderator 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 Cambusnetan, Mowbray of Barnbougle, and Ogilby of Boyne.
OF ROBERT BIRREL.

uell, being well accompanied, ravesheett 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 womman, 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 1.

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

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

The 11 day of Junii, the Queine being in Borthuick castell, upone ye suddaine, certaine of ye nobility besett the castell round about in armes, very well provydi. The principal of these wer, the Earles of Athole, Glencairne, Mortone, Mar, with Lordis of Home, Lindesay, Semple, Ruthuen, Sanquhair. The chiefe 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 answerd, 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 Edinburgh, being Thursday, at four houre in ye afternoon, quher ther wes proclamations at the crosse, yat all trew subjects vuld assist to persew the murther of ye King.

The

1 Vid. Robertson’s Appendix, No. 31.

2 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 through 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 within view. The one stood upone Carberrey Hills, with 4 regiments of shouldiours, and sex feild peices of brasse: the uther armey stoode over against it, messingers going betwixt them all day till nei 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 lodging for yat night; Sr. Symeon Prestone of Craigmillar being Provost for ye time.

At yat same time, Capitane Andrew Lammie, hes ensigne being of quyht taffitae, had painted one it ye creuell murther of K. Henrey, and layed doune befor her Maie at quhat time she presented herself as prisoner to ye Lordis; at the sight quherof, ther wes such lamentatione amongst the haill 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, Capitaine William Blacketer wes apprehendit and taken, quho wes suspede to participate of the Kings murther.

— 23. The 23 day, ane embassador 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 William Blacketer wes drawin backward in
OF ROBERT BIRREL.

In ane caire frome ye tolbuith to the crosse, and ther wes hangit and 1567. quartrd, for being on the King's murther. — July 12.

The 12 day of Julay, ther came heir ane ambassador from England, quhose name wes Nicolas Throgmorton; and one this same day, ane publick fast wes proclaimed, to continew till ye 21 day. — — 26.

The 26 day of Julay, the Lordis past to Striveleng, and tooke with them ye crowne, sword, scepter, and robes royall, accompanied with ye most of ye nobility, and ther producit ye Quein's commissione and consent, subscriwed with her awen hand, yat ye Prince James, her sonne, should be crouned king of Scotland.

And upone the 29 of Julay, the Prince wes crouned king of Scot-


The 2 of Aguste, proclamatione made by the heralds of hes Ma-

jestie's coronatione, villing all hes subjects to live in ye feare of God, and in hes obedience, under all heighest paine and chairge yat might follow thereafter.

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

The 19 of Aguste, ye shippes loused for Orkney to persew ye Duck. The principal men yat wes in ye fleett, wes, Tullibardyne, Grainge, and Haliburton tutor of Pittcur. The shipe called Unicorn perishd in Orkney, and the uthr 3 returned saue hame againe upon the 13 of September thereafter.

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

The 1 day of September, ther wes ane proclamacione, for sua meikle 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 viuctalls.

As also this same day, ther wes ane uthr proclamacione concerning the
1567.

the cunzie, with ye suord one ye one syde thereof, and ye crowne one ye tope of it, with this motto about it around—*Pro me, si merior in me.*

— Sept. 4. The 4 of September, James Adamsone heidit, 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' 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, with ves keipt for the resallt of Hepburne Duck of Orkney.

— — 26. The 26 of September, four of the best double cannons ves carried to Dumbar, with 6 smaller pices, with pouder and bullet, and uthre provisione, to seige ye said Dumbar; and ye nixt day therafter, my Lord Regent with his companye followed; and, upon the last day, the said castell wes randred and given over to ye said Regent, upon conditions; and immediatly therafter, commandiment wes given for demolishing it.

— Oct. 10. The 10 of October, ther wes ane proclamatione to meit ye Regent in Peibleis, upon ye 8 of Nouember nixt, for ye repressing of the theives in Annandaill and Easdaill; but my Lord Regent, thinking they wald gett advertisement, he preventit the day, and came over the water secretly, and lodgit in Dalkeith; this upon ye 19 day; and upon ye morrow he depairtowards Hauick, quher he came both secretley and suddenly, and ther tooke 34 theives, quhom he partly caused hang, and partly crowne, 5 he lett frie upon caution; and, upon the 24 day of Nouember, he brought uther ten of them with him to Edinburghe, and ther putte them in irons.

— — 26. Upon the 26 day of October, ane rair and wounederful accident fell out by Sathan's instigatione. Ane gentleman, called George Hamilton, being maried upone ane Jeanes Vithersponoun, he had a brother called Peiter Hamiltone, quho lay in incest with hes brother's wyffe; and sua he and she conspyred the gentleman's death, named George Hamiltone of Bathgate;
Bathgate; and sua Peiter, vith hes complices, murthered hes brother, 1567. and lefte hes servant 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 Hamilton a trumpetour, and a zoyng man callit Steuarte, ver all 3 brought to Edinburgh, ye 4 day of November, and ye ladey vith them. They wer arraigned for the said murther; and, one the 5 of November, ye said Peiter Hamiltones wades heedit at ye crosse of Edinburgh, and ye 2 zoyng men hangit ther; and, upone ye 6 day of ye same month, the said Jeane Vitherspounhe haveing confeste hoordome, incest, and murther of her awen husband, she wes brunt.

The 24 of November, at 2 afternoon, ye laird of Airthe and ye laird of Weims met upone ye heigh gait of Edinburghe; and they and ther followers fought a verye bloudye skirmish, quher ther wes ma-ney hurte one both sydes vith shote of pistol.

This same nyght, ane yffe in Craumount creuellly vyrriet her awen husband; bot God releived him that he dyed not.

Upone ye 27 of November, ther wes a strait proclamatione, dis-charging ye veering of guns or pistolls, or anye sicklyke fyerwork ingyne, under ye paine of death, the King's guard and shoulouders only excepted.

The 15 day of December, ye Regent held a Parliament at Edin-burghe; ye Earl of Argyll bore ye suord, Huntley the scepter, and Angus ye crowne, being bot a chyld of 14 zeirs of age or therby. At this Parliament, the tounes of Dundie and Perth strave for the 2° 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.

The 20 day, ye Lord Regent raid to ye Parliament hous, and wes much troubled to compose these tuo turbulent tounes of Perth and Dundie.
1567 Dec. 29. The 29 day, wich wes the last day of ye Parliament, James Hepburne Lord Hailles Earl Bothuell. Marquess of Fyffe and Duck of Orkney, wes forfaught, togidder vith ye laird of Ornestoune, 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 quartrded 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 zownger, and Johne Hepburne of Bollone, and ane Powrie and ane Dalgliesh, servitors to ye Earl of Bothuell, ver hangit and quartrded, and ther bodies brunt for murther of ye King.

— — 17. The 17 of Januarii, a play made by Robert Semple, and played be for 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 Anderfune, men of Kyll, ver brunt one the Castell Hill, for burning of corns pertaining to William Cathcarte.

— — 22. The 22 day of Februarii, Sir William Steuarte wes inaugurat Lyone King of Armes in the kirk, after sermon in ye forenoon, in presence of ye Regent and Nobilitie.

— — 23. The 23 day, ane smith, named Vallace in Caldermure, ves apprehendit, quho did confess yat he murthered ane Vilsone priuily some 2 moneths since or therby, for whic 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 Ralstrig neir Edinburghe, eat ane hemlock root, and dyed therof immediately.

The
OF ROBERT BIRKEL.

The 22 of Apryll, Malie Zounger hangit herselcve in her awen hous in Barclayes closse.

The 2 day of Maii, the Queine came oute of Lochleuin by the convoy of George Douglas, the laird's younger brother. Ther mett her, after she came out of Lochleuin, certaine Lords; as, namely, Settone, Herreis, and the Bischope of S' Androis, vith uthers ther complices, and convoyett her to Hamiltone, quher ther wes a grate maney conveneit with diligence.

The Regent being in Glasgow, conveneit a grate armey 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 Edinburch a grate faste for ye space of 8 days.

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

My Lord Home led the avant guard of the Regent's armey, and ves hurte in the face vith ane speare. The Regent, at the pleasour of God, obteine ye viciory. 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 viciory, fled, accompanied with 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, shrieffe of Aire, laird of Trabrone, laird of Innerweike.

The 15 day of Maii, the keyes of Hamiltone and Draphane ver deliwered to my Lord Regent.

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

The 20 day, being Thursday, Hamiltone laird of Innerweike, vith 9 uthre 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 obteined all of them remissione from ye Regent.

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

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

— — 27. The 27 of Maii, being Thursday, the spoyles of, the castells of Hamilton 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 addaine 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 gunpowder, and destroyed; at the quhilk tyme, ye laird thereof wes in England.

— — 14. The 14 day of Junii, ye Regent caused blow up, vith gunpowder, ye 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 keipt ye said place certaine days, and slew some 6 persons more, zet made escaipe at yat present.

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

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

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

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

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

The 18 day, being Vedinsday, the Lords raid also to the tolbuith;
the shouldeirs 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' David Lindesay ves with
grate solemnity inaugurate King of Armes, ye most of ye nobility being
present at the ceremonie with my Lord Regent. He wes proclaimit
S' David Lindesay of Ratheillet, Knight, Lyone King of Armes.

The 24 day, being Tuesday, the laft day of ye Parliament, the
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-
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 within ye toune
ther.

The 3 day of Januarii, John Andrew, tailzeour burges of Edin-
burghe, vith hes viffe, 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
in 1569 Jan. 3. — 8.
In the North Loche, passing over at 4 hours at even; and ane uther
with him in grate danger of hes lyffe.

--- Jan. 14.  The 14 of Januarie, Robert Hepburne, sone 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 Januarie, the castell of Draphane randred for laick of victualls, by Johnstoun of Vesterhall, being capitane therof, quho randred it to ye Hamiltons.

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

--- Feb. 26.  The 26 of Februarie, the Earle of Murray, Regent, came home out
of Ingland, quho had beine ther since the 21 of September last.

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

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

--- 27.  The 27 day of Januarie *, Mathew Steuarte Earle of Lennox, ves proclamit Regent, and ye Earle of Mortone hes Lieutenant. This Mathew Earle of Lennox, halde ning ane Parliament at Strivelinge, quher the zounge King wes present, he made ane oratione to the hail nobility, be
ing sitting in ye Parliament. Ye chyld King looking upward to ye
roofs.

OF ROBERT BIRREL.

roose of the hous, he saw ane holl through the sclaitting; he said, I 1570. think ther is ane holl in this Parliament; sua that shortly thereafter hes Maiestie's words came true.

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

Betwix ye Regent and ye Queins faction, the first of Maii, ves — May 1. Lusilaw foughten.

The 14 of Maii, ane Parliament haldein in the Canongaitt, in Villiam — — 14. Cocker's hous neir S' Johnes crosse, by the King's folks: Also at ye same tyme, ane Parliament haldein 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 upone ye Kings pairt, quho came out of Leith, and the Earll of Huntley, with the Hamiltons, queha keiped Edinburghe, on the uther syde. At ye same tyme, quhen the tuo armes 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 trauelled betwixt them, to haue gotten them stayed from batell; bot they being of contrarye opinions, vold not be stayed from ye batell. In ye end, they ioynde 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 were slaine and hurte. Amongst ye chieffe men yat ver slaine of ye Hamiltons, wes Gauine Hamilton and 3 or four uther captains, with numbers of comon shouldeours; and ye Lord Home wes taken prisoner.

In the moneth of Aguste * 1571, about the tyme of the riding of the Parliament, ther came to Strveling, or day light, befor euer the Regent, nobility, or toun of Strveling vist or trew, the Earle of Huntly the Queins lieutenant, Claude Hamilton, with the lairds of Buccleuch and Farnieherst; and by day brake wer going through the cij toune,

* This, among others, is apparently placed by Robertson in May.—ii. 16.
* Sept. 3. Robertson, ii. 19.
toune, crying, God and ye Queine; suo that the King's peopell, with 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, without mercey they killed them. In the end, ye Regent being taken by the laird of Buccleugh prisoner, ane unhappy fellow lifted uppe 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 Jul 31. The last of Julay 1572, the toune of Edinburgh ves randred to ye King and his Regent, quha placed ther sex companies of old shouldiours for keeing of the same in tyme coming.

Aug 24. Upon the 24 day of Aguste, ves yat inhumane, bloudy, and cruell massacker at Pareis in France, quherin ye noble Admirall wes slaine, at ye mariage of ye King of Nauar with 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 bloudy dangers and hellish inhumanity.

Also at this tyme, ye Duck of Northfolk and ye Earle of Northumberland, wer both beheddit in Ingland for treason.


Nov 24. The 24 day of Nouember, James Douglas Earle of Mortone, quha wes the King's lieutenent, wes chosen, and solemnly proclaimed Regent, in place of John Erskine Earle of Mar, quha had laitley left the countrie.

1573 Jan 1. In the first of Januarii, the castell of Edinburghe wes beseidgit.

May 2. Upone the 2 day of Mai 7, the Englisch cannon, vich wes 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 steilfit 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.

Vid. Robertson, ii. 40. Qu. Steinitt, or-stated.
OF ROBERT BIRREL.

Porte, and uther 5 bezdond the North Loche: they shote so hard contin-
ually, yat ye 2d day they had beitt doune quholly 3 tourers. The laird of Grainge, called Kircaldy of surname, quho wes capitaine ther-
of, vold not giue over, bot shote at them continually, both vith 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 close 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 keipt ye cuntrey in grate jus-
tice and peace all ye tym of hes government.

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

Ane man named Black Ormistoune, wes hangit at ye crosse of Edin-
burchge for being present at ye murther of King Henrey.

The 10 day of Marche, the King, vith hes nobility, deprived the Earle of Mortone frome hes Regency, and tooke the government up-
one himself; and ther wer 16 counsellors chosen to sitt vith his Maiestie in the tolbuith of Ediburgh.

The xxvi day of Apryll *, the Earle of Mortone and the Earle of Mar, vith ther freinds, surprysed ye castell of Strveling, to have had out ye King, quho wes haldin in by ye capitane; at wich surprys ye capi-
taine’s sone wes slaine.

The 18 day of Aguste, ye Lordis of ye King’s secret counsell made proclamatione at the crosse of Ediburghge, yat all hes Maiestie’s sub-
jects yat wes of age betwix 16 and 60, should be redy to pas forward with them to relieve hes Matie out of Strveling; or utherways, if aney

* Blank in the original, and supplied from other authorities.
man vald not goe, to be repute partackers in the contrair. The Lords passing forward to ye forsaid efficete, 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 theerafter.

1580 Jan. 1. Upone ye first day of Januarii, ye Earl of Mortone wes putt in varde in ye castell of Edinburghe for conceilling the King's murther, and zit neuir consentit to it, but 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 persewing for the murther, these yat had consentit to it, and actet ye same, zit he wes behedit for conceilling of it. And in this same moneth, ye said Earl of Mortone wes 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 committit ye King's murther, ves conviçet be ane assyze; and one the second day of ye moneth of Junii theerafter, wes behedit at ye crosse of Edinburghe.

1582 Aug. 23. The 23 of August c, the King's Maiestie being in the place of Ruthven, he wes presumptuously holden in ye place by the Lord therof aginst his vill, quhill the said Lord Ruthven, and hes complices, caused hes Maiet 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.
OF ROBERT BIRREL.

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

The 18 of Apryll, ye Earles of Angus, Mar, and ye Master of Glamis, vith some kirkmen and ther complices, quho had beene exyled, came home and went to Strveling, they being all of ane factione, and tooke in the toune and castell, and bult forts, sua yat no man could traveill or pas ye river of Forth, for ye bridge ves stoppit.

Upone the 27 of Apryll, ye King and the Earlls of Crawfur and Arrane, vith divers of ye new maid Lordis and courtiers, brought frome Edinburghe 3 regiments of shouliours, and went to Strveling, quha looked yat ye said toune and castell should haue beine haldin against hes Mathe; bot quhen he came, they yat ver within fled, sua yat hes Maiestie entred and tooke ye toune and castell without stroke of sword; and hes Maiestie lodgit this night in the castell.

The 4 day of Maii, William Earle of Gowrie ves beheidet in Strveling after he ves convicte, for presuming to deiten his Maiestie prisoner in his awin hous of Ruthven, the 23 of Auguste 1582; and ther ves execute vith him Archibald Douglas beheadit, and Mr John Forbes hanget. This executione ves done ye forsaid day betwix 8 and 9 horaes at night.

The 8 day of Aguste, the castell of Edinburghe ves givin in kep- ing to James Stewarte, Earl of Arrane, and he made capitane therof.

Upon the 4 day of Maii, ye pestilence begune in Edinburghe, and ves first knawin to be in Symeon Marcerbank’s hous; quhilk pest con- tinued till Januarii therafter: the hail peipell quhilk wer abill to flee, fled out of ye toune; nevirtheles, ther dyed of peipell witch verno abill to flee, 14 hundred and some odd.

Upone the 1 of Nouember, ye King’s Maiestie being in Strveling, the nobilitie quho ver exyled, viz. Angus, Hamilton, Mar, Bothuell, Glamis, came to Strveling with ther haill forces, thinking they had beine longe exyled fra his Maiestie’s presence, and yat by the counsell of new
come courtiers, desperately surprisit ye toune of Striveleng, and vane ye castell, and ver receivit in favour with hes Maiestie; many wer fled from ye King, bot ye Lords remainer lyk loyall and trew subiefts, 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 ye hail cuntrey might the better understand yat it wes hes Maiestie's vorke, caused them to come from ye palace of Holyruidhous, evry one in uthers hands, and hes Maiestie with them, to ye crosse of Edinburghe, quher ye city made them a verye sumptous banquett; at quhilk tyme, ther wes much ioy and solemnity, with mutuall salutations of good vyll one to ane uther; hes Maiestie drinking peace and happines to them all, yat ye lyke ves nevir befor 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 wes no such thing in ther heids at yat tyme.

1588 July 30. The 30 day of Julii, S' Williame 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' William bad ye Earll kis his . . . .; the Earl heiring yat base and despytful answer, ther made a voue to God, yat he should kis hes . . . . to hes no grate pleasour: sua thereafter rancourting the said S' Villiam in ye Black friar vynde by chance, told him he vold now kis his . . . ., and with yat drew his suord; S' 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,
OF ROBERT BIRREL.

sea, and thinking to have landit one the vest pairts of Scotland, and so 1588.
past into England, ves of intentione to have subdued both ye king-
domes, and to have destroyed both man, vyffè, and children; bot ye
grate God of armyes destroyed them wirth stormey tempests, yat verey
few of them escapet undrowned, but some few yat ver drivin in upone
the vesterne isles. This wes named by the Spaniards and ther adher-
ents, 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 ambassadour to Den-
marke, for ye King's marriage.

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

Upon the 23 of November, hes Maiestie ves mariep upone Anna of
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 with 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 entry in Edinburghe, — — 19.
vith grate triumphpe and ioy, pageants being erected in every place, a-
dorned with all things beffitting: zoung boys, vith artificiall winges, at
her entry, did flee towards her, and presented her tuo siluer keyes of
ye city. The castell shutt of all her ordinance 5 several tymes, and at
night the toune ves put 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 prisoine 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

D 25.
25 of Junii, ye said Earle Bothuell was forfaulted, and intimacione made therof by opin proclamacione at the crosse of Edinburghe.

The same 25 of Junii, Euphane M'Kalzen ves brunt for witchcrafe.

--- Sept. 6. ---

The 6 of September, ane proclamacione 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 ledges.

--- 27. ---

The 27 of September, the Earle of Bothuell made a steir in the Abbay of Holyruightous, quho came in over ye hous in ye south syde of the palace, and the said Earle taking too grate presumtione, he, with hes complices, strake vith ane hammer at his Maiesties chalmer dore, and, in the meine tyme, the hail noblemen and gentlemen of hes Maiesties hous raise, quho thought to have taken ye said Earl 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 William Shaw, and ane with him, named M' Peiter Shaw. Bot the King's folks tooke 8 men of Bothuell's factione, and, on the morrow, hangit them all without ane assyze, betwix the girth crosse and ye Abbay gate.

--- Dec. 28. ---

The 28 of December, ye King's Maiestie came to S' Geill's kirk, and ther made ane oratione anent the fray made by Bothuell, and William Shaw's slachter, hes maister stabler.

Feb. 7.

The 7 of Februarii, the Earle of Huntlie came to the hous of Dunibirsell in Fyfle, quher the Earll of Murray, vith a few number, wes for the tyme, being his awen hous. The chiefe man yat ves vith him, ves Dumbar, shrie of Murray. The Earll of Huntley sett ye said hous on fyre; the Earll of Murray being within, vist not quither to come out and be slaine, or be burned quicke: zet, after advysemnt, this Dumbar says to my Lord of Murray, I vill goe out at ye gaitt 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


after me, and look if yat ye can fend for zour self. In the meine tyme, 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 with Dumbar, the Earle of Murray came running out at ye gaitt of Dunibirsell, quhilk stands byse de ye sea, and ther satt him doune among ye rockes, thinking to have beine saue; bot unfortunatly the said Lord’s clapskull tippet, quherone ves a silk stringe, had taken fyre, vich betrayed him to his enemies in ye darknesse of ye night, himselue not knowing the same; they came doune one him on a suddaine, and ther most creuely, without mercay, murthered him.

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 Edinburgh, for vitchcrafte and sorcery.

The 18 of Marche, ane proclamatione that ye zounty of Earle of Murray should not perseu the Earl of Huntley, in respete 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 paiit of ye murther.

The 12 of Maii, the Earle of Bothuell and hes complices ver denuncit rebells, and summond to ye Parliament, quhilk ves to be haildin at Edinburgh ye 12 day of Julay, quherin the said Earl, with all his quhole complices, wer all of them forfaulted.

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

† The Queine, more rashlie than wyslie, some few days before, had commendit (him) in the King’s heiring, with too maney epithettes of a proper and gallant man.—Balf. An. i. 369.
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 Mai'ie: he came doune to hes Mai'ie's ludgings at the Netherbow, and, going into M' Johne Laing's hous quher hes Maiestie ludgit, the guard standing above ye port vith ther hagbutts, guns, and uther weapons, the forsaid guard seeing my Lord Hamiltone, for the honour of his Lordship, shott ane volley at my Lord: ther wes ane man speiking to hes Lordship, 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 stoode, set 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' 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.

--- Okt. 18. The 18 of October, ye Earll of Angus vardit for papistry.

--- Nov. 7. The 7 of Nov', hes Maiestie did receive again ye laird of Nidrie in his favor, and restorit him to his former dignity and estait.

--- 17. The 17 of Nouember, ye lady of Bothuell ves received into his Maiesties favor.

--- 18. The 18 of Nouember, ane proclamatione, yat no man receive the Earle of Bothuell, and siclyke, yat all these yat had received hes Maiesties favor, quho had beine vith ye Earle of Bothuell, should not come neir his Mai'ie within 20 miles, under the paine of death.

--- 23. The 23 of Nouember, ane proclamatione, yat no man should resett ye Countesse of Bothuell, giue her enterteinment, or to haue aney com-
merce or society with her in anye cais, quha had beine bot so laitly re-
ceived in his Maiesties fauor befor, viz. one ye 17 day of ye same
monethe. Behold ye changes of courte.

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

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

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

The last of December, M' George Ker ves brought to Edinburghe
out of Calder, and putt in vard, for carrying of letters out of ye coun-
trey frome ye papists to ye King of Spaine.

The first of Januarie, the Earll of Angus ves commandit to vard in
his awen lodgeing, and straitly keipit till ye morrow, and then ves con-
voit to ye castell of Edinburghe, for sending letters to Spaine to ye
Spanish King with M' George Ker.

The 3 of Januarie, ane proclamatione to resist ye papists, and all
men to stand to ye religione presently professed within this realme, in
wich hes Maiestie hes beine brought up frome hes zouth: and siclyk
chaireinge all suspected papists to come and subscryue ane band yat they
sall not live as papists, bot in religione conforme to yat presently pro-
fessed.

The 8 day of Februarie, the Earlls of Huntley and Errole ver de-
nuncit rebells, and put to ye horne, for not compeiring to subscryue ye
band concerning religione.

The 14 of Februarie, S' Alex' Stewart and M' John Grahame slaine
be S' James Sandilands at ye fitt of Leith wynd.

The 15 of Februarie, the Earle of Angus brake ward out of ye castell
of Edr' quha had beine in seyn the first of Januar befor, for sending lees
to Spaine.

The
The 17 of Februar, Dauid 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 Newtoun, and ane place for the tymque quhilk belonget to M’ Walter Lyndesay, callit the Brumhous, vith ane hous of Sir Jo’ Ogilvy’s, callit ye Craige. His Maiestie had vith him 5 bandis of men of weir out of Ed’ Capitanes George Todridge, James Inglis, James Williamson, and C. Dauidson and Geddes.

— 20. The 20 of Marche, ane proclamacione at the crosse, charging the Earles of Huntlie, Angus, Errole, w’ diverse gentlemen and Irishmen of the yles, to compeer to the parliament for divers points of treasone.

May 18. The 18 of May, ane suddaine shower of rain and haile, the said day being Monday, the chapsmans standis and stuillis came sweming doune the streit of Ed’ lyke as they had beine selling doune the vater.

— 19. The 19 of May, Katherine Muirhead brunt for vitchcrafte, quha confess sundrie poynsts 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’ George Ker brake ward out of ye castell.

— July 21. The 21 of Julii, the Parliament haldin; the Earll of Bothuell forfaulted, and hes armes rivin at the crosse of Ed’ be the heraldis.

— 24. The 24 of Julii, at 8 hours in the morneing, the Earle of Bothuell, the laird of Spott, M’ Williament Leslie, and M’ Jo’ 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, but 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 soould 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;
OF ROBERT BIRREL.

feir; howbeit he needit not. Ye forsaid Bothuell and hes complices fell upon yair knies, and begin mercie at hes Maiestie; and his Maiestie being wyse, merciful, a noble Prince of grate pitie, not desyrous 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 Earl of Bothuell’s peace wes re-newit at ye crosse with 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 proclamatione at the crosse, yat he sould not come within io myles of ye King’s Maiestie, under the paine of death.

The 11 of October §, the King’s Maiestie ryding to ane day of law, —Okt.11. the excommunicat Lordis met him, qm he receavit in his favor, viz. Huntlie, Errole, Angus, S’ James Chissim, with sundrie uthers.

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

The 2 of November, ane proclamatione yat na man truble ye said 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 Mr —7.

George Ker out of ye castell of Edinr.

The same 7 of November, ane proclamatione yat na man sould re-pair to the toune of Edinr without leve grantit be his Maiestie; quhilk proclamatione greived the toune of Edinr, specially the ministers.

The 27 h of November, ane proclamatione of the act of absolution in fauors —27.

of the papist Lordis.

The 7 of December, the Lord Maxwell slaine be the laird of Johnestoun. —Dec.7.

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

§ Robertson says, Okt. 17. as he was marching on an expedition against the borderers, ait. 183.

* Or 26th.
The 27 of Dec: the Earle of Bothuell, nor the laird of Johnestoun, na man sould receive yame, nor give yame inteitement.

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 absoluteone quhilk wes maid, null and to no effect.

— Feb. 4.  The 4 of Februar, ane proclamatione 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 Tuesday.

—Mar. 13.  The 13 of Marche, his M. came to M’ Robert Bruises preaching, being Sunday, q’ M’ Ro’ Bruis said to hes M. yat God wald steir up ma Bothuells nor ane, yat wes ma enimies to him nor Boduell, if he re-vengit not his and faught not Godis quarrell and batells one the papists, befoir 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 haiill peipell, he promest to revenge God’s cause, and to banische all the papists, and y’ requystit the haiill 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, heiring 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’ aproaching neir him. He drew hes companie away throw Duddingston. My Lord Home followit till the Wowmet, at qik 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 chaise.

— — 5.  Siclyke the King, upon the 5 day, raid out to have tane Bothuell, bot gat him not.

The
OF ROBERT BIRREL.


The 17 May, my Lourd Home maid hes repentance into ye new kirk — May17.

befor ye Assemblie upone hes knies.

The 8 of Junii, the Parliament holdin; at qlk tyme, the Earles of — June 8.

Angus, Huntlie, Errole, McLeane, Mackoneill, and Achindoune, wer

all forfaughted.

The 30 day of Aguste, ye Prince baptized and named Henrey Fre-

deric, by the grace of God.

The 16 day of September, ane proclamatione yat nae man resett nor

interrete the Earle Bothuell.

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

of Bothuell.

The 24 of September, Johne Gibsone hanget, and James Cochrane — — 24.

hanget, for entertrinining the Earle of ye Earle of Bothuell.

The 15 of October, the Capitane of Blacknes hangit, for receiving — Oct. 15.

and interteineing the Earle Bothuell.

The 3 of October, the battell of Glenlivit foughtin betwix the Earl

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 zouny laird of

Drumdelgie b.

The

b At this tyme, yair wes grate apperance of troubells in Scotland, throughe ye forfaught-
ed Earls of Huntley and Errole, quha, with ther complices, gadret ane grate pouer of
men against ye Earl 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
soome, ye scold of Glenliuet, & by uthers ye batell of Belrinnes.—Mariorybanks A-
nalls, ad. ann. 1594.— There is, in the Advocats Library, a MS. poem in 280 lines of
Scottish verse, intituled, The Batell of Belrinnes, foughtin betwix Archibald E. of Argyll
against Francis Earl of Errole and George Earl of Huntlie, 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 proclamatione charging all men not to have
to doe w' the Earle Botluell.
The same 4 of December, Capitane Baillie hanget 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' Dauid Blayth, and ane Aikman.

—— 19. The 19 Januar, the zonung Earle of Montrois fought ane combate w'
S' James Sandilands at the Salt Trone of Edr. thinking to have revengit
the slauchter of hes cucine M' Johne Graham, quha wes y' slaine with
ane shot of ane pistoll, and four of hes men slaine with swords, viz.
Johne Craufurd, Johne Graham, George Dundass, and Alexander
Boner.

—— Feb. 14. The 14 of Febuar, ane of the keipers of the wardes in the castell of
Edr. 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 snaaw, quhilke lay upone
the ground till the 14 of Apryll yrafter.

—— May 26. The 26 of Mai, Johne Gichrost, Henderson, and Huttoun, all
three hangit for making of fals writtis, and pressing to warifie the same.

—— June 11. The 11 of Junii, ane callit Cumming the Muncle, 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 Dumibirsell in Fyfe, quha wer slaine the 7 of Februar 1591.

be Patrick Aikennhead. The toune wes put in ane grate fray be the
ringing of the commone bell. The said Christian wes follouit and
brocht back fra him, sua yat the said Patrick got no advantage of her.

—— Sept. 15. The 15 of September, Johne Macmorran slaine be the shott of ane
pistole out of the school. This Johne Macmorran being baillie for the
tyme,
tyme, the bairns of the said gramar schooll came to the tounes counsell conforme to yair zeirlie custome, to seek the priuledge, quha wes refusit; upone the qlk, ther wes ane number of schollaris, being gentelmens bairns, made ane mutinie, and came in the night and tooke the schooll, and prouydit yameselfis w' meit, drink, and hagbutis, pistoleit, and suord: they ranforcit the dores of the said schooll, sua yat yai refusit 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 till 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 requyrist the schollaris to opin the dores: 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 dingit up the dore, utherways, he vouit to God, he wald shuts ane pair of bulletis throw hes heid. The said baillie thinking he durst not shute, he, with his assiters, ran still w' the geast at the said dore. Ther came ane schollar callit William Sinclair, sone to William Sinclair chansler of Cames, and with ane pistoleit shott out at ane window, and shott the said baillie throw the heid, sua yat he diet. Pntlie the haill tounesmen ran to the schooll, and tuilk the said bairns and put yame in the tolbuith: bot the haill bairns wer letten frie w'out hurte done to yne for the same, w'in ane short tyme yairafter.

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

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

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

The 22 of Nov, 4 heralds sitting drinking, tua of yame fell in words, viz. Johne Purdie and Johne Gladstanis. The said Johne Gladstanis stikit Johne Purdie at the table; and the said Gladstanis being appre-

ij

hendit,
1595 Nov. 25. Hendit, he was behedit 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 yraster, the said Ladie purchest ane letter of peace sub' be his awen Maiestie's hand.

In this pnt zeir of God, the dearthe of vi'tuall increased, and yair wes sic famine in yis countrie, the lyk wes nevir heard tell of in aney aidge befoir, nor neuir red of since the world wes maid, as ze sall heir: In yis moneth of October and November, the quhyt and malt at ten lib: the boll; in Marche yraster, 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 vi'tuall 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' vi'tuall; 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 Okt', 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 zet, Clement Oor, and Robert Lumsden his grandsone, bought beforhand from the Earle Marishall the beir mail ourhead 83 sh: and 4d: the boll.

In the zet of God 1597, sic increis of sawing, that the lyk hes not bein hard of befoir. Ane man of Liberton, 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 zet 1596.

—Jan. 5. Ane proclamatione the 5 of Januarii, declaring perpetuall peace betwix Scotland and England, and yar nane of the borderers invaid ane anither, under the paine of death. Siclyke at yis tyme, the generall musters proclaimed to be haldin the 2 of Februar nixt.
The 12 of Januar, ane proclamatione, declaring hes Ma: hes appo-
inted aught Lordis for heiring of the checker comptis, and taking or-
der with the enormities and disorders in yis countrie. These Lordis, all
callit Octavians, viz. Alex Seytoun of Pluscartie, Walter Stewart of
Blantyre, M' Johne Lindesay, M' Thomas Hamilton, M' James El-
phantist, M' Johne Skeine, M' James Craigie of Killatie, and M' Peiter
Zounge of Seytoun.

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 continuët day till day, till the 8 of Apryll, he wes con-
veyit to the Blacknes till ward, and at length he wes maid frie.

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
collecit himself and his haill houshold, and to lay aside hes awen au-
thority royall, and to be as ane brother among yame, and to see all the
kirms in this country weill plantit with ministers. Ther are in Scotland
900 kirms, of the quhilk ther are 400 without ministers or readers.

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 continuët long unsuspected to be our man.

The same 6 of Apryll 1596, the laird of Buccleugh past to the cas-
tell 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, put tand 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 Spani-
ards, be the treasone of the merchantis w'in the said toune of Calles.

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

The
1596 May 31. The last of Maii, ane proclamatione, chargeing all men betwixt 60 and 16 to be in readines betwixt that and the first day of August, to pass w' the King to the Iyles.

July 1. Thair wes, betwixt the 1 of July and the vi of Agust, to the number of 66 schippes lost in Leith haven w' victuall.

— 12. The 12 of Julii, Colonell Stewart made be opin proclamatione Lieutenant, to pass to the Iylis.

In this moneth of Julii, great troubl fell out betwix Scottis and Inglishmen 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 Agust, 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 journey out of Ed' to Glasgow, frae yit to goe to the Iylis. He had w' him 3 companies of men of weir.

Sept. 8. The 8 of September, thrie young 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 conventione haldin at Dumfermling, for the Papist Lords, 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 Abbey of Holyroodhous.

— 18. The 18 of November, 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 proclamatione, discharging all conventions or convocationes of the King's leidges, w'out hes Maiesties libértie.
Ane uth'er proclamatione, charging David Black, minister at S't Androis, to compeir befor the secret counsell the last day of No't for matters of treasone.
The 28 day of No't, 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'.
The 10 of December, ane proclamatione discharging the former proclamatione qlk wes made the 27 of No't concerning the convention of the ministers.
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 convenit w'yame, as in spe-cial 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 araise sick ane crying, God and the King, uther some crying, God and the Kirk, that the hail commons of Ed'. 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 heould ding up the zet w'foir hammers; sua that nevir ane w'in the tolbuith sould come out w' yair lyfe. At length, hes M: lookit our the window, and spake to the commonis,
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 doun after the tounesmen wer commandit of the gait, and wes convoyit by 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'.

—Dec. 18. The 18 of this same December, ane proclamacione 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 proclamacione:

— 20. The 20 day, ane chairge to the provost and balzies, to take and appreheand M' Robert Bruce, M' William Watsone, M' Walter McCanquell, M' James Balfour, and M' Michael Cranstoun, with uyrs, com-ing to the number of ten, and put yame in ward in the castell of Ed': As also, they wer chargit to compeir befoir 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 Craigs, as apeirs be James Carmichael, second sone to the laird of Carmichael.

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

— 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.

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 Abbey, and putlie command wes givin, by opin proclamatione, that on the morne the Earle of Mar sould keip the West Port, my Lord Seytoun the Nether Bow, my Lord Livingstoun, Buccleugh, Cessurd, 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 theif, and so ma-ney Southland men, as sould spulzie the toun of Edi. 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 toun, and remained in ye said hous yair w' yame selfis, y' servants, and looking for nothing bot yat yai sould haue bein all spulzeit. Siclyke the haill craftsmen and comons convenit themselfis, y' best guides, as it wer 10 or 12 houseoldis in ane, quhilk wes the strongest hous, and might be best keipit from spulzeing or burneing, w' hagbut, pistole, 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 keipng the foirsaid places appointit, till hes Maieste came to S' Geilles kirk, M' David Lindsey making the sermone. Hes M: made an orisone or harang, concerning the sedition of the seditious ministers, or as it pleased him to term ye yame.

The same day, being the 1 of Januar, David Edmonston of the Wowmit slaine be Thomas Christoun be the shot 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 Session sould sit down in Perthe the 1 of Februarii: The 2. charging the provost and bailzies and counsell, and deikens of craftis, to enter in ward in Perthe the same first of Februar, ther to byde tryal for the fault commitit be yame the 17 of December: The 3. yat giff the ministers speik ancy thing of the King or counsell, they sall be tane out of the pulpit and put in prissone, till yai be punishit; or elles the heirers to incur the paine of lyfe, landis and geir.
1597 Feb. 4. The 4 of Februar, ane proclamation, that the Session should sit in Leith, and to begin on Monday the 7 day.

— 6. The 6 of Februar, being Sunday, M' David Lyndesay made ane sermone beforsnoone, and afternoone ane uther to the comons of Edinburgh in the grait kirk.

Mar. 5. The 5 of March, sundrie proclamations concerning the ministers and the papistis, and of the personis appoyntit to traite w' the Earle of Huntlie concerning Dunibirsell; and the ministers inhibit not to excommunicate w'out the advyse of the General Assemblie, and yat yai speik not of the King, nor court, or secret counsell with diverse injunctions: 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', wer denounced rebels, and put to the horne, because William Mould compeirit not in Perth, w' the rest of the commissioners. Tua men slew another, the 11 of Marche. Williame Gliffer, and James Hepburne, slew ane anuther at the single combat on the hill callit Sanct Leonaridis Craigis: the said tua ver buriet on the morne ye'after.

— 15. The 15 of Marche, ane singill combat foughtin betwixt Adam Bruntfeld and James Carmichael. The said Adam Bruntfeld 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 Barnbougle Links k, befor fyve thousand gentilmen; and the said Adam being bot ane young 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' William Leslie hurt in the Canongaitt be three brother of the Frenches.

— 21. The 22 of Marche, the toune of Ed' relaxit fra the horne, and receivit into the King's favour againe, and the Session ordainit to sit doun in Ed' the 15 of May yrafter.

The

The 23 of Marche, the King drank in the counsell hous w' ye bail-
lies, counsell and deikens. The said baillies and counsell convoyt hes 1597Mar.23.
M: to the West Port therafter. In the meine 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
Preston of Haltries. This same Patrick confessit that he slew the laird
of Lag, vith ane shott out of hes awen hand.  --- Apr.13.

The 20 of Apryll, Serlie Bui came to ye toune, ane hyeland man.  --- 20.

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

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

The 23 day of Maii, ther wer sex proclamations at the crosse of
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.  --- 23.

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

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

The
1597 June 18. The 18, Archibald Wauchope of Nidrie slain be the laird of Ed- 
monstoun 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, aue proclamatione for taking of the cunzie hous.
— July 13. The 13 of Julii, aue feight or combat betwixt the laird of Drum- 
lanrick and the laird of Johnstoun and y' assisters. Johnstoun ha 
ae servant slaine, callit Adam Andersone.
— — 21. The 21 and 22 days of Julii, proclamations discharging the haill 
office men of the cunzie hous, as the master, warden, sayer, sinker, 
and prenters.
— — 24. The 24 of Julii, the King gave the ministers leve to preich.
— — 27. The 27 of Julii, George Heriot maid the Quein's goldsmythe, and 
intimat at the crosse be opin proclamatione and sound of trumpet; and 
ae Clei the Frencheman discharigit, quha wes the Quein's goldsmythe 
befor.
— Aug. 1. The first of August, the Earll of Angus relaxit fra the horne and 
excomunication.
— — 4. The 4 of August, the Earles of Angus, Huntley, Errole, wer relasit 
frá 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, quk 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 Cassillis mariet upone 
Fleeming, quho wes Chansler Maitland's wyfe befor.
— Dec. 6. The 6 December, the Earles of Huntlie and Errole came to Edin-
burghe.
— — 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 negligenty be Andro Stalker, goldsmythe at Nidrie's wynd 
heid. The said Andro wes apprehendit and put in prisone. The young 
men
men of the toune 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 young man quha had done ane recklesse deid. The King's M: desyrit them to goe to my Lord of Angus the man's mr: and satisfie and pacifie hes wrath, and he schould be contentit to grant hes lyfe. James Williamsone being capitane to the young men, came to my Lord of Angus, offerit him yair manreid to be readie to serve him giff he had to do: upone the qlk, he grantit yame hes lyfe, and sua the said Andro wes releisit out of prisoine upon the reid-day at evin.

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

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

The 16 of Janaur, Thomas Fowlis conceivit seiknes.

The 8 of Februar, Johne Windiezettes, Johne Moscraip, Alexander Lowrie, Johne Halliday, and cap' James Lowrie, all hangit at the crosse for counterfeiting fals wreitis, quhilk wes grate pitie to sie.

The 17 of Februar, the King being in the grate kirk of Edinburghe at the sermone, Mr Patrick Gallaway red out ane tikit, the forme or maner of the devisione of the four kirkis of Ed' ane quarter of the toune to everie kirke.

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 haiill pipell w'in Ed' yat knew not quhat it wes, thought yat it had bene Duimeday. Merchants and utheris yat wer ignorant, steikit ther buith doris and ran to the kirke to pray, as giff it had bene the last day.

The 20 day of Februar, Thomas Dobie drounit himself in the Quarrrel holes besyde the Abbay, and upone the morne, he wes harlit throw the toune backward, and thereafter hangit on the gallows.

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

The 14 of Marche, the Quein's brother came to Ed' Hes styl, the Duck of Holaten.

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 maraige 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' work at the Gray Friar kirke.

May 2. The 2 of Maii, the Duck of Holsten got ane banquet in M'Cormran's ludging given by the toune of Ed'. The King's M: and the Queine being both y' ther wes grate solemnitie and mirrines at the said banquet.

— — 27. The 27 of Maii, the laird of Johnestoun his pieter hung at the crosse with hes heid dounwart, 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 proclamacione.

June 5. The 3 of Junii, the Duck of Holsten, the Quein's M: brother, tuik schipping at Leith: to his bonalay, 60 shott of ordainance shott of the bulvarke of Leithe.

The same 3 of Junii, Robert Cathcart slaine pisching at the wall in Peibleis wynd heid be Wm Stewart, sone to S Wm Stewart. The same Robert Cathcart wes at the slaughter of the said S Wm Stewart befoir, sua yai yat slayis will be slaine. Thé said S William Stewart, qn he wes slaine, wes in the Earle Bothuell's companie.

In yis zeir of God, the ãit 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 æcis: 1. Concerneine the agrement of the deidlie feids. 2. Of yame yat wer put to the horne for slaughter. 3. Ane æct for the 9 Barones that had tane the Iyles in few. 4. Y' the Monday sould be a day of absteining 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 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. The 10 of Julii, ane man, sume callit him a juglar, playit sic sowple tricks upone ane tow, qlk wes festinit betwix the tope of S’ 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 Inglishmen: q’ the Scottismen wer at the hunting, yai wer sett on be the Inglishmen, q’ yair wes 6 Scottismen slaine, and 40 gentlemen tane be the Inglishmen.

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

The 23 of October, ane proclamatione of the laird of Merkistoun, that he tuik upone hand to make the land mair profitable nor it wes befoir, be the sawing of salt upone it.

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

The conventioun the last of October. Hes M. with hes Estaitis, decernit ane act concerning the papistis and jesuitis, yat nae persone intertein yame. Ane uther concerneing yame yat made excus for deidlie feids, yat yai wald not come and receive the communione, nor be annuellie with them, bot remainit obstinat from the Lordis. 3. Concerneing 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’ sundrie uther circumstances. 4. The forreine cunzie to have na passage as of befoir; the Frenche crowne 111. 4.; the Inglish teston 13. 6.; the ryal of 8. 4. 3. 4.

The

1 The Frenche crowne at 3 lib. 4 sh.; the Englische teston at 13 sh. 4d.; the Spanische reall of 8 at 43 sh. 4d.—Balrif. An. i. 385.
1598 Nov. 1. The first of No': the tolbuith alterit; and upone the 4 day, being the Sabathe, ther wes preiching in it, and baptisme: the same altera-
tion 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, Pro-
vost of Edinburgh: Baillies, viz. William Hamilton, Johne Mor-
stone, 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 altera-
tion 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 Elphinston.

—— — 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


1600Mar. 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 Perthe.

—— Ap. 2. The 2 of Apryll, being the Sabathe 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 anuther 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

1 Robertson, ii. 213. dates this 28th March.—20th March, Balf. An. i. 386.
of his hand-curche. The said Ro: hung out an tow, q'on he thought to have comeit doune; the said gaird spyit the waif of the handcurche, and sua the said Ro: wes disappoyntit of hes intentione and devys; and sua, on the 10 day, he wes behedit at the crosse upone ane scaffolt.

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

The same 2 day, Johne Kinland of Waristone murderit be hes awin wyll 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 hours in the mornning, the 5 of Julii.

The 11 of Julii, the laird of Carmichael buriet, quha wes slaine be the Armstrangis and Carlil's; he doing and executing his office of wardenie, upone the 16 of Junii befoir. m

The same 11 of Julii, newis came out of Flanders, of ane batell foughten-at Newport, or betwix it and Stlus, upone the 23 of Junii befoir, q'ther wes slaine 4 thousand Scottis and Inglish, and siclyke slaine of Spanzearcis 7 thousand men.

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

The 21 of Julii, at 9 hours at evin, a combat or tuilzie betwix twa brother of the Dempsters, and ane of yame slaine be Johne Wilson, and being tane wi hait bluid, he wes execut at the flesche-stocks, q't: he had slaine the man the nicht befoir.

The 5 of Auguste, his M: the King being invitit be the Earle of 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 deildle hatred in their hairtis against the King y' naturall prince, yai had deuysit ane way to have tane hes lyff; bot the Lord preventit ther intentione. The maner of the conspiracie wes—Quehen they fund occasion that hes M: haill nobillis and courtiers wer gone furthe, the twa brether desyr't

his M: to goe and sic yair cabinet. His M: a blist soul, thinking of no eul, 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! In the meine tyme, the foirsaid twa brother, had ane man standing behind the tapestrie in armes with ane twa handit sword in his hand, qhwa wes oderinit, giff yair sould come aney helpe, he sould come furthe and keip the dore till the murder sould be done; bot it pleasit 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 brother are at the wrestling, Thomas Erskine and John Ramsay, hes M: page of honour for the tyme, came rinning up to the cabinet qr: yair puntlit: wes hard payment: at the last, the twa brother conspyrers 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 nichten.

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 set down on yr: knies, giving thanks to God for the King's deliverance out of sic ane grate danger.

--- 11. The 11 day of Auguste, being Monday, the King came ouer the wa- ter. 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: haceing convenit up to Edr:, and standing at
the hie gaitt, hes M: past to the crosse, the crosse being hung wt: tapes-
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 circ-
cumstances 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 hours at evin, the fynge ministers of
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 Watsone,
M' Walter McCanquell, 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 dischairsing the session of the kirk
to sit w't the elders and deikens, under the paine of horneing and de-
nuneing yame hes Maesties rebellis.

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

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

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

The 29 of Agust, Adam Boswell slaine be George Porteous, be the
schott of ane pistoll; ye said George wes beheidet at the crosse the nixt
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
King and counsell in Stirling, at qlk tyme yai had leive to come hame,
but 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
space.
space of 4 days, and then he was chargit that he come neyther in Scotland, Ingland, nor Ireland.

—Sept. 30. The last of September, the King commandit the fyft day of August sould be keipit as ane solemnne day, with preiching and prayer, and thanksgiving, for hes preservation frome the treason of Gowrie and hes brother, and his complices.

—Oct. 8. The 8 day of October, Francis Kinnaird hangit at the crosse for treason agains his M.; for making of plackets and wreits, &c. sic as—

— 9. The nyn of October, ane proclamation chairging all thame of the name of Ruthuen to pas out of the countrie, in speciall Alex' father brother to the said Earle, and the said Earle and his twa brother.

—Nov. 3. The 3 of Nouember, Mr: Robert Bruce tuik see, and maid saill at 10 houres at evin, after he had gotten sundrie chairges to pas out of the countrey, under the paine of treason.

— 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 brother, and hes father's brother, w' twa uthers, and his of thair dependers, all forfaulted.

The same day, Sr: Thomas Erskine maid Lord of Dirlestone, John 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 November, the Quein's M: deliverit of ane chylde at the pleasur of Almighty God; at qik tym the canons schott for joy.

— Dec. 19. The 19 of December, yair wes banischit of ye ministrie, Mr William Vatsone, Mr James Balfour, Mr Valter M'Canquell.
OF ROBERT BIRREL.

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.

The 26 of Decr:, the King maid a grate feast; and to honour ye mor, he solemnly created ye Lord of Livinston Earle of Linliathgow, 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.

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

The 12 of Februrii, a convention of the estaitts haldin at Edinburghe; in vich convention, yair wes grantit be the hail estaitts ane taxation of 20 thousand crowns, to give the Earle of Mar quha wes going ambassador to England.

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

The 14 of Februar, the Earle of Essex beheidit.

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.

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

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 wtin the tavernis, conforme to the act of conventione.

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

The 19 day of Marche, ane proclamatione, that nae vintenars sould sell wyne better chepe nor 6 the pynt, under the paine of confiscatione
1601. of the wyne; notwithstanding, the venutiers willinglie sold the wyne for 5 the pyt, and payit the impost.

— Mar. 31. The last day of Marche, James Wood of Bonnytoun, and his guid brother William 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 suddenlie in the feld 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, ilk apperteinit to hes father, andould 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 comprysse 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' Smythe dagermaker, for opining of the lockis to the laird of Bonytoun.

— 15. The 15 of Maii, the assembilie of the ministers haldin in Bruntland, qr the King made ane orisone, with ane solemnne wow to doe justise.

At yis tyme, the tolbuith alterit againe.


— 31. The last day of Maii, the Earle of Mar, ambassador, came home out of England; but non knew quherfor he wes sent, nor quhat he got.

The
OF ROBERT BIRREL.

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

The same nicht, at euin, ane hous brunt at the Cannagaitt fit, be syde the grass crosse.

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

The 4 day of November, being ane fair day in Edr: ane combat foughten betwixt the Kiers and the Turnbulls, 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 nota bill thiefs that evir raid. —— 14.

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

The 16 of December, Cuninghame of Tourlands beheidit at the crosse for treason. —— 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. —— 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’t his familie, wer taken out to the Burrow-muir, being infectit wt: the pest.

May 2. The 2 of Maii, being the Sabbath day, his M: thrid sone wes baptizit Robert, in the town of Dumfriemling. He wes stylit Duke of Kintyre, Marques of Wigtoun, Earle of Carrick, and Laird of Annedail.

— 13. The 13 of Maii, Thomas Kennedie somctyme tutor of Cassilis, slaine be Thomas Kennedie, brother to the laird of Bagene.

— 15. The 15 day, the Lordis satt doune in session, but 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 Dumfriemling.

June 13. The 13 of Junii, newis came to Scotland of the conspiracye 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 woman’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 upon the right and trew irones.

The same 20 day of Julii, M’ Henrie Blythe, minister at Iloyruithous, put in ward for speiking of the bluid and slaughter committit by David and George Lindesayes, and Wm: and Rynds, agaist David Ogilvie and William Innes, on the Sabbath befors the 19 of Julii.

Oct. The day of October, Patrick Brysone slaine in the Cannagate be ane James Stewart of Buquhane, quhat wes apprehendit and wardit in Sir James Ballendine’s hous, quher he remainit still till the 26 of November, on the qik day he brake ward out of Sr James Innes hous.

In
OF ROBERT BIRREL.

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


The 18 day, ane proclamatione 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 conviciít be ane assyze; and, upone the —— — 19. 20, he wes behedit at the crosse.

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

The 3 of Januar, Johne Hailie of Millstanes slaine at the Salt —— — 3. Tron, be William 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 gaite 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 proclamatione, 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: hes name
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 agreement 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 procla-
matione 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 Fursiday, scho
did reign in her tympe in peice and in grate love wt: hir commons of
Ingland ane godlie, wyse, and loweing princes to her subieftis, 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 some of Berwick came to
hes M: to the Abbay of Holyrudhous wt: the keyis of Berwick.

— — 31. The last day of Marche, being Fursiday, 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 of: blissit King James the Sext, King of Ing-
land, 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 tympe.

At yis tympe, quhen he had made hes orisone in the grate kirk, hes
Maiestie maiid guid promises; as, namelie, the defending of the faihte,
and yat he sould come and wisit his peipell and guid subiectes in Scot-
land everie thrie zeirs.

— — 5. The 5 of Apryll, being Tuesday 1603, hes M: tuik iourney to Ber-
vick: at qilk tympe thair wes grate lamentatioun and murneig among
the
OF ROBERT BIRREL.

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,
er 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 Phille King of Spaine, that mariet with Queine Ma-
rey; and E, for guid worthie Queine Elizabeth: sua it is come yat
England may take rest; for yair is no mor England, bot Grate Bri-
taine. 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 writ in ane utter prophesie—Post Iaco, ia et ia, coyne, quinto
et filius solo regnabit utroque a.

The 6 day, being Wednesday, his M: enterit in Berwick, qr he wes
resauit wt: grate joy and schuting of canons, and depairtit yrfræ to
Newcastell.

The 21 of Apryll, the cunzie hous dischairsigt to worke.
The 28 of Apryll, the Queine of England buriet.
The 28 of Maii, the Queine and Prince came from Stirling. Yair
wer sundrie English ladies and gentlewemen come to giff her the con-
voy.

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

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 gentlewemen 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 Watsone, 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 resauit 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 apprehending of the traitors, quha had devysit ane hie treasone and conspiracey a-gainst hes M: in St: Johnestown.


--- Oct. 2. The 2 of Octr: Allaster MacGregor of Glanstrae tane be the laird of Arkynles, bot eschipit 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 kepit ane Hielmandan’s promes, in respeck he sent the gaird to convoy him out of Scottis grund; bot yai wer not direclit to pairt wt: him, bot to fetch him bak againe. The 18 of Januar, he came at evin againe to Edinburghe; and upone the 20 day, he

wes
OF ROBERT BIRREL.

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.

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

The 25 of Januar: ane Parliament proclimit to begin the 10 of A- pryll nixt; zet it wes afterward continuit till ye 24 of yat moneth.

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

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

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

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

The of Apryll, ane servant woman of M' John Halls minister, diet in hes awin hous, alledged 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.

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.

The 8 of Junii, ane proclamacione, the Parliament to be heldin in Perthe the 3 of Julii nixt.

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

The Parliament heldin at Perthe the 3 of Julii, the Earle of Mon- crois being viceroy.

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

The 19 and 20, the plaige incresit in prime in the hear of Julii, and 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 shipping to Lundone, for the defence of the Scottis cunzie befoir the counsell of Ingland, quha defendit the same to the uttermost; and the witt and knowledge 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 baillieschosin be commissione of hes M: qlk wes not sen the 17 of December 1596, the uthere baillies left yair plaice, quho wer men of guid report, viz. Peiter Dobie, Thomas Fischer, Dauid Aikenheid, and Johne Spair: and yir wer choisin, Rodger McNath, Wm Nisbet, Wm Rige, and Thomas Spair.

--- 13. The 13 of October, the Channellar tuik journey out of Bervick to Lundone, to the union. Bot came again, and so no union agreit.

--- 31. The last of October, a proclamatione diret frome hes M. that the ministers shall not assembell themselvis togidder, under the paine containt in the actis of Parliament.

--- Nov. 19. The 19 of November, a proclamatione, 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 Wm: wes ane smyth for hes occupation.

1605 Jan. 19. The 19 of Januar: James Zounig, 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 Edinburghe.

--- Mar. 4. The 4 of Marche, the said Lord and uyrs: wer made Earles, viz. Lord
OF ROBERT BIRREL.

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

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

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

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

The 19 of Marche, the Maxwellis came to the house of Newbies, 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 Edr: betwix the laird of Ogle, zuonger, and hes complices, and the zuong 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 zuong man. The 18 day, they wer accusit befoir the counsell, and wardit.

The 18 of the same moneth of Junii, William Thomstone, dagermaker 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 proclamatione, that Ducks, Marqueses, Earls, Lords, and Barronis, sould schaw yair evidents, to the effect yai may knaw qua is maist worthe; and everie man to haue hes awen place in Parliament: and other proclamations, yat yai compeir the first of November, 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 wassd in this kingdome. Balf. An. i. 466. 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 was maid Earle of Dumbar, and Lord of Berwick.

The same day, Wm Bell was hangit for forceing of ane woman a-gains her will.

—— — 12.  The 12 of Julii, the King of France's gaird musterit verie brave-lie upone the linkis of Leithe, and resault and sworne, and yrafter resault yr pay.

—— — 19.  The 19 of Julii, Thomas Lowdown, indweller in the Merse, was hangit at the crosse for oppression and theft.

—— — 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
EXPEDEICION IN SCOTLANDE,
MADE
BY THE KYNGES HYHNYS ARMYE,
UNDER THE CONDUIT OF
THE RYCHT 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 RYGH T HONORABLE LORDE RUSSEL LORD PRIUIE SEALE,
FROM THE KYNGES ARMYE THERE, BY A FREND OF HIS.

AFTER longe soiornynge (my verie good Lorde) of the Kinges
Maiesties armye at Newcastele, 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 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 eueru
man so moch desyred, that it was no nede to haste them forwaerdes.
To be breife, suche diligence was vsed, that, in two tydes, the hole
flete, beinge two hundred sayles at the least, was out of the hauen of
Tynmouth, towards our enterprice.

The thryde daye after, we arryued in y 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 brennte,
and broughte from thense dyuers greate botes, that serued vs after
to good pourpose for our landynge. That nyghte, thole flete came
to an ancker, vnder y island called Inchekeythe, thre myles from the
hauen of Lyth. The place where we ankered hath of longe tyme ben.

iij  called:
THE LATE EXPEDICION

called the Englysh Rode; ý Scottes nowe taketh the same to be a prophesie of the thyng whiche is hapened.

The nexte daye, byng the fourth daye of May, the sayde armye landed two myles weste the towne of Lithe, at a place called Gran-
tame Cragge, euer mā byng so prompt therunto, that the hole armye was landed in foure houres. And perceuynge our landynge to be so quyet, whiche we loket not for, hauynge our guides redy, we put our selfes in good ordre of warre, marchynge 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, beinge Lorde Lieutenâit, 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 com-
modyous lodgyng of our nauy there, & landynge of our artillarie, and vittayle. And in a valley vpon ý right hande nere vnto the sayd towne, the Scottes were assembled to the nombre of fyue or syx thou-
sande horsemen, besydes a good nombre of fote men, to empche the passage of our sayd armye, in which place they had layd theyr artylla-
rrie at two straghtes, thorough the whiche we muste nedes passe, yf we mynded to acheue our enterpryse. And semynge at the fyrste, as though they wolde set vpâ the vanwarde, when they perceuyed our men so wyllyng to encounter with them, namely, the Cardynall, who was there present, perceuyng our devotion 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 artillary on bothe sydes, they made a sodayne retrete, and, leauynge theyr artillary beynde them, fledde towards Edenborrowe. The fyrste man that fledde, was the holy Cardynall, lyke a valyaunt chamyon, and with hym the gouernor, 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 Scottyshemen slayne with our artillary.

The
IN SCOTLANDE.

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 could 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 gonnors 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 being 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 armeye encamped in the said towne of Lith; and by reason of the sayde dyches & trenches, we made there a stronge campe. The morow, being the v. of May, we caused our shyppes laden with our greate artyllary and vittayles, to be brought into the hauen, where we dyscharged the same at our pleasour. In the sayde hauen, we founde many goodely shyppes, specially two of notable Fayrenes; theone 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 foode more full of ryches then we thought to haue founde any Scottishe towne to haue ben.

The nexte daye tharmye went towards Edenborough, leauynge the Lorde Sturton in Lithe with xv. C. men for the defence of the same. And tharmye beyng come nere vnto Edenborough, the Prouost, accompanied with one or two burgeases, and two or thre officers 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 deluyered vnto his Lordeshyp, condicionally, that they might go with bagge and baggage, and y towne to be saued from fyer. Wherunto answer was made by the sayd Lorde Lieutenaunt, that whereas the Scottes had so many
THE LATE EXPEDICION

many wayes falsed theyr faythes, and so manyfesely had broken theyr promysses, confyrned by othes and seales, and certified by theyr hole-Parliament, as is euydently knowen vnto all y worlde, he was sent thyther by the Kinges Hyghnes to take vengeaunce of their detestable falshed, to declare and shewe the force of his Hyghnes sworde to all suche as sholde make any resistëce vnto his Graces power, sent thyther for that pourpose; and therfore, beynge not sent to treate 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 frankly 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 stonde to theyr defence, then yelde to that condicyon: This was rather a false practise of the Prouost and the herauldes, therby tespyn the force and order of our campe, then for any zeale they hadde to yelde theyr towne, as it appeared after. Wherupon cómaundement 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 determynd to the defense therof; vpon whiche knowledge, the Lord Lieutenaüt sent with diligence to the vanwarde, that they shulde merche towards the towne. And Syr Cristofer Morrice, lieutenaunt of thordynance, was cómaunded tapproche the gate called the Cany Gate, with certen batry peices, whiche gate lay so, that the ordynance 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 bemade by the sayd ordynance, dyuers of the capytains of the sayde vanward (the better to comforthe theyr soulidyars) 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
drew 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, which, after thre or foure shotte, made entry tooure soldi-
ars, who, at theyr breakyng in, slewe thre or foure hudreth Scottes
of suche as were founde armed. In the meane tyme, Therle Bothwel
and the Lorde Hume, with theyr cōpanye, fled, and saued them selfes by
an other waye issuynge but towards the castell of the sayde towne: ÿ si-
tuatiō 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 thordynnaunce out of the sayde
castell, whiche continuually 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 couragiously
and daungerously attempted, tyl one of our peices, with shotte out the
sayde castel, was stroken, and dismounted.

And finally, it was determynd by the sayde Lorde Lieutenaunt,
utterly to ruynate and destroye the sayde towne with fyer; which, for
that the nyghte drewe faste on, we omittted thoroughly to execute on
that daye; but settyng fyer in thre or iii. 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 ensuynge continually, so that neyther
within ſawles, nor in the suburbs, was lefte any one house vn-
brent, besydes the innumerable botyes, spoyles and pillages that our
sondysours brought fro thense, notwithstanding habundauce whiche
was consumed with fyer. Also, we brent thabbey called Holy Rode-
house, and the pallice adioynynge to the same.

In
THE LATE EXPEDICION

In the meane tyme, whyle we held the countrye thus occupyed, there came vnto vs iiij. M. of our lyghte horsemen from the borders by the Kynges Maiesties appoyntement, who, after theyr cómynge, dyd suche exploytes in rydyng and deuastyng the countrie, that within vii. myles every waye of Edenborrow, they lefte neyther pyle, village, nor house, standyng vnbronte, nor stakes of corne, besydes great nombres of cattayles which they brought dayly into the armye, & met also with much good stuffe, whiche thinhabitaütes of Edenborrow hadde, for the sauetie of the same, conuayed out of ý town. 

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 Edenborrow, and all the countrye there aboutes devuasted, the Kynges sayde Lieutenaunt thynkyng the Scottes not to be condyngly ponished for theyr falsed vsed to the Kinges Maiestie, determyned not to retorne without doyynge them more dyspleasure, gaue ordre with ý saide Syr Cristofer Morice, for the reshyppynge of the great artyllary, reseruyng onely certen small peices to kepe the felde, gyuynge also cómaidemêt to euyry Capitayn to receuie 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 euyry Capitayn of hundredes, for the better caryage of theyr vittayles. The men that rode vpon the saide horses appoynted to attende vpon the sayde vittayles, which was done: besydes dyuers small cartes, which we recouereu in the:coûtry, the whiche, with such cattayles as we had there, dyd great seruice in drawynge of our vittayls, tentes, and other necessaries. These thynges beyng supplyed, the xiii. day of Maye we brake downe the peire of the haunen of Lythe, and brent euyry stycke of it, & toke forth the two goodly shyppe, manned them, and put them in ordre tattende vp- on the Kings Maiesties shippes; theyr balast was canon shotte of yrô, which we found in the towne, to the nombre of iii. score thousand:
the reste of the Scottishe shyppes mete to serve, we brought awaye, bothe they and our owne, almost pestered with the spoyle and botyes of our soulyards and maryners.

That done, we abandoned our selues clearely from our shyppes, ha-uynge firme intent to retorne home by lande, whiche we dyd. And to gyue them better occasion to shewe them selfes in the felde agaynst vs, we lefte neyther pyle, village, towne, nor house, in our waye homewardes, vnbrent. In the meane tyme of the contynuance of our army at Lithe, as is afore sayd, our shyps upon y 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 riuere, vnbrent, or brought away, whiche contayneth in length fystie myles. Contynuynge of tyme, they also brent a greate nôbre of townes and vilages, on bothe sydes the said water, and wan a fortres situated on a strong island called Ynchgarue, which they ras-ed, and destroyed.

The xv. daye of Maye, we dislodged our campe out of the towne of Lith, and set fyer in every 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 countrey: We dyd hym y more despit, 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 Hadynngton, 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 mornnyng at the dis-
lodgynge 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 cōmynge, and perceuyynge our army to dislodge & depart, thought them selues saue of vs, were newly gone to theyr beddes; and in theyr fyrrste slepes closed in with fyer, men, women, and children, were suffocated and brenct.

That mornynge being very mystic and foggie, we hadde perfite knowledge by our espyalles, that ý Scottes had assembled a great power at a strayt called the Pease. The cheife of this assembly was the Lordes Seton, Hume, and Bouclugh, w them the hole power of the Marshe and Tyuidall. This daye, in our marchynge, dyuers of theyr pickers, by reason of the saide myste, gaue vs alarme, and came so far within our army, ý they unhorsed one betwene the vanwarde and the battayll, beynge within two hundreth fote of ý Lorde Lieuenaunt. At ý alarms, one of theyr best pickers, called Jōcke Holly Burton, was taken, who confessed that the saide Scottishhe Lordes were redy at the passage with ý number of ten thousand good men. And for asmoch as the myst yet contynued, and dyd not breake, beynge paste noon, the vanwarde beynge within a myle of the saide passage, enteringe into daungerous waies for an armye to marche in soche wether, that one coude not escrye another twenty yarde of, we concluded, if the wether did not breake yp, to have encamped our selues upon the same ground, where we dyd remayne for the space of two houres. And about two of the clokke at after noon, the sonne brake out, the fogg went awaye, and a cleare daye was lefte vs, wherof every 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 determined to passe through them, or to leave our bones w thē, abode vs but two shotes of a fauccon, but skaled every man his way to the high mountaines, which was harde at their handes, and conuised 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 veryyll neighbour to ý 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 w the losse vnmeth of forty of the Kynges Mayesties people, thankes be to our Lord. The same day, at the same instat that ý armye entred into Berwyck, our hole flete & nauye of shyppes, which we sent from vs at Lyth, arryued before Berwycke: as God wolde be knowë to favour our maister's cause, who euer p'serue his most royal Maiestie w lõge & prosperous life, & many yeares to reyne in thëperial seate of the monarchie of all Bretayne.

The names of the cheife burrowghes, castelles, and townes, brente and desolatet by ý Kings armye, beynge late in Scotlande, besydes a great nombre of villages, pyles, and stedes, whiche I can not name.

The borow & towne of Edendorrough, w 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 Cragmiller.
Thabbey of Newe Bottell.
Parte of Muskelborowe towne, w the chapel of our Lady of Lawret.
Preston towne, and the castell.
Hadington towne, with the freres and nunry.
A castell of Olyuer Sancklers.
The towne of Dunbarse.
Laureston, w the grawnge.
THE LATE EXPEDICION

| Drylawe.     | Markle.       |
| Wester Crag. | Trapren.      |
| Enderleigh, 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 burnt by the siete upon the sea, with a great number of pyles and villages, whiche I can not name nor reberse, which be all dewasted and layd desolate.

Kinkorne. S. Metetes. The Quene's Ferry.
Parte of Petynewaynes.
The brent islanede.

OTHER NEWE PROSPEROUSE ADVENTURES, OF LATE, AGAINST THE SCOTTES.

AFTER the tyme that the Erle of Hertford, Lieutenaunt to the Kynges Maiestie in the north partes 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 sucesse in occasiōs cōuenient, but to proue whether the Scottes had yet learned, by theyr importable losses lately chauced to them, to tēder theyr own weales, by true and reasonable vnytyngge & adioynyng them selues to the Kynges Maiesties louyng liege people, toke consultation, by the aduys 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 agreemēnt, the said Lord, with a good number of men, made such hast ito Scotland, that by iii. of the clocke after the next mydnight, he was marched win a half myle from y 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 allegiaunche by meanes of peace; yf the unto y Scottes wold truely agre; or els, by force of armes, to sacke y same, if therin resistēce were foūd. Wherunto the Prouost, euer lyke to proue him selfe a Scot, answered, by waye of request, that they myght be respected vpō theyr answer vntyll y noon tyde, or els to mayntene theyr towne with defence; hauyng hope y in traeting & dryuyng of tyme, they myghte worke some old cowardly suttelte. But vpon declaratiō made, the snake crewlyng vnder y flowres easily appeared to thē which therin had experience, knowledge also beynge had, that the townesmen had bent vii. or viii. peices of ordinaūce in the market stede. Wherfore y Lord Eure, parte of his cōpany beinge into iii. bandes deuided, & abidying at iii. several costes of the same towne, to thend y there myght be iii. entres at one tyme made into the towne, apploynted & deuised, that the gūners whiche had battered certen places playne and open, shold entre in one syde, and y kernes on an other syde, & Syr Raufe Euers of the thyrd side. But it fortuned, that euene vpon the approchemēt of the men to there entrees, the Scottes fledde from.
THE LATE EXPEDICION

from theyr ordinauces, leuyng them vnshot, into the woodes there about, with all other people in the same towne; in ý which flyghte was slayne aboue the nöber of C. lx. Scottes, hauyng for that recôpence therof the losse of vi. Englishmen only. The people thus fled, and the towne geuen to the Englishmen by chaüce of warre, ý gunners burned ý Abbey, the Graye Freres, & dyuers bastell & fortified houses, wherof were many in that towne: the goodes of ý same towne being fyreste spoyled, whiche layded at theyr departynge CCCCC. horses, besides vii. peices of ordinauce. In theyr retorne, 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 Kyrkyettim, beinge x. myle frö certen villages win English groüde, named Hettö, Tylmouth, & Twysell, which appered to them burnyng: for the which cause, Syr Raufe Èure, & the Capitain of Norh’m, accopanyed w CCCCC. horsemen, rode in suche hast towards the fyer, ý at what tyme the said Syr Raufe dyd set vpö the Scottes which had burned the villagé, he had not with hym aboue CC. horsemen: neuerthelesse the Scottes, vpö the onely sight of ý stäardes, vset for theyr defence their light fete, and fledde in so mych haste, that dyuers English horses were tyred in ý pursuit; but ouertakë there was a great nöber, wherof were slayne many, partly by ý fearsnes of the English men, partly by the giltie cowardness of ý Scottes. And truely, to speake in fewe wordes, in this acte doyng, reason wyl scarsely suffice to psuade the truth: in so mych, that there was dyuers English men, wherof every one man had viii. or ix. prisonars, besyde such whiche was slayne, whose nöber is certaynly knoen to be aboue a hundreth, or mo. And yet in this skyrmish not one Englishmân taken, nother slayne, thankes be to God. Also, further, here is to be remëbred, that the English men, in theyr retorne from the sacke of Jedworth, draue & brought out of Scotia land into England, a great nöber of cattel, bothe note and shepe.

Furthermore,
IN SCOTLANDE.

Furthermore, to the apparant cōinuaunce of Goddes fauour vato y pourposes of Thenglishmen, it is to be certeiny knowë, 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 takë, & lx. oxen brought away: for y retorne wherof a nöber of Scottyshmë pursued very ernestly, who for theyr cómyng lost vi. of theyr lyues & l. of theyr horsemen.

And vpon Tewesdaye next folowinge, Syr George Bowes, Syr Jhon Witherington, Henry Eure, & Leonell Graye, rode to ý ab bey of Coldyngham, & demaúde the same; but it was denied ernestly, in so mych, ý after an assault made for v. houres space, it was burnt, all sauynge the church, which hauyng fyre in ý one ende, smokëd so by the dryfte of the wynd toward the Englysh men, ý it could not cóueniëntly thë be burned. The stoore of the cattell & of ý other goodes there, servëd well the spoyle of the soulldyours. In this abbey was slayne one monke & iii. other Scottes. And amongst Thenglyshe was one only güner slayn, by a peice of ordinaire shotte out of ý steple.

Sence this iorney ý xx. of June, a cōpany of Tyndale & Redesdale w other valyent men, ventred vpô the greatest towne in all Teuidale, named Skraysbrugh, a towne of ý Lorde Hunthylls, 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 beynge slayne, w dyuers wounded, no one English man was other hurtë or woundëd.

In these victories, who is to be moshte hyghest lauded but God, by whose goodnesse the Englyshe men hath had, of a greate season, notable victories & maters wordy triumph? And for the contynuaunce of Goddes fauour towarde vs, let vs pray for the prosperous estate of our noble,
THE LATE EXPEDICION, &c.

noble, good, and victorious Lorde Gouernour and Kynge, &c.; for
whose sake, doubtlesse, God hath spred his blessyng ouer vs,
in peace to haue myrth, and in warres to haue victorye.

Imprynted at London in Powls
Churchyarde by Reynolde
Wolfe, at the sygne of ý
Brasen Serpent,
anno 1544.

Cum privilegio
Ad imprimendum solum.
THE
EXPEDICION INTO SCOTLĀDE,
Of the Most Woorthely Fortunate Prince,
EDWARD, DUKE OF SOOMERSET,
Uncle vnto our Most Noble Souereign Lord
Ye Kiges Maiestie,
EDVWARD THE VI.
GOUERNOUR OF HYS HYGHNES PERSONE, AND PROTECTOUR OF
HYS GRACES REALMES, DOMINIONS, AND SUBJECTES:

Made in
THE FIRST YER OE HIS MAESTIES MOST PROSPEROUS REIGN,
AND SET OUT BY WAY OF
DIARIE,

By W. PATTEN, Londoner.

VIVAT VICTORI
VNTO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
SYR VVILLIAM PAGET,
KNYGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,
COMPTROLLER OF THE KYNGES MAESTIES HOUSEHOLDS,
ONE OF HIS HYGHNES PRIVIE 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 remembrance
(right Honorable Sir) of your moste benign fauour, that aswel while I
was with ye right honorable my very good Lord and late master the Erle
of Arundell, as also since, ye haue vouchsaft to bear me, I haue
thought metest to dedicate my travaill vnto your Honor. How smally I
either am or haue ben by ony meanes able to merite the same your ge-
telnes, by so much the lesse haue I nede here too shewe: as your hu-
mayne generosite, your willyng benignite, and promptnes to profite all
men, is vnto all me so cōmonly knowne, for the whiche youre name
and honor is so familiar and well esteemed with forein princes abrode,
& so woorthely welbeloved 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 approved wysdome, fidelite, trust, and diligence, had cōmitted the speciāl 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 vntattempted to doo: both because my rehersall shoulde be very vnneedesarie & vaine to you ſknow 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 reuereence wyth vanites 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 humanitie wheare wyth ye are woont also so gently to accept all thyng in so thankefull a parte, & whear̄ ye haue boūd me so straigly to you, dyd fyrste (to saye the trueth now) emboldē me in this theame to set þe to the book, & nowe after in thys wyse to present my worke vnto you. The which if it shal please your Honour too take well in woorthe, and receyue in to your tuicion; as the thing shall more indevde be dignified by haung suche a patron, then your dignyte gratified by receyuinge so vnworthy a present; euem 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 learnyng, I would all meè should know it, as I acknowledge it my self, that ſmust holy be referred to you, thencouraging of whose favour 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; tuq. But now no further with my talke too troble you. Thus wencecrease of honour vnto your woorthines, most hartely I wishe the same continuaunce of health and wealth.

Your moste bounden client and puple,

W. PATTEN.
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 euer ym man desyrous too know of the maner and circūstaunces of thys our most valiāt victorie ouer our enemies, and prosperus successe of the rest of our iourney. The bolder am I to make this general judgement, partly, for that I am sumwhat, by learning, but more by nature, instrucē to vnderstonde ý thursty desyer that all our kynde hath to knowe. And then for that in euery cópany, and at euery table, (whear it hath bene my hap to be since my cummynege home) the hole communicacion 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 indee thearto soo hastely could not: yet neuertheles blame them no more for quiknes of question, then I would my selve for slownes of auswer. For, considering how mucne in euery narracion, the circūstaunces do serue for the perfit instrucciō of them that doo here; I can easly thincke the same wear as mucne 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 i storie of ony yeres past. So great a pour so wel picked & appointed, so restfull & fresh, so mucne encouraged by hope of foriein ayde, at their owne doores,
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 ene-
myes lond, and out of their own, without hope, either of refuge or reskue. The circûstanauces hereof, with the rest of our most triumphat iournye, whiche otherwise aptly, for vnaptnes of tyme, I could not ytter by woord of mouth, here mynde I, God willing, nowe too de-
clare by letter of writig: not as of arrogâcie taking vpon me the thing which I my self must côfesse many câ do better, but as of good will, doyng myn endeouour (for that in me lieth) to make all mê priuie of that, wherof it wear mete no man wear ignoraunt. Aswel because thei may the rather vniuersally be mooed to pray, prayse, & glorifie y most merciful Lorde, whose clemëcie hath so côtinually, 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 Coûsaill, by whose generall sage consultacions & circumspect wisdomes, as frêdship with forein princes & prouision for themenie, hathe bene côtinued and made abrode, we garded from out-
warde inuaision or disturbaunce at home, no prince with obedience & diligence more nobly serued, nor no côminaltie with justice & mercie more sagely gournered: euin so, by the speciall inuincible vertue and valiaunt pollecie of my Lorde Protecûours Grace, we haue fyrste, and as it wear in the entrie of this moste honorable & victorius viage, over-
turned many of oure enemyes rebellious holdes, & thê ouercûmen 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 chefes prysoners, wun and kepe a greate sorte of their strongest fortes, bylded many nue, takë and destroyed their hole nauie, & brought the townships in the hither partes of their boûdes, a-
bove xx. mile cûpas, in an honest obediëce vnto the Kynges Maiestie.
By the martiaall corage of his vndaunted hardines, was this expediciô so boldly takë in hand; by the presence and aduëture of hys owne per-
sone.
some was the same so warely & wisely conduccted; by the vertuous pol-\aline of hys circumspect prowes was this victorie, or rather conquest, so honorably ached; vnto whose valiaunce and wisdome I can enterily attribute so muche, as to the furtheraunce of Fortune nothynge at all; whiche, as Cicero proueth, is eyther a vayne name, or not at al; or, if thear be, is euere subiect (as y Platonikes affirme) to wisdome and industrie; the which indee dyd so manifestly appere in thaffaires of this viage, that like as, in account, the seuerall nubers of x, xx, xxx, xl, being caste togethuer, must nedes make vp the iustc summe of an C.; euyn so suche his Graces prouide, circumspicetion, courage & order (doon fortune what she coulde) must nedes haue atteind to such successe of victorie. That if the Romaines wear content to allowe y honour of triuphe to Scipio Africane for ouercmyung Anniball and Syphax; and to M. Attilius Regulus for vanquishing the Saletynes; and thearto, to set vp images (the hyghest honour that they had) for a perpetuall memorie of M. Claudius Marcellus, and Mutius Scenula; the one but for kyllynge Viridomar, the Frenche kyng, in felde at the ryuer of Pade, and for deuising how Annibal might be vaquished, and ouercumynge but of thone-\aly citie of Sarragoze; and thother but for hys attempte to slay kyng Porsenna that beseeg Rome: What thankes then, what estimacio, what honour and reveree codigne for these hys notable demerites ought our protechter 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 ward in our marches agaynste Scotland, by the drift of hys devise both the greate invasion of the late Scottishe kyng, James y fift, was stoutly then withstoed at Solom Mosse, the kyng his deathes wound geuen hym, & most parte of all hys nobilitie taken. How the next yere after, he beyng accopained with my Lorde the Erle of Warwycke, but with an handful to speake of, dyd burne bothe Lieth and Edinborow, & returned thence triumphantly home, but with an easie marche trauailig xliii. lög miles, through their mayn lond: Whose approoued valiaunce, wisedom, and dexterete in the hädelinge
THE PREFACE.

It delinge of our princes affaires, how can we be but sure that it did not smally advauice or cause about the conclusion of an honorable peace, betwene Fraunce and vs? (although it did not then strayghte ensue) whè 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. xliii. how hys Grace, about August, foo inuaded the Scottishe borders, wasted and burnt Tyuydale and their marches, that euyn 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 Caleyss; the whiche hys Grace hauing soon doon with diligence accordingly, he so deuised with my Lord ý Erle of Warwykes, then Lieutenaunt of Bullein, and take such order with ý rest of the garrisons thear, that w the hardy approche of but vii. M. më, he reysed an armie of xxi. M. Frenchmen that had encaped them selues ouer the riuere by Bulleyne, & thearwith then wan all their ordinauce, cariage, treasure, & tentes in their çape, hole as it stode, with the los but of one man. And frö thence returnynge bonde to Gynes, wan in his wey, within the gëshot & reske of Arde, ý castel of Outinges, called otherwise the Red pile. How hereto by his force M. D. xlv. was Pëkardy inuaded and spoilt, the fortes of Newhauen, Blakenestes, & Bul-lenberge beguane bylded, and soo well plyed in worke, 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 vnwered diligence in the meane time) these hys valiaunte incursions, hys ofte ouerthrowings, and notable victories ouer our enemies: And yet though this his laste be far to be preferred aboue the all, hauing bene so greate, and acheuing 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 straunuge, and rather famous then woöderful. We woöder not, ye wot, but at thynges straunge, & seldom seen or harde; but victorie to hys Grace
THE PREFACE.

Grace semes no les commen and appropried, then heat to the fier, or shadow to the body. That, lyke as the well kepyng of the Palladie in Troy was euere the conservacion and defence of the citie, cuan so in warfare the presence of his parson is certain safegard of the host, and present victorie ouer thememie: for the which I haue hard many of right honest haueour to say, that for suerty of them selues they had rather in feld be a mean souliad 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 goouerned, not by fortune or hap, (although we must be cōtent in commune speche to vfe the termes of our formers deuised), but by the mightie pour of Almightye God, without whose regard a sparowe ἄ lighteth not vpon the ground, I could coūt hys Grace a Prince ṭ wey most fortunate of ony lyuyng. But now remembring my religion, and what fortunes force is, & hereto seeng his Graves godly disposition and behauiour in fiercest tyme of war, seking nothing more then peace, neither cruel vpon victorie, nor insolent vpon good successe, but w most moderate magnanimitez, vpon the respect of occasiō, vsing, as the poet saith, † Parcerē subiecētis & debellēre superbos. In peace agayn, hooly bent to thaduauncement of Gods glorie and truthe, the Kynges honour, and the commons quyet and wealth: And herewith conferring the benefites and blessinges, that by the prophet § Dauid the Lorde assurēth 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 Kynges 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 mediators and protectour, or hys Grace agayn of suche a prince & corsyn, might most worthely think them selfes happiest. But since I am so certaine, the excellentie of hys actes, and the basenes of my braine to be so far at oddes, as ought
that I could ytter in his prayse, should rather obscure and darken them, and as it were 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 commedictions, 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: wherin to saye eyther litle or insufficiently, wear better in my mynde leaft vnattépted, & say nothing at al. Mary, an epigram made vpon ý citezens receuying of his Grace, and for gratulacio of his great successe and saufe retourne; the whiche I had, or rather (to saie truth and shame the deuel, for out it wool) I stale; perchaúce 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 woold beare it) in lieu of my lacke, here too place.

Aspice nobilium (dux inclyte) turba virorum.
Vtq. alacris latos plebs circúfusa per agros.
Te patriæ patrem communi voce salutent.
Scilicet et Romam viétò sic hoste Camillus,
Sic redijt viéctor domito Pompeius Iarba.
Ergo tuus felix reditus, præsentia felix.
Vtq. Angli, fusiq. tua gens effera Scotti
Dextra, (qua nūquam visa est vicioria maior)
Det Deus imperium per te coeamus in vnum:
Simus & vnanimes per secula cūda Britannii.

Though I plainly told ye not that my frēdes name wear Armigil: Wade, yet, ye ſ know the man, his good litterature, hys witte and dexteritee in all hys doinges, & marke the well couchynge of hys clue, mighte haue a great ges, of whose spynnyng the threde wear.

But why these warres, by our late Souereign Lorde the Kynges Maiestie deceased, a prince moste woorthy of eterne fame (whose soule God haue) wear in hys dayes begunne and yet to cōtinued. Forasmuch as by sundry publication of dyuers wrytynges, aswell then as since,
since, the iust title of our Kynge vnto Scotland, the Scottes often de-
ceites, vntrueths of promyse, and periurie, hathe bene among other in-
the same writinges so manifestly vttred: I entend not here now to make
it ony part of my matter, which is but onely a journall or diarie of this
expediciō into Scotland, whearin I haue digested our every daies dedes
orderly as they wear doō, with their circumstaunces (so nie as I could)
from the tyme of my Lord Protecţours Grace cumyng to Newcastle,
vntyl or breakyng vp of the campe frō Rokesborow. And herein I
dout not, but many thinges bothe right necessarie, & woorthy to
be vttred I shall leaue vntold, but sure rather of ignoraunce then of
purpose. Although in dede I knowe it weare metest for ony writer in
thyss kynde to be ignoraţ of fewestt and writyng of most, yet truste I
agayne it will be consyldered that it is neyther possible for one mā to
know all, nor shame to be ignoraunt in that he cannot knowe. But as
touchyenge 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 suppresse no mās for malice. This battell and felde now, whiche is
the most principall part of my matter, Ŷ 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 the call it Seton felde (a toune thear nie to) 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 day. Sum wyll haue it
Faukside Bray, feld of the hil (for so they cal a bray) vp on the syde
whearer of our foreward stooede, redy to cum doune and ioyne. Sum
oother will haue it Vndresk feld, in the fallowes whearer of they stooode,
& 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 appointement certayn, according to the order and maner of battell,
with suche like fonde argumentes. Mary, the hinderars of thyss metyng
I thinke for their meanyng small synne to beshrew. They of thyss
haste hoped to haue had the hole aduantage; for, what they dyd ap-
mij
poynte
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 cumynge) in the former parte of the yere, they had sent letters of warniγ to the states of their realme, and then caused y fier crosse in moste places of theyr countrey to be caried: whearof the solemnitee is neuer vsed, but in an vrgent nede, or for a greate poure, eyther for defence of theim selues, or in nonsition 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 feldes of that baronrie, whearof they will haue the people too cum: whearby, all betwene sixty and sixten are peremtorily summoned: that if they cum not wyth their vitayll according, at the tyme and place then appointed, all the lond thear is forfaited straight to the Kynges vse, and the tairers taken for traitours and rebels. By reason of which letters & fyercros, thear wear assembled in their camp, as I haue hard sū of the selues (not of the meaneest sort) to confesse, aboue xxvi. M. fighting footmen, beside ii. M. horsemē prickers (as they cal them) and hereto iii. 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 encouēr with vs. Now, whear they wil haue it no feld, let thē tell their cardes, and coūt their wynnyng, and they shall fynde it a feld: howbeit, by myn assent, we shall not herein mucho 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 woulde be the tooth that hathe byt the tung, ootherwise 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 enemies, as we would rejoyce to receive them
as frendes: nor are not so glad of the glorie of thys felde, as we would
be ioyfull of a stedfaste atonement: whearby, like cuntreymen and
cuntreymen, like frend & frend, nay, like broother and broother, we
might in one perpetuall and brotherly life, ioyn, loue, & lyue together,
accordynge as thearunto, bothe by the appointement of God at the
firste, and by continuaunce of nature since, we sem to haue bene made
and ordeyned: separete by seas from all oother nacions, in customes
and condicions littell differinge, in shape and langage nothynge at all.
The whych thynges oother nacions viewing in chartes, and redyng in
bookes, and thear with hering thys tumult, thys fighting, these incursionss
and intestine warres betwene vs, do thearat no lesse marueyl and
bresse the, then they would too here Gascoing fight with Frauce, Ara
gone with Spayne, Flaunders with Brabat, or, to speake more nere and
naturally, frende with frende, brother with brother, or rather hand with
hand.

That no little bothe woöder and wo it is to me, my cütreemen, (for
I can vouchsafe ye well the name), to cöside what thing might moue
ye, what tale might incense ye, what drifte force ye, what charme en-
chaüt ye, or what furie coniure ye, so fondly to flye from çömë 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 humour
reason, as ye wil be the hynderars of your owne weales, & so vntruely
to swarue from the bondes bothe of promisse and couenaut, as ye wyll
nedes prouoke your frendes to plaine reuëgement of opë war: Your
frendes in dede (nay, neuer wynke at the woorde) that haue so long be-
fore these warres forborne oure quarells soo iust, that wear so loth to
begyn, and since that suffréd so many injuries vnreuëged; entreating
your men taken, not as captuies of oure mortall enemies, but as ambas-
sadors of oure derest frendes.

Oh,
THE PREFACE.

Oh, how may it be thought to be possible that ye shoulde euer for-
get, or els not euer remember, the great munificence of our most mag-
nificent Prince, our late Kyng? that when with most crueltie, by slaugh-
ter of subiectes, and burnyng of tounes, your last king Jamy, with all
your nobilitie, had inuaded hys realme, and soone after y' inuincible
pollecie of my Lorde Protec†ours Grace, then liyng at Anwike, as lord
wardeyn of our marches, by the suffraüce of God's fauour (which,
thâkes to his Maiestie, hath not yet to left vs) at Solom Mosse made
them captyue 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 could e 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 houge heape of oother hys
pryncely vertus) beyng euer of nature so enclined too clemencie, as
neuer of will would vs extremite, euen straight forgettynge who they
wear, and soone forguyynge what they hadde doon, did not onely then
recyue thym into hys Highnes grace; place euery of them with one
of hys nobilitie or counsayll (not in pryson lyke a captiue); pardon
theim their raundsommes; whearwith (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 prince-
ly liberalitee, impartinge treasure at their departing to eche of them all,
dyd set theim francke and free at their own doores. Touchinge theyr
sylkes, their cheynes, and theyr chere besyde; I mynde not here, amög
matters of weight to tary on such trifles. Mary, thear be amoong vs
that saw their habite and porte bothe at their cummynge and at their
departinge. Take it not that I hit you here in the teeths with our
good turnes (yet knowe I no cause, more then for humanites sake,
why ye shoulde bee forborne): But as a man may sumtyme, without
bost of hym selfe, say symply y' thing that is true of him selfe; so maye
the subiect without obbraid of benefits, recount the bounty of hys
princes larges; although, perchaüce, it wear not much agaist maner
flatly
THE PREFACE.

flatly to break curtesy w thē, who either of rechelesnes forget their fremdes benignitie, or els of ingratitude will not acknowledge it. To my matter now: What wold Cyrus, Darius, or Anniball, in this case haue doon? (noble cōquerours and no tyrauntes): But why so far of? what wold your owne kynge Jamy haue doon? naye, what kynge els woolde haue doon as our kyng dyd? But, sūwhat to saie more: As our prince, in cases of pitee, was of hys own disposiçio most mercifull, so wanted thær not then of cōsaillours very nere about hys Highnes, that shewed them selues their fremdes, & furthered hys af-fectes in that behalfe to the vttermost: being thus perfwaded, that as ye of the nobilitie appered men, neither rude of behauour, nor base of birth, soo ye wold neuer shew your selues inhumaine and ingrate towards hym, too whome ye shoulde be so depely bounde. And though, since ſ y tyme, God haue wrought hys wyll vpon hys Maie-stie, (a losse to vs, sure, woorthy neuer inough to haue be lamented, but that hys mercie hathe agayn so bountifullly recompenséd vs wyth an image, so nie representyng hys fathers Maiestie and vertues, & of so great hope and towardnes); yet be thær 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 thærof, to speake now of later daies, how many meanes and weys hath my Lord Proteçtours Grace, within his tyme of gouernaunce vnder ſ 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? Touchyngye youre weales nowe, ye mynde not, I am sure, to lyue lawles and hedles without a Prince, but so to bestowe your Quene, as whoso make must be your Kynge: and is it then possible ye can so far be seduced, & brought too beleue, that in all the worlde thær shoulde be ony so woorthy a Prynce as our King? as wel for ſ nobilitie of his birth, for his rare cūmlines 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, 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 cunterman, a right Britō both bred and borne: a Prince also by birth, of so great a pour, & of so mete an age? the ioynyg of whom, both the kynges their fathers dyd vowe in their lyues, and ye since agreed vpon in Parliament, and promysed also after their deathe: than whiche thynge (takynge ones effečt) what c be more for your vniuersall commoditees, profites, and weales? whearyb, 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 fellowship; for if we d.l, we haue, ye wot, a wey of perswasion of the rigoruses rethorike so vengeoble vehement (as I thinke ye haue felt by an oration or two) that if we woold vs the extermite of argumēt, we weare soō able so to beat rea-son in to your heddes, or about your heddes, that I doubt not ye woold quikly fynd what fōdenses it weare to stond in strife for the mastrie with more then your match: We coueit not to kepe you bond, that woold soo faine haue you free, aswel from the fained frendeship of Frauce (if I may call it ony frendship at al, that for a few crownes do but stay you styll in stort for their own purpose) whearunto now bothe ye seme sub-ieft, and your Quene ward, which frēdship neuertheles (what soeuer it be) we desyer not ye shoule break with them for the loue of vs, but onely in case whear ye shoule be cōpeld to lose either theim or vs; and in that case, perchaunce, we maye be content agayne too lose them for you.

Aswel from the semblance or rather disemblinge of thys fayned frendeshippe (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 Bisshope 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 againste all sacred estates of prynces vpon earthe, as also moste contiumeliously 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 extraugantes, made and conspyr-ed at the congregacions, counsels, and synodes at sundry tymes, for the maintenaunce and augmenting of hys antichristiane authoritiee, in hys Holynes name assembled. And hereto hys wicked blasphemie agaynst God, his deuelish dispensaciōs against his diuine lawes, hys obstinate rebellion agaynst all powres, his outrageous usurpacion in princes londes, hys cruell tyrannny for kepyng of hys kyngdom, hys coueert hipocrisie at home, his craftie cōspiracyes abrode, his insaciable avarice, hys suttell supersticiō, hys mischeuous malice, his priuie theft, hys open ra-pine, hys sacred simonie, hys prophane hoordom, his ambitiō, sacri-lege, extorcion, idolatrie, & poysenynges, with many other his carnall vertues beside. And also, the vndouted witnes of holy writ, in both the testametenes, dooth most certainly shew and plaineely make clere to the eyes of ye all, if ye will not wilfully winke at y ye should willingly see. Of hym hardly spake the prophet Daniel: He shalte lift vp a hye, & magnified against all that is God, & shall speake presumptuous woordes, and shalte set i a coourse, 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 stubborn, and ryse againste all. And the holy prophet Ezechiel : Thy hart was lift vp very hye, and saydest, I am God, and sit in Gods seat, whear thou art but man & not God, and neuertheles, hast framed thy hart lyke the harte of God. Thappostel Sainct Paul also, in whome the graces of God dyd so plentyfully abōud, semed not vtterly to forget this prelate, when in his epistle too the Thes-saloniens he sayde, The Lorde Jesu shall not cum tyl first hear be a ii. Tess. ii. sayling, and that wycked man be discoouered, the chylde of perdicion, who.
who is aduersarie and exalted against all that is called God, in such sort, as he stik not to sit in the temple vauling hym selft y he is God: And addeth a little after, Whô the Lord Jesu shall quel w the spirit of his holy mouth. Of him & his abominable behaouer is thea much in bothe the holy testamentes, & a great dele more (I must cōfesse) then I knowe my cumnyng can recyte, al so plaine in sense, & easy to be underston, y if ye confere y woordes of the same w y actes of his life, ye shall haue no more cause to doubt, whither he be y only antichrist, the ye may haue, whither he wear only Christ, of whome Sainct Jhon y Baptist sayde, Beholde the Lâbe of God: & the centurion, This was sure y very sonne of God. I speake neither of spite nor of specialtie of this precious prelate Paule the iii. y now is alone, but of hi & his hole aucterlie of these many yeres paste: of whome, sure, whoo list too saye ought, wear mete they sayde truthe: & whoo list to say truthe, 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 y sunne shyne. The trecs of that stocke bear neuer oother frute. And theafore 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 utterly at the first did wysely refuse the vnweldy weight of so heavy a burthen, and the peynfull wringino of so vnesie a yok. The Bohems & Germaines, of later yeres, haue quite reieeft and cast him vp. And we at last, not so much led by the samples of others well doings, as mooued by the mere mercie and grace of Almighty God, who (as by David he hath promised) is ever at hand and nye to all them that call vpon him in truth, and alwyes reedy too doo that he cam for, that is, too saue that was forlorne, throug the ayde and goodnes of hys mightie pour and eterne wysedom strengthening hys worthy champion, our late Soueraigne Lorde, and enstructinge his circûspect counsail, haue we most happily exterminate & banisht hym our bounds.
bounds. Whereby, as we haue now \( \hat{y} \) grace to knowe and serue but one God, so are we subject 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 subiecçio, vnto the old princely, entyer, and absolute pour again, and ours redeemed from the doubt, to whome we should obey. The greate pollong & intollerable taxes of our moony, yerely, both from his Maiestie and vs, now saued clere within his realme. Not fayne now to fetch justice so inustly ministred, as he \( \hat{y} \) byds moste (like Caleys market) what soever be the cause, shalbe sure of \( \hat{y} \) sentence, & that so far from home & with so greate cost of money & dauger of life. Our consciences, now quite vnclolg frō the fear of his vaine terriculamets and rattle-bladders, and frō \( \hat{y} \) fondnes of his trimtrōs & gugaws, his interdictions, his cursings, hys damnyng to the deuyll, his pardons, his soilyngs, hys pluckig out of purgatorie, his superstiticious sorts of sectes of religion, his canoniscacion of sainctes, forbidding & licēcing the eating of meate, syngyng & saiynge, & wot not a word, rouynge a procession, gadding a pilgrimage, worshipig of idols, oblacōs & offerings of otes, images of wax, boud pēs & pis, for deliuerauce of bad husbads, for a sick kowe, to kepe doune \( \hat{y} \) belly, and when kyt hadde lost her key, setting vp candels too saincts in every corner, & knakyng of beadstones in every pewe, tollyng of belles against tempestes, scala cali masses, pardon beades, S. Anthonie belles, tauthrie laces, rosaries, collets, charmses for every diseas, and suffrain suffrages for every sore, with a thousande tois els of his deuelish deuises, that lack of opportunitie doth let me here to tell.

We are now no more by thē so wikkedly seduced, to \( \hat{y} \) great offence of Gods dignitee & vtter parell of our soules. Nowe haue we (by hys diuine pour) wounde our selues out of the daunger of his iust indignaciō 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

\[ n \hat{i} \] goodly
THE PREFACE.

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 vttrely obstinate in vpholding ý antichrist: As first, Daniel the pro-phet dooth declare what ye ar, and show you the state ye stãd in, by these woordes, Thci shal magnifie hî as many as haue drunke of the wyne of ý wrath of God, and whose names are not written in the boke of life. Euen so thinke ye hardly that the iust iudge-ment, which ý hed prestes and seniours ý Jues, in aûswering Christ, vnwares to tham seluces dyd geue of þe seluces, vnto your çofusion shalbe vereified vpon you: * which is, without mercie shall the Lord vndoo the euill, and set out his vneyard to oother good husbandes that wil yeld him frute in due times. And ý soon after him self sayd to them, Thearfore the kingdome of God shalbe také frô you, † & be geuen to the nació ý will do provit. And hereto ý sharpe sentence of S. Poul too be prono-uced specially agaïst you: † The Lord Jesu with thaûgels of his blis shal cum from heauen in a flame of fyer, taking vegaûçe vpô all þe ý wil not know God, & obey ý gospel of him our Lord Jesu Christ ; they shalbe punisht by death for euer frô ý glorie of his vertue, when he shal cû to be glorified amôg his holy, & be woonderful in ý eyes of all ý beleue. Aswel, neuertimeles, ý ye may be deliuered frô the dreadful daûger of this most terrible sentêce, as also ý the Lord of his vnmeasurable mercie, will ones vouchsafe to opê your eyes, & waken you out of this drousy § Endimiôs dreå, or rather this mortal || lethargie, whearin by ý bytyng of this most venemous ** aspis, (ý Pope I say) ye do lamêtably lye a slûber, beig benûmed of al ý lims of your soul, and lacking the vse of all your spiritull sensis. Howe euer, of grace ye shalbe mooued to do, we shal of charitie most hartely pray (for we do not so much remember our quarel, & forget our profession, but that we can wish rather your amendeméêt then your de-struccio): And hereto that ones also ye maye see the miserable sub-

* Mat. xxi. † Eod. capit. † i. Tes. ii. § Enûmio, beloued of ý moon, was hyd by her in to a continuall slepe, in a déne of Mount Latmus in Ca-ria, whear she kyst hym. Cic. i. Tuc. quest. || A disas cûming of burnt cholere, cumpelling the paciêt to coucill wrong but droussie slepe, too for-get all thig, and to be as it wear in a traunce. Celius lib. xiii. **Bitté with this serpêt, ar cast in a deadly alurnber, w a stiflinge&be-remeninge of al partes, and w a yose do soon dye.
The Preface.

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 meanses 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 conorde, 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 ſ manifold commoditees cummyng by the contrarie, beynge shortly by you had in consideraunce, thys mariage (I doubt not) betwene our prices 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 retouerne 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 servaunte, that walkes so earnestly on hys masters erraund, that in the myddes of his wey, forgets whither he goeith. Howebeit I might well perchaunce thinke it euen here hye tyme to leaue, wear it not ſince I am in hande to vtter in this case what I know, & nooseld of my nurce, neuer too be sper of spech. Though I be but a bad euangelist, yet wil I leaue as few vnwrittē verites as I cā. As my Lordes Grace, my Lord of Warwyke, thother estates of ſ coūsail thear, ſ the rest of ſ dignite of tharmie, did at our settig outward, tarry a fewe daies at Barwikē; ſ wel appointing of ſ noble mē for their bödes, & of the knyghtes & gentilmē for the selues & servaūtes (I mean[e specially of ſ horsmē) which though but at moustres was neuer shewed of purpose, yet coolede it not at ſ tyme be hyd,
THE PREFACE.

hyd, but be bright & apparât in every mas eye; & was (if I can ought judge) I assure you, for the goodly nüber of y likelie men & redy horses, for their perfitt appointmët of sure armour, wepop & apparail, & their süptuous sutes of liuerers beside, (wherof I must of dutie (if I muste of dutie sai truthe) most woorthely prefer, and geue the cheuest pryece and prayse too my Lorde Proteçtours 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 thaücüët English courage and prowes might haue easly 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 sped (for no doubt our enemies had factours at thys marte among vs, though (as wisedome 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 wooynge; the whyche, though they spake drylie, more too tant the sumpt of oure showe, then to seme to know the cause of oure cummynge, yet sayde they thearin more truly, then they woold kyndely consyder; for in dede, euyn as they wear acertayned by my Lordes Graces proclamacion, aswel at and before oure entrie intoo their countrey, that the cause of oure cummynge then, was nothynge els but touchynge the perfourmaunce of coouenauntes on bothe sydes about thys mariaghe, 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; euyn so, accordynge 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: howbebeit, the truthe was soo, that hauynge doubt of the warste, it was wysely consulted soo too goo too commune wyth theim as frendes, as neuerthelesse (if nedes they woold) we mighte
THE PREFACE.

mighte be able too mete them as foes, the whyche thynge prooued, after, not the wurst poyn of pollecie. But what vnkynde people wear they, that whear we came (as wooers cumme not ootherwise) but for good looue and quyet, they too receiue vs with hatred and war? It was too mucho vngentlenes and inhumanite, 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 Hūtley (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 communicacion (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 haued well wyth the mariage, but I lyke not thys wooynge. 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 mat-

FINIS.

* Thear 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 exceeding little neck, and so forthe, with such inequalitee of proportion.
CERTAYN
NOBLE MEN, AND OTHER,
BEYNGE SPECIALL OFFICERS
IN THYS EXPEDICION.

THE Duke of Somerset, my Lord Protectors Grace, general of
the armie, and capitayn of the battaile, hauing in it iii. M. fotemen.
The Erle of Warwyke, Lord Lieuetenaut of ý armie, and hauynge
the foreward of iii. M. footemen.
The Lorde Dacres the rerewarde of iii. M. footemen.
The Lorde Gray of Wylton, Lorde Lieuetenaut of Bolleyn, hygh
marshall of the armie, and capitayn general of al the horsmen there.
Syr Raufe Sadleyr, Knight, treasaurer of the armye.
Syr Fraunces Bryan, Knight, capitayn of the light horsemen, be-
ynge in number ii. M.
Syr Raufe Vane, Knight, lieuetenaut of all the men of armes and
dimilaçces, beyng in number iii. M.
Syr Thomas Darcy, Knight, capitayn of all the Kynges Maiestie
pecioners, & më 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, Spianarde, capitayne of ii. C. hakebut-
ters on horsebacke.
Syr Fraunces Flémynge, Knight, master of the ordinaunce.
Syr James Wilforde, Knighte, prouost marshall.

Syr
Syr George Blaeg, and Syr Thomas Holcroft, commissioners of the
musters.
Edward Shelley, my Lord Grays lieuetenaunt of the men of armea.
of Bulleyn.
Jhon Bren, capitayne of the pioners, beynge xiii. C.

OFFICERS UPON THE SEA.

The Lorde Clynton, Lorde Admirall of the flte, whiche was of
lxv. vessels, whereof the galley and xxxiii. mo good shippes, wear
perfitly appoynted for warre, and the residue for cariage of municion.
and vitaile.
Syr William Woodhouse, Knight, hy's Viceadmirall.
Theare 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 JOURNEY.

My Lorde Protecours Grace, whome neyther your length nor werines of your way did any whit let, spedely to further that he had deliberately taken in hande, riding all the way fro London 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 your more spedie dispatch of thinges were comen to toune there iij. or iiiij. days before) and all the Nobles, Knightes, & Capitaynes of the armye on horsebacke attendig vpó them. And commyng thus to toune, my Lordes Grace was honorably (for the dignitie of the place) with gonsht & 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 Ryd- dell.

Thys daye mornynge, in the feldes of the northeast syde of the towne, moister was made of suche dimie launces & lighte horsemen as were comen, wher at my Lordes Grace was hymself, my Lorde Lieuetenaunt, & other of the coussail of the army.

In the after none came y Lord of Mangiertō with a xl. Scottish gentelmen of the east borders, and presented them selfes to my Lorde at hys lodgyngé, whome hys Grace did gentlye accept.
AN EXPEDICION

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 hAGED for quarrellyng and fighyng.

All Capitaynes with theyr bandes that had ben mousted, were commaundered forwarde.

My Lordes Grace himself dyd early also the 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 diligence, and in the spending a liberal hart.

This day his Grace hauing journeyed in the mornyng 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 y' great heighte of the crag whereon it standeth, as also for y' outward foorm of the stone whereof the crag is, which (not much amis perchaunce) I maye lyken to the shape of long bauens, stōdynge 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 xiii. mile further; and theer receyued with the Captains, garrisons, and with the officers of the toun, lay in the castel with Syr Nicholas Strelley knight, the Capitayn theer.

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 vitaile 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.
INTO SCOTLANDE.

trouble oure ships for vitale, till we came to the place by my Lordes Grace appointed, euerie ma of the armye, vpō generall comouaundement, made priuate prouision for himselfe for iii. dayes vitayle.

Hys Grace, not with many mo then his awa 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, whereat there runneth a riuer into the sea, ſe whiche he caused to bee sounded; & perceuyung then thesame well to be able to serue for a hauen, hath caused since their buylig to be made, whereof both Master and Capi-
tayn is Thomas Gower, Marshal of Berwyke.

Upon comouaundement generally geuen by sound of trūpet, all sauing the counsayl departed the toune, and encāpēd at ii. flightshottes of, vpon the sea syde, and towarde Scotlande.

This day my Lorde Clynton with his flēte, toke the seas frō Ber-
wyke toward 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 driuynge of tydes, they might vpon any our nede of municiō or vitaile not long be from vs. My Lorde Lieuetenaūt and Master Treasurer, who remayned at Newcastell 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.

To thentēt, the excuse of ignorance, eyther of the cause of my Lordes Graces cumming, or of his goodnes to suche of the Scottes as shoulde shewe the selfes to fauour thesame cummynge, might quite bee taken from them, his Graces proclaimacion (wherof they could not but here) was openly pronouced by heraulde, after sounde of trumpet, in iii. seuerall places of our campe.

Beside ſe mere matter of this iorney, I haue here to touche a thing, whiche, se me it neuer so light to other, yet of more weight to me, then to be lette passe vnspoken of.

In
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 welcome hym home, and euer estate els. But yet himthought he had done nothinge at all in this voyage: Whiche when he côsidered, with ý Kynges highnes great costes, and the great traualie of the great men and souldiers, 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, ý euyn dreaming was mowed 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 aduerence of his future successe in this hys enterprise, the which (I take it) was hereby then moste certaynly shewed him, althoughge of righte fewe (or rather of none) thesame so taken. That if, for ensample like to this, I should rehere to you out of the Olde Testament, how the seuen plentiful full yeres, and the seuen yeres of famyn in Egipt were plainly signified afore to Pharao by hys dreams of seuen fat oxen, and seueñ full eares of corne, and by vii. leane oxen that deoured 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, ý he shoulde be ouercommen by a * nephew of hys (as yet then vngotten & vnborne) and lose his kyngdome, and this by a dreame also, wherein he thought there spräg out of the yöbe of hys daughter Mädane, a vyne, by ý spreadinge of whose branches all Asie was shadowed. And howe Archelaus, Kyng of Cappadocia, was warned afore of hys banishment out of hys coutre 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 cúberous & irksum bothe for me to write
write and you to rede. The naturall cause of whiche kynde of prophes-
ynge (as I may call it) whither 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 melâcholycke, both as Plato and also phisici-
ans 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 lease 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 things
to come, both the learninge of auncient philosophers, Platinus, Lambli-
cus, 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.

But to thys nowe, that my Lordes Grace dreamt one thing, and the
contrary came to passe, writers vpon exposicion of dreams, and spe-
cially Artemidorus, do make ii. special kind of dreams, the one specula-
tiue, whereby we see things 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, ý head beto-
keneth the father, the foote the seruaunt, the righthand signifieth the
mother, the lefte the wyfe, and so furth. And somtyme one contrary is
ment by an other; as, to seame for some cause, to wepe or be sory, is a
toke 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 burn-
ing. Apollonides, a surgon, 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 & esteeme dreams, as to thike there are none vayn, but al
significatiue, a thing in dede both föddly superstitious & against ý mind.
of God uttred in the olde law; so woulde I haue no man so much to
côtene
cōtēne thē, as to thinke we can at no tyme bee warned by thē; a thinge also both of to much incredulitie, & against the promis of God, rehersed in the new law by Peter out of ý prophet Johel. But least with my dreames I bring you a slepe, I shal here leave them, & begin to march with the armie.

My Lordes Grace came from out of the toune, & the army reised from out of the campe. And after disposicion of order, ý Syr Frauces Bryan, the capitain of lighthorsmen, with a iii. 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, aūswering the iii. wardes, so to ryde in array directly against the cariages a ii. flightshot asunder frō thē. Our thre battails kept or-der in pace betwene thē both. The foreward foremost, the battale in ý middest, & ý rerewarde hindermost, eche warde his troop of horsmē & garde of ordinaūce, & eche pece of ordinaūce his aide of pioners for amendement of ways where rede shoulede be founde. We marched a vi. mile, & camped by a village called Roston in the baronrie of Bonkē-dale.

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 rier: so stepe be these bākes on ey-ther 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 trouailers that way haue vse to pas it, not by going directly, but by paths & foot ways leading slopewise, of the num-ber of which paths, they call it (somewhat nicely in dede) Y' Peaths. A brute a day or ii. before was spred emong us, that hereat ý Scottes were very busy a working, & how here we should be stayde & met withal by thē; wherunto I harde my Lordes Grace vow, ý 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 w the casting of trauers trêches, 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 ý 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 heraule to summon a castell of George Douglases, called Dûglas, ý stode at the ende of the same valey nerer the sea, and a mile frô the place of our passage. The capitain therof, Matthew Hume, a brothers son of the Lord Humes, upô this summons, requyred to speake wyth my Lordes Grace; it was graûted, & he came. To whom, qo his Grace, Since it cannot be, but ý ye must be witting both of our cômyng into these partes, & of our proclamacion sent hyther before, & proclaymed also since, and ye haue not yet cômë to vs, but kepe this hold thus, we haue cause to take you as oure mere enemie. And therefore be ye at this choyse (for we wil take none auaûtage of your beig here now) whither ye & your côpanie will render your holde & stonde, body & goodes, at ý 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 beynge aboute this riddel brought in great doubt what aunsweer well to make, & whynner best to do, at last, stroken with the feare of crueltie ý by stubbernès he shoulde well deserue, & moued agaynse wyth the hope of mercy, that by submission he might hap to haue, was content to render al at his Graces pleasure, and therupon commaundèd to fetche hys côpanye, retournd 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 ý sea, and runneth westwarde into their countrey aboue iii. score mile. Upô this städeth, Lîth, Blaknest, Ster-linge, & Sainct Jhôs rode, and all the beste tounes els in the south part
part of Scotlande. This capitayn came & brought with him hys bade to my Lorde Grace, which was of xxii. sober soulidours, 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 togerether in my lyfe. The capitayne and vi. of the worshipfull of the copanye, wear stayed & commaunded to the keping of ý prouost marshal, more (hardly) to take Múdais handsell, then for hope of auaantage : the re-sidue wear licensed to gea their gate, w this lesson, ý if they wear euer knowè to pratyse or doo ought agaynste the army, while it was in the countrey & therupon takè, they should be sure to be hàged. After this surrender, my Lorde Jhon Gray, beyng capitayn of a nuber (as for his approued worthines right wel he mought) was appoited to seaze & take possesiõ of the maner, w al & singular thappurtenaûces in & to thesame belõging, with whome (as it hapt) it was my chaûce to go-thyther. The spoile was not rych sure, but of white bread, oten cakes, & Scottishe ale, wherof was indifferët good store, & sone bestowed e-môg my Lordes soulidors accordingly. As for swordes, buklers, pykes, pottes, panz, yarne, lynnè, hèpe, & heaps of such baggage beside, were skæt stoopt for, & very liberally let alone; but yet sure it would haue rued any good huswiues hart, to haue beholden ý great vnmerci-ful murder ý our men made of ý brood gees and good laig hènes ý were slayn there ý dai, which ý wyues of ý toune had pëd up in holes in ý stables & sellers of ý castel, care we came. In this meine time, my Lorde Grace appoitned the house should be ouerthrown ; wheruþó ý capitan of ý pioners, w a iii. C. of his laborers, were sent down to it, whome he straiget set a digging about ý foûdaciõ. In ý toun of Dû-glas (the which we left vnpoyled & vnburnt) we vnderstode of ý wiues (for their husbâdes wer not at home) ý it was George Douglash dueise & cost to cast these crosse trêches at ý Peaths, & stode hi in iii. Scottishe L. which is as much ster. as iii. good English crownes of v. s. a pece ; a mete reward for such a worke.

Our
Our pioners were early at their worke again about ý castel, whose walles were so thick, & fouđaciō 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 ý wai we shuld go, a mile & a half frō Dūglas northward, ther were ii. pyles or holdes, Thornton & Ander-wike, set both on craggy foundacion, and deuided a stones cast a sun-der, by a depe gut wherein ran a little ryuer. Thornton belōged to the Lorde Hume, and was kepe then by one Tom Trotter, whereunto my Lordes Grace, ouer night, for summons, sente Somerset hys heraulde, towardw home iiiii. or v. of this capitayns prikkers, with their gaddes ready charged, did righte hastely direct their course; but Trotter both honestly defended the heraulde, & shortly rebuked hys men; and sayd for the summbes he woulde com speake with my Lordes Grace himself; notwithstāding he came not, but straight lokt vp a xvi. poore soules, like the soulsde of Dūglas, fast within ý house, toke ý keys with him, & cōmaunding them they shoulde defende ý house & tary within (as they could not get out) till his retorne, which should be on the morow, w muniçi & 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, whic he vpon summōs refusing to rēder, were straighte assayed; Thornton, by batrie of iiiii. of our great peces of ordinaunce & certain of Syr Peeter Mewtus hakbutters to watch ý loop holes & wyndowes on all sydes, & Anderwyke by a sorte of thesame hakbutters alone, who soo well besturd thē, ý whear these kepers had rāmed vp their outer dores, cloyd & stopt vp their stayres within, & kept thēselves a loft for defence of their house about the battilmētes, the hakbutters gat in, & fyered thē vnderneth: wherby beyng greatly trobled w smoke & smoother, & brought in desperaciō of defēce, they called pitefully ouer their walles to my Lordes Grace for mercy; who, notwithstandinge their great ob-

p ij

stinaci,
THE EXPEDICION

stinaci, & thē sample other of thē enemies mought haue had by their pun-
nishmēt, of his noble generosite, & by these wordes making half excuse
for thē, (Men may some tyme do thē hastely in a gere, whereof, after,
they mai soon repēt thē); did take thē to grace, & thēarfor sent one
straight to thē. But ere the messēger came, the hakhutters had gottē
vp to thē, and killed viii. of thē aloft; one lepet ouer thē walles, & run-
inge more then a furlōg after, was slai wout in a water. All this
while, at Thornton, our assault & their defence was stoutly cōtinued,
but well perceiūinge how on thē tone side thei were batred, mined on thē
other, kept in w hakhutters rounde about, & sum of our men win also
occupiyng al thē house vnder thē (for thei had likewise shopt vp thēselfes
in thē highest of their house) & so to do nothīg inward or outward, nei-
ther by shotīg of base (wherōf they had but one or jy.) nor tumbling of
stones (thē things of their chefe anoyauce) wherby thei might be able any
while to resist oure powr, or saue thēselfes, thei pluct in a banner thē
 afore they had set out in defyaūce, & put out ouer the walles, a whyte
lynnē clout tyed on a stickes end, criyng al with one tune for mercy;
but hauyng answer by the whole voice of thē assaylers, thei were traytors
& it was to late, thei plukt in their stick, & stucked vp thē bāner of defya-
unce again, shot of hurled stones, & did what els they could, with
great courage of their side, & littel hurt of ours. Yet then after, be-
ing assured by our ernesty, thē we had vowed thē wynning of their holde
before our departure, & then, thē ther obstinacie coulde deserue no lesse
then death, pluct in their bāner once again, & cried vpō mercie; & be-
yng generally aunswered, nay, nay, loke neuer for it, for ye are er-
raūt traytors, then made they peticō thē if thei should nedes die, yet
that my Lords Grace woulde be so good to thē as thei might be hāged,
wherby they might sumwhat reconcile thēselfs to Godwarde, & not to
dye in malice with so great daūger of their soules: a pollecie sure, in
my mind, though but of grosse heddes, yet of a fyne deuise. Syr Miles
Partrich being nie about thys pile at thē tyme, & spyng one in a red
dolet, dyd ges he shuld be an Englishmā, & therfor cam & furthered
this
into scotland

this peticio to my Lordes Grace y rather, which then take effect: Thei
eame & hübled themselfes to hys Grace, whearupõ, without more hurt,
they wear but cómaund to the prouost marshal. It is sůwhat here to
cósider, I know not whither the destenie or hap of más life: the more
woorthy men, y les offêders, & more in y iudges grace, wear slayne;
& the beggers, the obstinate rebelles, y desarued nought but crueltie,
wear saued. To saye on now, y house was soon after so blowê with
pounder, y more then y one half fell straight douno to rubrish & dust,
the rest stood al to be shaken w riftes & chynkes. Anderwyke was
burned, & al y houses of office and stakkes of corne about them both.
While this was thus in hâde, my Lordes Grace, in turning but about,
sawe the fal of Důглас, which likewise was vndermined and blrown
with pounder.

This doon, about noon we marched on, passinge soon after win y
güşhot of Důbar, a toun stôding lôgwise vpô y seasaye, whearat is a
castel (whiche the Scottes cóût very strôg) y sent vs diuers shottes as
we passed, but al in veyn: their horsmê showed òhêselves in their feldes
besyde vs, toward whom Barteuile with hys viii. mê, all hakbutters on
horsbak (whome he had right wel appoïted) & Jhô de Rybaud, with
diuers other, did make; but no hurt on neyther side; sauing y a mä
of Barteuiles slew one of the with his pece, y skirmish was soon cêded.
We wêt a iii. mile further, & hauing trauayled y day a x. mile, we
caped nigh Tâtallo, & had at night a blynde alarme.

Here had we first advertement certein, that the Scottes wear as-
sembled in campe at the place whear we found them.

Marching this mornig a ii. mile, we came to a fayre ryuer callen
Lyn, rûning all straight eastwarde toward the sea; ouer this ryuer is
ther a stone bridge y they name Lyntô brig, of a toun therby on our
righthåd & eastward as we went, y stôds upô the same ryuer. Our
horsmen & cariages past through y water (for it was not very depe);
our footmê ouer the bridge. The passage was very straight for an army,
& theryfore y lêgar in settig ouer. Beyôd this bridge about a mile
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 ý gouvernours appoyntmēt, who hylde the Erle in pryson. Aboue the southsyde of thys castell lyeth a long hil, east & west, whear upon did appere in diuers plumpes about iii. C. of their prickers, sum makynge towards the passage too lye in wayt ther to take vp straglers and cut of ý 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 skymish that sum of these prickers by çûning ouer the riuer toward vs, began to make, but did not mainteine. Whearupō our forward marching softly afore, hys Grace then tooke his way after, at whome, out of the castell theær wear roûdly shot of (but without hurt) vi. or vii. peces, the whiche before that, thoughg sum of oure men had bene very nye, yet kept they all coueret. In this mean time did theær 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 chaunched then to fal, as that his accus tumed valiaunce might wel be acknowledged, whearby first, and first of all men, (a little, 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 daûger 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 līi. M. Of whome in a camisado then; as they had slayn many of our mē & wun the base toun, his Lordeship killed aboue viii. C. coûted of the best soûldiers in al Fraûce, draue the rest away, & recouered the toun frō them again. And the next yere after, occupiying 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 bataille vnto the Frenche Admiral & all his na-
uiē,
nie, which fight (I will not saye howe cowardly) he utterly refused, hys Lordship repelled their force, & made the faine to flie bak agaï home with all their bragges & cost in vain. And the same yere, but with a vii.M (wherof not v. M. löded) mawgre all Fraüce, he burnt Trea-port & diuers villages thear bysye, returned to ship again with y los but of one Dauid Googan, & no mo. And the yere than next M. D. xlvi. after his diligence so well shewed amóg the rest of the cómission-ers, y an honorable and frédly peace was còcluded betwene Fraüce & vs, his Lordship was sent ouer by our late Souerain Lord, to receiue y oth of the late Frëch king for còfirmaciò of the same peace. In which iorney, how nobly he did aduaüce his port for the Kynges Maiesties honour & estimaciò of the realme (& yet not aboue his degre) all më y 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 agaïst the enemie eyther nobly at tempted or valiauntly achedeu, whearin 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 coulds sure for commèdacion thearof moue my self matter, wherein I wear able to sai, rather liberally much, then skarcely inough: but omittig that thearfore, & to turne to my tale agaï, his Lordship regarding the daüger our rerewarde 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 perceyuyng our horsemë to haue past on before, & thinkig (as y truth was) that sum Capitain of honour did stay for the lookynge to the order of thys rerewarde: kepinge the southsyde of the ryuer, did call ouer to sum of our më to knowe, whither ther wear ony nobleman nie thear. They wear askt why they askt: one of theë aanswered, y 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 safe-tie: our yoōg soulđiours, nothing suspecting their aunciēt falshe, tolde him ſ my Lorde Laurėnaūt the Erle of Warwyke was nie there, 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, ha-uing cūmē ouer ſ 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 foud, part of them prickt very nie, & these agayne a x. or xii. of my Lordes small cōpane did boldly encontre, & draue thē well nie home to their ambush, flynge perchaunce not so much for fear of their force as for fals-hood to trap thē: But hereby enformed ſ my Lord was so nie, they sent out a bigger nüber, & 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 (quē he) & wil not these knaues be ruled ſ 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, ſ he did not onely cōpel Car to turne, & himself chased him aboue xii. skore together, all ſ way at the spear point; so ſ if Carres horse had not ben exceeding good & wight, his Lordship had surely rū him throug in this race, but also ſ his little bande caused all ſ rest to flee amain. After whom then as Henry Vane, a gentlemā of my Lordes & one of this cōpany, did fierly pursue, foure or v. Scottes sodēly turned & set vpō him, & hou;h thei did not altogether skape his hädes free, yet by hewyng & māgliŋ hys hed, body & many places els, they did so cruelly entreat him, as if reskue had not cum ſ sooner, they had slaı him out right; but saued as he was, I dare be bolde to sai, many a M. in war & els whear haue dyed ſ les then half ſ les hurt. Here was Barteuile run at sydeling and hurt in the buttok, & one of our men slayn. Of Scottes again, none
INTO SCOTLANDE.

s'ài, but iii. takē, whearof one was Richardo 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 y late Kinges Maiestie & of my Lord Lieutenauft, & of many other nobles & gētlemēn in y court beside; & thearfore for his ingratitude & tryterous vn-truth threatened too be hāged: But as otherwise he had a great dele to much more then he deserved, 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 certeiny thought, y if my Lorde Lieutenauft had not thus valiaütly encountred the, ear thei coulde haue warned their ambushe, how weakly he was warded, he had bene beset roūd about by the, ear euer he could haue bene ware of the, or reskued of vs: wher now hereby his Lordeship shewed his woōted woorthines, saued his cūpanie, & discōfited y enemie. Soon after he ouertooke my Lord Protectour, being as then set at dyner, to whom he presented these prisoners & recounted his aduētures, whose grace in the mean time had hapt upō a fellowe lyke a man, but I wot not of what sorte, smal of stature, red hedded, curōd rounde about & shedded afore, of a xl. yere old, & calde himself Knockes. To say sumwhat of his howur, his cote was of y coulor of a wel burnt brik (I meā not blak) & wel worth xx. d. a brode yarde; it was pretely fresed, half w an ado, & hēmed roūd about very suitably with pasmai lace of grene caddis, me thought he represented y 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; harmsles bilyke, for he ware no weapon; he rode on a trottyngt pyt 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 vtraunce was greate sure, for he neuer lind babeling, very moyst mouthed, and somewhat of nature disposed to slauer, and therefo fain (without a napkin to wyp hys lyppes) to suppe at evry woord; sum said it was no saf in the man, but the maner of the cuntree;
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 thoorrow 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 foolish 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 ý Lordes righte honorably quite yt, for straight vpon the ouertakynge of my Lordes Grace, my Lorde Lieutenaunt did get him a surgon, & 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 ý 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 fouéd a gëtle woomâ (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 deliuerauce, & had w her an aúcient gëtle woomâ her mother, a midwyfe & a daughter: whose estate ý counsail vnderstâding, my Lordes Grace & my Lord Lieutenaunt took order that al night without daunger or domage she was well preserued; but sone after our departure in the morenynge, I harde, that sum of our northerne prickers had visited her, not muche for her profit, nor al for their honesties, ý had they then bene caught w their kindnes, thei should haue bene sure of thakes accordyng; good people be they, but geuen much (as thei say) to the spoyle.

This morning in ý time of our dislodgig, sign was made to sum of our ships (whereof ý moste parte & chefest lay a x. or xii. mile in the Fryth beyôd vs ouragainstste Lyeth & Edinborowe) ý ý Lord Admiral should cum a shore to speake with my Lordes Grace. In ý meane tyme sumwhat early, as our galley was cúming toward vs, about a mile & more.
more beyond our cape, the Scots wear very busy a waftynge her a shore
towarde them with a banner of Sainct George that they had: but my
Lorde Lieuetenaunt soon disapointed ý policie; for makyng towarde
that place wheare my Lord Admirall shoule londe, oure men on the
water by the sighte of hys presence dyd soon discerne their frendes fro
their foes. By and by then my Lorde Clynton the Admirall came to
londe, who with my Lorde Lieutenunte rode back to my Lordes Grace,
among whom order was taken, that our greate ships should remoue
from before Lyeth, & lye before Muskelborowe and their camp, and
oure smaller vessels that wear vitallers to lye nerer vs. This thus a-
pointed, 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 ý southsyde of vs, vpó a vi.
hundred of their horsmen prickers, whearof sum within a ii. flightshot
direcdly againste vs vpon the same hill, and most further of, towarde
these ouer a small bridge (for thear råne a little riuer also bi vs) very
hardely did ride about a doosel of our hakbutters on horsback, and helde
them at bay so nie to their noses, ý whether it wear by the goodnes
of our me or badnes of the, 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 cånot so well away w 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
marshes so nie on ý toother. The Scottes kepte alwayes pace w vs vpó
their hill, and shewed themselfes vpon sundry bruntes, very cranke &
brag, at whom as our captaïns did loke to ý ordryng and arraying again
of the battaile, my Lord Protectors Grace appointed ii. feld peces to
be turned, echec pece shot of twyse, wherof one Gold ý master guner
thear discharged the tone, & did so wel direct it, ý at his formershot
he strook of ý leg of a black horse, right fair, and as it was thought ý
best in ý company, & at his next shot he kyld a man. Hereby rather sum-
what calmed them fully content, thei went theyr wayes, & we saw no
more
more of the til ye time of our campynge, & then shewed thei theselues very
lordly aloft vpō thyss hill againe overagainst vs, as though they stood
there to take vicwe of our campynge & mustyer of our men. My Lord
Marshall myndyng to knowe theyr cōmissiō, did make towarde the with
a band of horsmē; but they went wisely their way, & would neuer a-
byde ye 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
ye cōmissioners of ye cariages in this army, happened vpon a caue in the
ground, ye mouth whereof was so wore with ye fresh printe of steps,
ye he seemed to be certayne thei wear sum folke within, & gone done
to trie, he was redily receyued w a hakebut or ii. He left them not
yet, till he had knowne wheter thei would be cōtet to yelde, & cum
out; which they fondly refusyng, he wente to my Lordes Grace, and
vpon vtraunce of the thyng gat licence to deale with them as he coulde,
and so returned to them with a skore or two of pioners. Three ventes
had their caue, ye we wear ware of, wherof he first stopt vp on, ano-
ther 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 ye fyre pre-
uailed, and thei fayn within to get them belyke into anoother parler.
Then devised we (for I hapte to be with hym) to stop ye same vp, whear-
by we should eyther smoother 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 con-
tinued with so great a force, & so long a while, that we could not but
thinke they must nedes get them out, or smoother within; and forasmuc-
which 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 leave of Lyeth wyth a
skore of shot or more, and as they came by, salutyng ye Scottes in their
cāpe also with as many, cam & laye accordyng to appoyntmente. We
had gone this day about a v. mile, & cāped towardes night nye a toune
they
they call Salte Preston by y Fryth. Here one Charletō, a man before time banisht out of England, & continuynge all the while in Scotlant, came in and submitted himselfe to my Lordes Grace, who took hym to mercie.

This day is markt in y kalendar with the name of Saincte Gorgon, no famous saint sure, but eyther so obscure that no man knowes him, or els so aunciente as every man forgettes him. Yet wear it both pitee and blame that he should lose hys estimation amonge vs. And me thinkes, out of that little that I haue red, I coulde somewhat saye to bryngh hym to lighte agayne; but then am in doubte what to make of hym; a he saint, a she sainte, or a neutre (for we haue all in oure kalender.) Of the male and female sayntes, every leafe thear showeth samples inowe. And as for the neuter, they are rather I wot vnmark-ed, the vnknowe, as Sainct Christmas, S. Cædela, Sainct Easter, Sainct Whitson tide, and sweete Sainct Sunday y cums ones a weke. Touchynge my doubte nowe: If the day beare name in y kalendar & memorie of hym, whome the preacher Horace doth mencion in his first booke of sermons by these wordes, Pastilos Rhusillis olet, Gorgonius hircum; then may we be bold to beloue it was a he saict, but yet a ve-ry-sloouen-saynt, and belyke a nesty. If this name were kallendred of Medusa; Gorgon that had the heare of her hed, turnede into adderes, whome Perseus overcame and kylde, as Doctour Oude declares in his iii. booke of chaunges, Gorgonis anguicome Perseus superator, then maye we be sure it was a she saynte. But yf it wear in ye honour of Pallas sheldede whearin-thys Medusa Gorgōs hed was. graue, as Titus Stroza (a dewout doctour to, but of later daies) doth saye, Gorgonis anguicome calatos agide vultus, Pallas habet: Then was it neyther a he nor a she, but a playne neutre saynte. And thus with y aunciente authoritie of mere poetical scripture, my conscience is so confounded; as I wot not in the worlde what saynte to make of hym. James of the Synkhole (saunyng your reverence) a frier forsooth that wrote the Legendaire, telleth me a very preposterous order in good coocherie, of one || Gorgō &

* Fryday fy ix. of Septe-ember.
† Satyr. ii. Phorcus king of y Iles Cor-rica & Sardi-nia, had foure daughters, Scylla, Me-dusa, Stenio, & Euriale, call-ed Gorgons; of whome, as Neptune had raunished Medu-sa Gorgon in y temple of Pallas; this goddes, for displeasure of the fact, chaun-ged all y heare of her hed into snakes and adders, & gaue her a further gyft, y who so ever sawe her should be turned straighte into stone. Per-seus con-sciet-yng to kill this monster, borowed of Mercurie his wynges and fauchion, and stroke of her hed as she slepte, & broug-hit it w hym, which Pallas dyd after set in her sheldede, & it had the same pour still after, as it had whyle: she lyued.

‡ Stroz. pr. Aceolo iii. § Iacobus de Voragine. || Legend. aurea. cap. cxxviii.
& 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 wi 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 tyrour, Lupo y lechour, Peter the knaeue, (yn I may call a coiruer so) & Thais the hoor, all to be hye & holye sainctes in heauē, & y w such prodigal impudēcie & so shameles liyng, as I may safely thinke he had eyther a boul to make sainctes of diuels, or els a placarde to play the knaeue 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 stodes in y kallender, he hath bene euere so lucky. But what saynte so euere he bee, he is sure no Sco tes mans frend, but a very angry sainte towarde them; for upon hys daye, xxxiii. yere past, they had a greate overthowe by vs at Floddom Feld, and their Kyng Jamy y Fourth slayn, and therefor is this day not smally markt among them. To tell our aduertures 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 diatitice (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, where-upon stādeth a sory castell and half a skore houses of lyke woorthines by yt), and had, westward before vs, the 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 coussayll with the doinges of our campe. We agayne, because their armie sem-ed to sit to receyue vs, dyd diligently prepare that we m. ht soon go to them, and therefore kept our campe all that daye, my Lordes Grace and the counsaill sittynge in cōsultacion, y captains & officers proudyng their bandes, store of vitaile, & furniture of weapon, for furthereaunce whearof our vessells of municiō and vitailes were here all redy come to the
the shore. The Scottes continued their brauerie on the hill, the whiche
we not being so well able to beare, made oутe a band of light horsmè
& a troop of dimilaunces to back thē: our men gat vp on the hill, &
therby of euen ground with ĭ enemye, rode straight towarde them w
good spede and order. Whome at ĭ first ĭ Scottes did boldly counte-
naunce & abyde; but after, when thei percyued ĭ our men woulde
nedes cum on, thei began to pricke, and would fayn haue begun ear
they had tolde their erraund: but our mè-hasted so spedely after, that
euè straight thei wear at their elbowes, and did so stoutly then bestur
them, that what in ĭ onset at the first, and after in ĭ chase (which last-
ed a iii. mile wellny to as far as the furthest of their campe on ĭ south
syde) they had kylde of the Scottes within a iii. houres, abooue ĭ num-
ber of xiii. C. & takè ĭ Master of Hume ĭ Lord Humes sun and heyr,
ii. prestes, and vi. gentlemer: whearof one (I remèber) by Syr Jaques
Granado, and all vpon ĭ hyest & well nie niest of ĭ hill toward them,
within the full sight of their hole campe. Of ooure syde agayne, one
Spanish hakbutter hurt, and taken Sir Rafe Bullmer, Knyght, Thomas
Gower marshal of Berwyke, and Robart Crouch: all captains of seue-
rall bandes of our light horsmen, and men of right good coorage & ap-
proved service, & at this tymé distrest by their owne forwardnes, & not
by the enemies force.

After this skirmish, it was marueiled on their syde that we vseu so
much crueltie, & doubted on ours that wee had kylde so many. Their
marueyle was aunswered, that they had pict ĭ 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 w hym,
& our dout was clered by the witnes of their ouen selues, who confessed
that thear wear ii. M. made out of their cæpe, xv. C. horsmè for skir-
mish, & y. C. footmen to lye close in ambush and be redy at nede,
and of all these, for certain, not viii. hündred to retourne home.

After this skirmish also hard we, that the Lorde Hume himself, for
hast in this flight, had a fall from his horse, and burst so the canell
bone.
bone of his neck, that he was fayn to be caryed straight to Edenborowe, and was not a little despayred of life.

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 iii. seueral orders and rewes liyne east & west and a priksbot a sunder, & moustred not vulyke (as thought me) vnto four great ridges of rype barly. The plot whear they lay so chosen for strength, as in all their cuntreym 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. selde peces and certeyn hakbuts a crok liynge vnnder a turf wal; Edēborowe on ſ west at their backes, & eastward betwene vs and them, strongly defended by the course of a ryuer called ཕē, 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 ſ maner of ſ Peaths mentioned 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 off from ſ Fryth, over the same ryuer, is thear a stone bridge whiche thei did kepe also, wel warded v ordinaire. Frō this hil of Fauxsye Bray descended my Lordes Grace, my Lord Lieutenaunt, and thoother along before their cape, win les then ii. flightshottes 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 straighth northwarde, and nie to a church called Saint Michels of Undreske, standyng 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 ſ way ſ Scottes did often shoot; but with al their shot, and of all our cumpenie, they kylde but one horse, in ſ midst of iii. C. without ony hurt of the rider.

And as my Lordes Grace was passed well nie half ſ 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 therefor every 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 Gouner hath sēt me to your Grace to enquire of prisoners takē, and hear with to say, that for ſe pitee he hath of effusio of Christen bloude, whiche by battaile must nedes be shed, and because your Grace hath not doen much hurt in the cuntrie, 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, ſe because this matter may be ſe sooner ended & ſe 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.

My Lordes Grace hauyng kept with him my Lord Lietuenaunt, had harde them both thrughly, and then, in aunsweryng, spake sumwhat ſe 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 expedityly with honour, and so honourable with expedicion, as I was for my part much mooed then to dout, whyster I mought rather note in them, ſe prōptnes of a singuler prudēce or ſe animositee of a noble coourage. And thei wear thus, Your gouernour may knowe, that ſe speciall cause of our cumyng hyther was not to fight, but for the thynge that shouldbe the weale of both vs and you; for God we take to recorde, wee mynd no more hurt to ſe Ream of Scotlande then we doo too the Ream of England, & thereforre our quarel beyng so good, we truster 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 thereforre let hym look for none, til this wey we make it.

And
And thou, Trumpet, say to thy Master, He semeth to lak wit to make this challenge to me, beynge of suche estate by the sufferaunce of GOD as haue so weighty a charge of so precious a iewel, the gouern- naunce of a Kyngs parson, and then ye protection of all his reames, whearby in this case I haue no powr of my self, which ye I had, as I am true gentleman it shoulde be the first bargain I would make; but theer be a great sort here amonge vs his equals, to whom he mought haue made this challenge without refusal. Quo my Lord Lieutenaunt to them both, He sheweth his small wit to make challenge to my Lords Grace, & he so mean; but ye 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 Gouernour and hym also, that we haue bene a good seasë in this cūtre, and ar here now but w a sobre cumpenie, & they a greate number, & ye 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 ye a thousand crownes. Ye haue a proude sorte amonge you, but I truste to see their pride abated shortly, & of ye Erle Huntleys too, iwise his corage is knowë wel ynough but he is a glorious yoong gentleman. This sayd, my Lord Lieutenaunt continued his requestes ye he might receyue this challenge, but my Lordes Grace woulde in no wyse graunte too it. These messagers had their aunswers, and theer with leaue to depart.

It is an auncient order in war, inuiolably observed, that ye herauldes & trumpetours at any time, vpon necessarie messages, may freely pas too and fro betwene the enemies, without hurt or stay of ony, as privi-leged with a certein immunitie & freedō of passage: Lykewise as duryng ye time of ony such message, hostilitee on both sydes should ytterly ceas. The Scottes notwithstōding, what moued them I knowe not, but sumwhat bisyde the rules of Stans puer ad mensam, shot iii. or iii. shot at vs in the midst of this message dooig, but, as hap was, wyde inough.
inough. On ſ morowe after, thei had their gunnes taken from them
every chone, & put into the hādes of them ſ could e them more w
good maner.

It becummeth not me, I wot, apertly to tax their gouernour ſ ſ
note of dissimulaciō : for how euer he be our enemy, yet a mā of ho-
norable estat & woorthy (for ought I knowe) of the office he beares.
Howbeit touchynge 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 courage of custome he knue
to be suche that would neuer brook so much dishonour as to travauale so
far to returne in vain ; or els ſ he met ony sparing or pitee of vs whō ĵ
his hart he had al reddy deuoured : But only to shewe a colour of kind-
nes, by ſ refusal whearof he might firste in hys fighte the more iustely
(as he shoulde lyst) vse extreemitee 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 certeinely 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 hooely but of very yoong men, vnskilfull of the warres, and easie
to be delt with al. And thē his regarde tō ſ number & place of our
powr & his, ſ which indede wear far vnequall. And hereto his assur-
ed hope of xii. galleys and l. ships that alwayes he lookt for to be sent
out of Fraūce to cum in at our backes. He with hys hoste made them-
selues hereby so sure of the matter, that in the night of this day, they
fel afore hande to plaiyne 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 nothinge so mooch afeard, as least we woulde haue made
awey out of the cuntrey ear they and wee had met, brytyng among
them, that our ships the day before remoued from before Lyeth, but

a ij

only
only to take in our footmen and caryage, to the entent our horsmen then, w 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 cape as we lay, whearof euyn then we hapt to haue an inkelyng, & therefor late in ý night entrenched our cariages, and waggéboorowe had good skout without, and sure watch within, so that yf they had kept pointment (as what letted them I could 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 ý next morowe (beyng ý day of the battaile) so early to cum towarde vs out of their campe, agaynst whom then, though they sawe our hors-men redily to make, yet woold thei not thîke, but that it was for a pol-lecie to stay them while our footmê and cariage might fully be stowed a shipboorde. Meruailous men, thei woold not beleue thear wear ony bees in ý hyue, til thei cam out and stang them by the noses. They farende herein (yf I may copeare great things to small, & earnestie to game) like as I haue wysst a good fellowe ear this, that hath cum to a dicyng boord very hastily thrustying, for fear least all shoold be doon ear he could begin, and hath soon bene shred of al that euer he brought: but after, when he hath cû fro ý boord with his handes in his boosom, & remembred thear was neuer a peny in his purse, he coulde quikly fynde, ý ý fondnes was not in tariyng to long, but in cummyng to soon. We ar warned, if we wear wise, of these witles brûtes, by ý commune prouerbe that saith, It is better sit still, then rysse up and fall. But by-lyke they knowe it not.

In ý night of this dai, my Lords Grace appoited, ý early in ý next morning, part of our ordinauce should be planted in the lane I spake of, wnder ý turf wall next to their campe; & sum also to be set vpô the hil nie to Undreske church afore remëbred: & these to thentent we should with our shot caus them either hooly to remoue their cape, or els much to anoy the as thei lay: It was not ý least part of our meaning also, hereby
hereby to wyn from them certein of their ordinaunce that lay acrest this church.

No great breach of order, I trust, though here I reherse ý thing, ý not til after I harde, touchynge the trupetours message from the Earle Huntley. Which was (as I harde ý Erle hymself say) that he neuer sent ý same to my Lordes Grace, but George Douglas in his name: and this by him devised, not so specially for ony challêge sake, as for that the messager 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 pakkynge or no (as indede the fellowe had a very good coûtenaûce to make a spie): But my Lordes Grace of cустume not vscopyng so redyly to admit ony kynde of enemie to cum so nie, had dispatched the 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, swere by the mis it was lyke inough, for he kend George ful well, and sayd he was a mete man to pike wharles for oother men to fight for. To thentent I woold sheue my good will to make all thynge as easy to the sense of the reder as my knowledge coûle en-struct, and forasmuch as the assayler spetially of our horsmen at the firste, their retyre agayn, and our last onset, pursuit, and slaughter of the enemes, can not all be shewed well in one plot: I haue devised and drawn, accordynge to my cunynyg, 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 in-dede, nor yet ony exquisite obseruaûce of geometricall dimësiô, but yet neither so grose nor far from the truth, I trust, but that thei may saue for sum eas of vnderstandynge. But since the skantnes of roome wil not suffer me plainly & at læght to write thear euery places name, but thearfore am sayin in stede of a name to set vp a letter; the reder must be cûtêt to learne his A. B. C. again, such as I haue thear devised for the
THE EXPEDICION

the expounding of y' 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 Raymudes Alphabete
shal never cum to the composicion of his quintesséce: what he shal
do though, sum practicioners doo dout. And miding to interrupt y'
proces of the battle y' followeth with as fewe mean matters as I maye,
I haue thought good, this here to haue before written.

This day morning sumwhat before VIII. of the cloke, our campe
dislodged, and our hoste marched straight toward the church of Un-
dreske, aswell for intent to haue camped nie y same, as for playng our
ordenauce & oother consideraciös afores remembred. The Scottes, I
knowe not whither more for fear of our departynge or hope of our
spoylynge, wear out of their campe cummyng toward vs, passed the
ryuer, gathered in array, and wellly at thys church ear we wear halfe
wey to it. They had quite disapointed our purpose, and this at the first
was so straunge in our eys, that we coold not deuyse what to make of
their meaning. And so much the straunger, as it was quite bysyde our
expectacion or dout, that they would 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 styring the tymelyer.

And to thentent at this tyme, that aswell none of their souldiours
shoolde lurke behinde them in their campes, as also that none of their
captayns shoold be able to flee from their enterprise, they had first
causd all their tentes to be let flat doû to the ground ear thei cam out,
& then al that had horses aswel nobles as oother (fewe except) that were
not horsmen appointed, to leua 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' Scots in-
dede w a rounder pace: Betwen the ii. hillockes betwixt vs and the
church, thei moustred sumwhat brim in our eyes, at whom, as they


Aristot.

In practica
testi sui,
ca. ii.

Saturday y'
x. of Septe-
tber being
y' daye of y'
battle.
stayed thear a while, our galley shot of and slewe the Master of Greym with a fiue & 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 haste-ly remoue, & from thence declyning southwarde, took their direct wey towards Fauxsyde Bray. Of this, Sir Rafe Vane, Lieutenaunt of all our horsmen (as I thynke of al mē he first did note it) quickly adwertised my Lord, whoos Grace thearby did redily conceiue much of their meaning : which was to wyn of vs ſy hill, & thearby the wynde and ſy sun yf it had shyned, as it did not (for the weather was cloudy & lowrig). The gain of which iii. thynges, whyther party, in sight of battale, can hap to ob-tein, hath his force doubled against his enemie. In all this enterprize, thei vsed for haste so lytle the help of horse, that they pluct forth their ordinaunce 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 wē began euery man to be smittē with ſy care of his of-fice & chardge, & thearupō accordyngly to applie him about it : hear-with began still ridyng too & fro : herewith a generall rumor & buzzing amoōg ſy soulciours, not vnyke ſy nois of ſy sea beyng harde a far of: & herewith my Lordes Grace & the couſel, on horsback as thei wear, fell straight in consultation.

The sharpnes of whoos circūspect wyesedomes, as it quycly spyed out the enemie ententes, so did it among other things prōptly prouide thearin to preuent them, (as nedefull it was, for the tyme askt no lea-sure).

Their deuise was this, that my Lorde Gray with his bande of Bulleners & with my Lord Protectours bāde & my Lord Lieutenauntes, al to ſy number of an xviii. C. horsmē on ſy east half: & Sir Rafe Vane w Sir Thomas Darcy captain of ſy pencioers & men of armes, & my Lord Fitzwaters w his bāde of dimilauces, all to ſy nūber also of a xvi. C. to be redy & euē w my Lorde Marshall on ſy west half, & thus all these toogether
together afores to encounter ye enemies a fruit, whereby either to break their array, & ye way weake their power by disorder, or at ye lest to stop them of their gate, & force them to stay while our foreward might hoouly haue ye hilles syde, & our battaile and rerewarde be placed in groundes next that in order, and best for aduauntage.

And after this then, that same our horsmen shoolde retyre vp the hilles syde to cum doun in order a fresh, and infest them on both their sydes, whiles our battayles should occupie them in fight a frunt. The pollicie of this devise for the state of ye case, as it was to al ye knue of it generally allowed to be ye best ye coold be, even so also takē to be of no small daunge for my Lord Marshall, Sir Rafe Vane & other ye asaylers, the which neuertheles I knowe not whither more nobly and wisely devised of ye counsell, or more valiaūtly and willingly executed of them, for even thear w̃ good couragge takyng theyr leaues of ye counsel, my Lord Marshal requyrig onely, that ye it went not well w̃ him, my Lordes Grace would be good to his wyse and chyldr̃, he said he would mete these Scottes: and so with their bandes these captayns took theyr wey towards the enemie. By this, wear our foreward 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 ye more w̃ spede. The master of the ordinaunce, to our great aduauntage, pluct vp the hill then certeyn peces, and soon after planted ii. or iii. canons of them, well nie vpon the top thear, whereby hauing so much the helpe of the hill, he might ouer oure mens heddes shoot nyest at the enemie. As my Lordes Grace had so circûspectly takē order for the array and station of the armie, & for theexecuciō of eueri mās office beside: Euc as it is metest that hed to be highest, that shoolde wel look about for ye safegarde of all the other members and partes of the body, so did his Grace (first perfittly 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 priuie coũsail) take bys way toward the heyth of the hyll to tary
The Exposiciō of ſ 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 horsemens.
K The slough.
L The lane and the ii. turf walles.
M Their forewarde & Horame by ysame.
N Their battaile.
O Their rerewarde.
P P The ii. hillockes before the church.
Q Saint Mighels of Vndreske.
R Muskelborowe.
S Their horsemens at the ende of Faukside Bray.
TTTT Their reves 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. 36. of the Expedition.
tary by the ordinaunce, whereas he mought both best survey 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 daunger, the which thearby how much it did stede, anon shall I shewe. As hys Grace was half vp the hill (my Lord Lieutenaunt as it chauced by hym) he was ware the enemies were all at a sodeyn stay and stood still a good while.

The sighte and cause hereof was marueyllous too vs all, but understaedly of none: my Lordes Grace thought (as in dede the most lykely was) that the men had muche ouer shotte themselues, and woolde fayne haue bene home again, & herewith sayd to this effect: These men surely wil cum no further; it wear mete to cast whear we shoolde 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 devise for our pour to haue forsaken their groūde to assaile them wheart they stood, so far from the hill, that we had wellwrie wunne so hardly, and shoold kepe to so much aduauntage. 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 cosidered it, their courage was quite quayled, & thearfore had no will to cum ony further, but wold haue bene glad to haue bene whence they cam. Firste, because at that time, bysye 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 met to fight it out) who wold not haue presumed, that for the estimacion of their honour, they wold little stuck to haue sent, and he againe and it had bene but for his thousande crownes wold haue bene right glad to haue brought? These be the cosideracons
The maner of the Scottish order in battle.
cōsideracions that both then and since did persuade me, my Lordes Grace had good cause too say the would not fight. Howbeit, hereunto if I wist & disclosed but half as muche now, as (I am sure) of circumspeccion his Grace knue then, I doo not dout, but I were able suufficiēly to proue, he might well be no les certeyn of ý he had sayd, then ony man might bee of an vnfoon dede: the which neuertheles how true it was, ý proof of the matter soon after did declare, which was, that ý Scottes ran quite their way, & wold neuer tary stroke woure footmen, whear the fight on bothe sydes shold haue bene shewed. Notwithstanding by thys tyme consynderyng bylyke ý state they stood in, that as they had left their strength to soon, soo now to be to late to repent, vpo a chauenge of countenaunce thei made hastely toward vs agai, I knowe not (to sai truth) whther more stoutly of courage or more strongely of order, me thoughte then I mighte noote bothe in their marche. But what after I lerned, specially touching their order, their armoure and their maner of fight, aswel in goyng to offende as in standing to defende, I haue thought necessarie here to vttre. Hakbutters haue they few or none, & appoint theyr fight most commonly alwaies a foot. They cum to the felde wel furnished all with jak and skull, dagger, buckler, and swords all notably brode and thin, of excedinge good temper & vnversally so made to slyce, that as I neuer sawe none so good, so think I it harde to deuyse ý better: hereto everey mā hys pyke & a great kercher wrapped twyse or thrise about his neck, not for colde but for cuttig. In their aray toward ý joineing w ý enemie, they cling & thrust so nere in ý 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, laiynde their pykes ouer theyr foaregoers shoulders, that if they doo assaile vndisseuered, no force can well withstand the. Standing at defēce, they thrust shoulders lykewise so nēe together, ý fore rākes wel nie to knelinge, stoop lowe before for their fellowes behynde, holdynge their pykes in both handes, and thearwith in their left their bucklers, the one ende of the pyke agaynste their right foot, thot
ther against the enemy brest hye, their followers crossing there pyke pointes with theim forewarde, and thus each with other so nye as place & space wil suffer, throug the hole warde so thick, that as easiy shall a bare fynger perce throug the skyn of an angrie hedgehog, as ony en-coiter the frunt of their pykes. My Lord Marshall, notwithstandinge, whom no daunger detracted from doong his enterprise, w the cump-anie and order afore appointed, cam full in their faces from ñ hilles syde towarde them. Herewith waxyt it very hot on both sydes, with piteful cryes, horrible rore and terrible thunderinge of gunnes besyde, the day darkened aboue hed with smoke of shot, ñ sight and appar-ance of the enemy eu en at hand before, the dañger of death on euer syde els, the bullettes, pellettes & arrowes flyng each whear so thik, and so vncerteynly lightynge, that no whear was their ony syrty of safety, euer man strooken with a dreedfull fear, not soo muche per-chaunce of death as of hurt, which thinges, though they wear but cer-ten to sum, yet douted of all, assured crueltie at the enemies hâdes without hope of mercy, death to flye and dañger to fyght. The hole face of the felde on bothe sydes vpô this point of joining, both to the eye and to the ear, so heavy, so deadly, lamentable, furious, outragi-ous, terribly confuse, & so quite against ñ quiet nature of man: as if to our nobilitie the rïgard of their honor and fame, to the knightes & capitaines, the estimacio of their wurship and honestie: and generally to vs all, the naturall motion of bounden duetie, our own safetie, hope of victorie, & the fauour of God that we trusted we had for ñ equite of our quarel, had not bene a more vhemet cause of courage, then ñ dañger of death was cause of feare, ñ very howrour of ñ thing hadben able to make ony mâ to forget both prowes & pollecie. But my Lord Marshal & the other, with present mynde & courage waerely and quik-ly continued their coorse towarde thê: And my Lordes Grace then at his place by thordinauce 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 their a s ij.
crostiche or slough, which our mē must nedes pas to cum to thē, whearin many that could not leap ouer stack fast, to no small daunger of theim selues, and sum disorder of their fellowes. The enemies perceiuing our men faitse approche, disposed themselves to abyde the brunt, and in this order stood still to recyeue thē. The Erle of Anguish next vs in their forewarde, as capitayn of the same with an viii. M. & iii. or v. peces of ordinaunce on hys right syde, and a iii. C. horsemen on hys lefte: Behind him sumwhat westwarde, the gouernour with a x. M. inlōd men (as they call them) y choyest men counted of their côté: And the Erle Huntley in the rerewarde, wellnie euyn with the battaile on the left syde, w viii. M. also. The iii. 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 according. 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 coole they make their race, by reason the furrowes laye trauers to their course. That notwithstandinge, and thoughse 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 léger then their staues, as also for that their horses wear all naked without barbes, wherof though thei wear right many among vs, yet not one put on, forasmuch as at our cumming forth in the mornig, we loked for nothing les then for battail that daye, yet did my Lorde and Shelley with y residue, so valiantly and strongly gyue the charge vpō them, that whither it wear by thei r 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, criyng, cum here loundes, cum here tykes, cum here heretykes, & such lyke (as hardly
THYS SECUNDE TABLE
Sheweth the placing of our footmen; the slaughter of Edwards Shelley and the oother; the retyre of our band of horsemen vp to the hil; and the breach of array of the straglers from the.

But,
Touchyng the exposicion of the Notes and Letters, I refer the Reder to the Table before.

To face p. 60. of the Expedition.
INTO SCOTLANDE.

hardely they are fayre mouthed men). Thoughe they ment but small 
humanite, yet shewed thei hereby much ciuilite, both of fayre play to 
warne ear thei strook, & of formall order to chyde ear they fought.

Our captains that wear behinde, perceuyinge at eye, that both by the 
vevinnes 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 aduaïtage to mainteine this onset, did therefor, according 
to the deuise in ý point appointed, turne themselues & made a soft retyre 
vp towarde the hyll agayne. Howbeit, too confes the truth, sum of the 
úmer that knue not the prepësed 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 
coutre y o kyn, to be so partial, as wil wittingly either bolster the fals-
hod or bery the truthe; for honor, in myn opiniõ, ý way gotten, wear 
vnhorthely wun, and a very vyle gain: howbeit hereby I cãnot 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-
discrëtion & madnes: A madnes in dede; for fyrste the Scottes were 
not able to pursue because they wear footmen, & thê, 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 Prestõ, Brampton and 
Gerningham, Bulleners, Ratclif, the Lord Fitzwaters brother, Syr Jhon 
Cleres son & heyr, Digges of Kêt, Ellerker a pëcioner Segraue. Of 
my Lorde Protectours bàd, my Lorde Edward, hys Graces sonne, cap-
tain of ý same bâde, Stáley, Woodhous, Coonisby, Horgill, Norris, 
Dennys, Arthur and Atkinson, with other in the forerâke, not being 
able in this earnest assault, both to tende to their fight afore, & to ý 
retyre behynde: ý Scottes again, wel considering hereby how weak thei 
remayned, caught courage a fresh, þâ sharply forward vpon them, and 
without ony mercy slewe every man of our men that abode furthest in 
prece: a vi. mo (of Bulleners and other) then I haue here named, in all 


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 cuident markes they had bene thear: for the one with a pyke throu the mouth was raced a longe from the tip of the tunge, and thrust that way very daungerously more then twoo inches within the neck, and my Lorde Edwarde had hys horse vnder hym with swoordes wounded sore, and I thike to death. Lyke as also a litle before this onset, Syr Thomas Darcy, vpon hys approch to the enemies, was strooken glauncing wyse on the ryght syde, with a bullet of one of their feldes peces, and theary his body broosed wyth the boowyngge in of hys harneys, hys swoord hiltes broken, & the forefynger of his right hāde beatē flat. Euen so vppon the partynge of thys fray, was Syr Ar-thur Darcy slasht at with swoordes, and so hurt vppon the weddyng fynger of hys righte hande also, as it was counted for the fyrm parte of medecke, too haue it quite cut awaye. About the same time, certein of the Scottes ran out hastely to ý Kynges Maiesties standerde of the horsmen (the whiche Syr Androwe Flammak bare) and laiyng 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, ý they brake and bare away ý nether ende of the staff to the burrel, & intended so much to the gayn of the stāderd, that Syr Androw (as hap was) skaped home all safe, and els without hurt. At this byssines also, was my Lord Fitzwaters, captain of a number of dimilaunces, vnhorse, 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 pécioner, thrust eche of them into the leg with pykes: and Don Philip a Spaniard, in ý knee: diuers other maymed and hurt, and many horses sore wouded besyde.

By this tymē had our forewarde accordingly gotten the full vaūtage of the hilles side, and in respect of their march, stood sydeling toward th
the enemie: Who neuertheles wear not able in all partes to stonde full square in array, by reason that at the west ende of theim vpon their right hand, and toward the enemie, thear was a square plot enclosed with turfe (as their maner of fencynge in those partes is) one corner whearoof, did let the square of the same arraye. Our bataille in good order next theim, but so as in continuance 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 countenaunce of our armye in this wyse, we shewed ourselues in a maner to cumpas them in, that they shoolde no way skape vs: the whiche, by our pour and number 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 vndiscreete gaddinges, that so fondly brake array from the horsmen in the retyre (as I sayde) ran so hastily thrugh 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 Lieutenaunt, who had the gyding of our forewarde, right valiauntly had conducted the same to their stödyngye, and thear did very nobly encourage & comfort the; bidding them plucke vp their hartes, & shew theßelfes mē, for thear was no cause of fear: asfor victorie, it was in their own handes if they did abyde by it, & he himself euë 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 w 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 pointés 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 furniture: so did I then also cosider Syr Jhon Lutterels proowes and wisedom for their valiaunt conductió and exact observaunce of order, whom (knowynge as I knowe) for his wit, manhod, good qualitees & aptnes to all gentle feates bysyde, I haue good cause
rest of our strengths, by ſollecie of my Lordes Grace, and diligence of euerie captaine and officer bysyde, weare so oportunely and aptly app
plied in their feate, that weare this repulse of the enemie, & retyre of us was douted of many to turre to the daunger of our los, ſame was wrought and aduounced (accordynge as it was deuyied) to our certeinte of gayn and victorie. For first at this slouge weare most of our hors-
men had stond, Syr Peter Mewtau captain of all ſakbutters 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 men also, whoo with ſhot contynuauce 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 eure footmen, & next to the enemie, prict them sharply with arrowes as they stoode. Thearwith the Master of the ordinaunce, to their great anoyaunce, did gally them with hailshot & other out of the great ordi
naunce 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 puissance & vhemeneie occupied about the: Herewith, the full sight of our footmen all shadowed from theim before by oure horsmen & dust reysed, whoom then they wear
ware in such order to be so nere vpô them. And to this the perfet ar
ray of our horsmen again cummig cooragiously to set on them afresh. Miserable men, perceuyuynge themselves then al to late, howe muche to much they weare misenformed, began sodeinly to shrinke. Their gouernour that brought the firste to ſy bargain, lyke a doughty capitaine, took hastily 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 doun their

T

weapons,
THE EXPEDICION

weapons, ran out of their wardes, of with their jackes, & with all that euer they might, betooke them to the race ē thei their gouernour began. Oure men had foind them at the first (as what could escape so many thousand eyes ?) and sharply and quikly with an vnuersall outcrie, thei flye ! thei flye! pursued after in chase amain: and thearto so eagerly, and with suche fiersnes, that they ouertooke many, and spared indeede 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 wonde to se how soō & in how sundry sortes they weare 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, jackes, and all thing els thei 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 flynete stone, yet wear thee many holes al redy made); and parte of them by the hye waye that leads 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 thei in their running; diuers of thē in their courses, as they wear ware thei wear pursued but of one, would sodenly start back, & lashe at ē legges of the horse, or foyne him in ē belly, & sumtyme did thei reach at the rider alsō: wherby Clemēt Pastō in the arme, and diuers other otherwise, 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 crowringe 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 w their
heddes into their shulders, lyke a tortuis into hys shell: Oothers again,
for their more lightnes, cast away shoes and doblettes, 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 theare eastward a v. C. of
their horsmen vp alonge thys Fauxsyde Bray, strayght vpon our ordi-
naunce and cariage. My Lordes Grace (as I sayde) most specially for
the dout of the same, placynge hymself theareby, 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
provided for accordingly; for one parson Keble, a chaplain of hys
Graces, and two or thre oother, by and by discharged four or fyue of
the cartes of municion, and thearewith bestowed pykes, billies, bowes,
and arrowes, to as many as came, soo that of carters and other theare
wear soon weaponry theare about a thousand, whom parson Keble and
the oother dyd very handsomely dispose in array, and made a pretty
mouster. To returne nowe: Soon after thys notable strewyng of thier
footmens weapons, beganne a pitefull sight of the dead corpeses lyng
disparsed abreode; sum theire legges of, sum but hought, and left lyng
ehlf dead, sum thrust quite thrugh the body, oothers the armes cut of,
divers theire neckes half a sunder, many theire heddes clouen, of sundry
the braynes pasht out, sum others agai theire heddes quite of, w other
M. kyndes of kyllig. After, & further in chase, al for the most part
kylled either in the hed or in the neck, for our horsmen coole de not well
reach the lower w their swoordes. And thus w blod & slaughter of the
enemie, this chase was continued v. miles in length westward fro the
place of their standynge, whiche was in the fallow feldes of Vndreske,
vntill Edinborowe parke, & well nse to the gates of the toune itself,
and vnto Lyth; and in breadth nie iii. myle, from the Fryth sandes
vp towarde Daketh southwarde. In all whiche space, the dead bodyes
lay as thik as a man may note calett grasing in a full replenished pas-
tur.
ture. The ryuer ran al red with blood, soo that in the same chase wear counted, aswell by sum of our men that sumwhat diligentely did marke it, as by sum of them takě prisoners, that very muche did lament it, to haue bene slayn aboue xiii. thousande. In all thys cumpas of grounde, what with weapons, armes, handes, legges, heddes, blood, and dead bodyes, their flight mought haue easly 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 oune swoordes that lay each whear skattred by the waye, whearoif 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 ý 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 dilligent master that sharply sumtime (when warnynge will not serue) dooth beat hys scholler, not hardely for hate of the chylde, or hys oune delgyhte in beatynge, but for loue he woolde haue hym amende hys fautes or negligence, and beates hym ones surely, because he woolde 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 certeinly hard of) that whensoeuer they fought and ouercom, they woolde 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 re-
garde, which 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 thynge 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 couered wyth whyte leather, dooblethes of y same or of fustian, and most commonly al white hosen. Not one w either cheine, brooch, ryng, or garment of silke that I could see, onles cheynes of latten drawen four or fyue tymes along y thighs of their hosen and doobleth sleues for cuttyng: and of y 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 sheawe, the semblance & signe, whearby a straunger might discern a villain from a gentleman, was not amoong them to be seen. As for woorde & goodly proffer of great roundsums, wear as commō and ryfe in the mouths of the tone as in the toother. And theyrfor 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 eskaip, bicaus he lact his horse, and theyrfor 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 y Erle of Cassils, and bysyde one Moutrell taken.
taken by Cornelius cõtroller of the ordinaunce in this armie, and bi-
syde one of ý Camals an Irish gentlemã takê by Edward Chamberlaine,
& bysyde many oother Skottish gêtemê mo, whoos names & takers I
wel remêber not. The prisoners accôted by ý Marshals book wear
numbred to abooue xv. C. Touching ý slaughter, sure we kyld no-
thynge so many, as (if we had mynded crueltie so much) for the tyme
and oportunitee right well we mought: for my Lords Grace, of his
woonted mercy, mooch mooed w ý pitee of this sight, and rather glad
of victorie, then desyrous of crueltie, soon after (by ges) v. of the clok,
stayed his standerl of his horsmen at the furthest part of their camp
westward, and caused the trumpettes to blowe a retreat. Whearat also
Sir Rafe Sadleyr treasurier (whoos great diligence at ý tyme, and redy for-
wardenes in ý chefest of ý fray before, did woorthely merit no small
commendacion) caused al the footmen to stay, and then, w much travaile
and great peyn, made them to be brought in sù 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
foûd good provision of whyte bread, ale, otencakes, otemeal, mutton,
butter in pottes, chese, & in divers tentes good wyns 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 iii. 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 boosõs.

Here now to say sumwhat of the maner of their campe: As they had
no pavilions or roûd houses of ony cõmendable cumpas, so wear their
fewe oother tentes w poes as ý vsed maner of makyng is: And of these
fewe also, none of abooue xx. foot læght, but most far vnder; for ý
most part all very sumptuously beset (after their fació) for the loue 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 Fauxseyde 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 lynnen 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 bysye) had they framed of iii. sticks, about an elle long a pece,
wearof ii. fastened toegyther at one ende a loft, and ý ii. endes beneath
stic in ý 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 dawn 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 ý more liberal to lend them larger naperie: Howbeit, win
they had lyned them and stuft them so thick with strawe, ý the weather
as it was not very cold, when they wear ones couched, thei wear as
warne as thei had bene wrapt in horsdung.

This the plot of their campe was called Edmynstö edge, nie Gilber
ton, a place of the Lorde of Brimstons, halfe a mile beyond Muskel
boorowe, and a iii. 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 me vpon ý sound of
retreat at their retire wear sumwhat assembled, we all with a loud and
enier 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 Edenboorowe.

It was a woonder to see, but that (as they say) many handes make
lyght woorh, how soon the dead bodyes wear stryped out of their gar
ments starke naked, euen from as far as the chase went, vntil the place
of our onset; whearby the personages of the enemies, might by ý wey
easily be viewed and considered; ý which for their tallnes of stature,
cleans 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 have beleued sure so many of that sort to have bene in
THE EXPEDICION

As their fell sodeinly in Roö a great dungeõ & swallowig of groûd, Curtius, a Ro-\n\n\nmæ, for ÿ pleasyng of ÿ goddes, & ÿ same might ceas, mounted on his horse and leapt down into the same, which straight then after closed vp a-gayne. Va-\n\nler. Max. li. vi. ca. vi. Decius Mus, & Publius Decius his sun, consuls of Robm, as thei should fight, the father against ÿ Latines, & the sun after ÿ against the Šântes, & wear warned by dream that those armies shoule haue the victorie, whose captains wear first slayn in felde, thei both ran willingly in to ÿ hostes of their enemies; they wear slayn, & their armies wan the felde. Plutarch. de Decio pr. paral. xxviii. et Livii de P. Decio li. x. dec. 1.

all their cûtree: 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 iiiii. M. but we wear after enfourmed, it was not altogeth-\n\ner so. At the place of the chardge at the first by vs gyuen, thear found we our horses slayn, all gored and heawé, and our men so rufely gasht and mangled in the hed spetially, as not one by the face could be known who he was. Little Preston was found thear with both his handes cut of by the wreasts, and known to be he, for that it was known he had of each arm a bracelet of golde, for ÿ which they so chopt hym. Edward Shelley, alas, that woorthy gentleman and valiaunt captain, all piteefuly 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 actiuitie in featres 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 shoulde be to great a digression and to muche interrupcion of the matter: But, touching the maner of his death, I think etc...
before approued, and whoose state of lyuing my selfe I knue to be such,
as last nothing y might pertain to perfit worldly wealth. I trust it shall
not be taken that I mean hereby to derogate fame from any of the rest
that dyed thear (G O D haue their solles) who I wot bought the barga
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 runynge awey,
had let fall their weapons (as I sayd) thear found we, bysyde their com-
mon 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 length; haуng on the insyde, handels made very
cunnyngly 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, couered with old parchement or dooble pa-
pers, 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 deuyse to
fray our horses when our horsmen shoulde cum at them: Howbeheit, by-
caus the ryders wear no babyes, nor their horses no colts, they coold
neither duddle the tone, nor fray the toother: so that this pollecyue was
as witles as their powr forceles.

Amoong these weapons, and bysyde diuers oother banners, standerds,
and penons, a banner of whyte sarcenet was fou’d, vnder whiche it was
sayd these kirkmen cam, whearupon was paynted a wooman with her
hear about her shoulders, knelynge before a crucifix, and on her right
hande a church; after that, written a long vpon the banner in greate
Romane letters, Afflicta sponsa ne obliuiscaris; whiche woordes declared
that they would haue this wooman to signifie the church, Christes spoue,
and thus in humble wyse makyng her peticion vnto Christ her husband,
that he would not now forget her, his spoue, beyng skourged and per-
secuted, meanynge at this tyme by vs. It was sayd it was the Abbot of
Donforlings
Donforlings banner; but wherther yt wear his, or the Bysshop of Dunkels, ý goouernours broothers, (who I vnderstood wear both in the felde), and what the number of these kirkmen was, I coold not certeinly learne: but sure it was sum devout papistes deuise, that not onely bylyke woulde 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: pretexyng this his great vngodlines thus bent toward ý maintnaunce of a noughtie quarel, with coollour of religion to cum in ayde of Christes church. Which church, to say truth, cúmyng thus to battaille full appointed with weapon and garded with such a sorte of deacös to fight; how euer in payntyng he had set her out, a man might well thinke that in condicon he had rather fram-ed her after a curst quean that woole 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 suttitude of this godly mäs deuise; it is best we take hym he ment the most lykely: that is, the church malignaunt and cögregacion of the wicked, whearvnto that Antichrist the Bysshop of Roome is husband, whome, Christ sayd, as a these cums neuer but to steal, slea, & destroy; and whoos good sun, this holly Prelate, in his thus cúmyng to the feld with his Afflicte, now shewed hym self to be.

There 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 w 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 fel-lowes in the feld thus druen and beaten awaye before their faces, they pluct in their peces, lyke a dog his taile: and couched them selves within all muet: but by and by ý hous was set on fyre, and they for their good will brent & smothered within.

Thus,
Thus, through the favour of Gods bounty, by the valiaunce and pol-
lecie of my Lordes Protectours Grace, by the forward endeour of all
the nobles and counsell thear besyde, and by y willing diligence of euer
captain, officer, and true subjecte els, we most valiauntly and honour-
ably wan the victorie ouer our enemies; of whoō xiii. M. wear slaï thus
in felde; of which nüber (as we wear certainly enjourd by sundry
and the best of the prisoners then taken) bysyde the Erle of Loghen-
war, y Lorde Flemmyng, the Master of Greym, the Master of Arskyn,
y 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 aboue xxvi. C: & v. C. wear
takē prisoners, whearof many gentlemen also, amōg whome wear thear
of name (as I haue before named) y Erle Huntley Lord Chauncelour of
the Ream thear; the Lord of Yester, Hobby Hambleton captayn of
Dunbar; the Master of Sampoole; the Larde of Wymmes, and a broo-
ther of y Erle of Cassyls. Too thousand, by lurkyng & liyng as though
they wear dead, skaped awaye in y night all maymed and hurt. Here-
with wan we of their weapons and armour more then we woolde vouche-
safe to gyue cariage for, & yet wear thear conueyed thence by ship into
these parties, of iakkes spetially and swords, aboue xxx. M. This night
with great gladnes and thankes gyuyng to God (as good caus we had)
about vii. of the clok 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 heuens relented
and poured doun a great shour of rayne that lasted wel nie an hour,
not vnlyke and accordyng as after our late souereigne Lordes conquest
of Bullein plētiful shoures did also then ensue.

And as we wear then a setlig, & y tentes a settyng vp, amoōg all
things els commendable in our hole iorney, one thig semed to me an
intollerable disorder & abuse, that whear as allweys, both in al tunes
of war & in al cāpes of armiyes, quietnes & stilnes without nois is princi-
v u ij. pally,
pally in the night after the watch set, obscured, (I nede not reason why)
our northern prikkers ý borderers, notwithstandingý w 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 hoopy-
ynge, 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 noyes all
ý night long. They sayd they did it to fynd out their captain & fel-
lowers; but ýf the soulidours of our oother couûrees and sheres had vsed
ý same maner, in that case, we shoold haue oft tymes had the state of
our camp more lyke the outrage of a dissolute huintyng then ý quiet of
a well ordred armye. It is a feat of war, in myne opinioû, that might
right well be left. I could reverse causes (but ý I take it, they ar better
vnsoken then vttred, onles the faut wear sure to be amêded) that might
shewe, thei mooue alweis more perel to our armie but in their one
nightes so doyng, then thei shewe good seruice (as sum sey) in a hooke
vyage. And since it is my part to be playn in my proces I wil be ý
bolder to shewe what further I noted & hard. Anoother maner haue
they amoong them of wearyng handkerchers rolled about their armes, &
letters broudred apû their cappes : thei sayd themselues the vse thearoif
was, ý ech of them might know his fellowe, & thearby ý sooner assem-
ble, or in nede to ayde one another, & such lyke respectes : Howbeit
thear wear of tharmy amoûg vs (sum suspicious me perchaûce) ý thought
thei vsed them for collusion, & rather bycaus they might be knownen to
thenemie, as ý enemies ar knownen to them (for thei haue their markes
too) & so in côñflict either ech to spare oother, or gêly ech to take oother.
Indede me haue bene mouued ý rather to thinke so, bycaus sum of their
crosses wear so narrowe & so sîngly set on, that a puff of wynde might
haue blowê thê frô their brestes, & ý thei wear found right often talkig
w ý Skothsh prikkes win les then their gads length a sunder ; & when
thei perceiued thei had bene spied, thei haue begun one to run at ano-
ther, but so appaunently perlassent, as ý lookers on resembled their
chasyng
chasyng like ý running at base, in an vpplondish·toun, whear the match
is made for a quart of good ale; or like ý play in Robin Cooks skole,
whear, bicaus the punies may lerne, thei strike fewe strokes·but by as-
sent & appointemët. I hard sum men say, it did mooch augment their
suspicïo ý wey, bicaus, at ý battail, thei sawe these prikkers so badly
demean them, more intëding ý takig of prisoners, then ý suerty of vic-
torie; 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 ý had vi. or vii. Many men, yet, I must cófes, ar not disposed
all weys to say all of the best, but more redy haply to fynde oothers mês
fautes then to amend their oun. Howbeit I thike sure as for our pri-
kkers, ýf their fautes had bene fewer, their infamye had bene les: yet
say I not this so moch to disprais them, as for mean of amëdement.
Their captains and gentlemen again, ar men for ý most part al of right
honest seruice and approoued prowes, & such sure as for their well doo-
ing, woold soon becum famous, ýf their soouldiours wear as toward as
thëselues be forward.

As thyngs fell after in communicacion, one question amõg oother arose,
who kyld the first man this day in feld, the glorie whearof one Jeronimo
an Italian woold fayn haue had: howbeit it was after well tryed, ý it
was one Cuthbert Musgraue, a gentlemã of my Lord of Warwykes, who
right hardely kyld a güner at his pece in ý Scottes foreward, ear euer
they began ony whit to turne: The fact, for the forwardnes, well deser-
uyng remembreâce, 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 prisõ :
which whither he did for the doubt he had that we woold haue released
him, wild he nild he, or whither he woold shew hiself fayn to doo sum-
what before ý peple, to make sum amendes of his former faut, I doo
not knowe ; but this sure, rather for sû 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.
THE EXPEDICION

Sunday the xi. of September.

In the mornynge a great sort of vs rode to the place of onset whare our mē lay slayn, and what by gentlemē for their frēdes, and seruaūtes for their masters, al of the ū wear knowē to be ours wear buried. In ū mean time, ū master & officers of ū ordinaūce, did very diligētly get to gyther all ū Skottish ordinaūce, which, bycaus it lay in sundry places thei could not inne all ouer night. And these wear in nūber a xxx. pecess, whareof one culuerine, iii. sacres, ix. smaller pecess of bras & of iron, 17 pecess mo moūted on careige.

These things thus done, sūwhat a fore none our cāpe reysed, we marched alōg the Fryth syde straight toward Lyeth: & approchig nie ū 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 shadow-ed frō Edinborowe by a hill, but ū most of it liyng win ū ful sight & shot of the Castell thear, & in distaunce sumwhat abooe a quarter of a mile. My Lorde Grace, garded but with a small cūpēny 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 ū hauen that runneth into the mids of the toun, vessels of diuers sortes, a xiii. sumwhat of ode, wynes, wainskot and salt wear found in the toun, but as but little of ū, so nothig elsē of value: for how much of oother things as could wel be carryed, ū inhabitauntes ouernight had pact awei w them. My Lord Marshall and most of our horsmen wear bestowed & lodged in the toun; my Lorde Grace, my Lord Lieutenaunt, & the rest of tharmie in the campe.

This day my Lorde Grace with the counsell and Sir Rychard Lee, rode about ū toun, & to the plottes and hillocks on euyther syde nie to it, to viewe & consider whither the same, by byldynge, might be made tenaible and defensible.

Certayne of our smaller vessels burnt Kynkorne and a toun or two 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,
INTO SCOTLANDE.

there, called Sainct Coomes Ins, which stödeth a iii. mile beyđôd Lieth, and a good wyey 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 ý moõks wair gone) freshwater inough, and also coonyes, and is so naturally strong as but by one way it can be entred. The plot wher of, my Lordes Grace consideryng, did quikly cast to haue it kept, whearby al traðfik of marchaúdisë, all cómodities els commyng by the Fryth into their land, & vterly ý hole vse of the Fryth it self, with all the hauens vpon it, shoold quyte be taken from them.

This day my Lords Grace ridying 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 Soomerst his herald with a trompet before to knowe whoo kept it, and wherether the kepers wold holde it or yelde it to his Grace. Aunswered was made, that there was a lx. parsons within, whom their maister lying there the Saterday at night after the batell, dyd will that they, the houes, and all that was in yt, shoolde be at my Lordes Graces commaundemente and pleasure. Whear vpon the chefest came out, and in the name of all the rest humbled hymself vnto my Lords will, proferyng his Grace in his Masters name, diuers fayr goshaúkes; the whiche my Lords Grace, how nobly sooever he listed to shew mercy vpon submissïo, yet vtering a more maiestie of honor, then to base his generositie to the reward of his enemie, did (but not cótemptuously) refuse, and so, without cómyng in, past by, and rode to the place whear the battell was begun to be strooken: the whiche hauyng a prety while overseen, he returned by Muskélbrowe and so along by the Frythe, diligently markyng and notyng things by ý 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 countenaunce of buyldyng, as though he woold tary long, as also to kepe our pioners sumwhat in exercise (whoõ a little rest woolde soone make nought) caused along the east
east syde of Lyceth a greate dich and trench to be cast toward the Frith, the woork for which continued till the mornyng of our departynge.

My Lorde Clynton, hye Admiral (as I said) of this flote, takynge with hym the galley (wheerof one Brooke is captain) and iii. or v. of our smaller vessels besides, all well appoynted with munition & men, rowed vp the Frith a tcn myle westward to an hauen toun stondynge on the south shore called Blankestes; whearat towrdes the water syde is a castel of a prety strength. As nie wheer vnto as the depth of the water theare would suffer, the Skots, for saugard, had laied y Mary Willoughby and the Antony of Newcastel, ii. tall ships, whiche with extreme injurie they had stollè from vs before tyme, whè no war betwene vs: with these theare also an oother large vessel called (by them) the Bosse and a vii. mo, whear of part laden with marchaudize. My Lord Clynton, & his copenie, w 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 y residew before their faces as they ley.

The Lard of Brimston, a Skotish gentleman, who cam to my Lordes Grace from their counsell for caus of communicacion bilyke, retourned again to them hauing w him Norrey an herauld & king of armes of ours: whoo foûd them w y olde Quene at Sterling, a toun stondynge westward uppon y Frith a xx. mile beyond Edinborowe.

The hear was a fellowe taken in our capè, whoô y Scottes called English William, an English man indede, y before tyme hauyng doon a robery in Lincolnshire, did after rú awai into Scotlaíd, & at this time cúme out of Edëborowe castel as a spie for y Scottes, was spied himself with the maner, and hàged for his mede in y best wise (bicaus he wel deserued) vpò a nue giebet somewhat bside our camp, in y sight bothe of y toun & castel. God haue mercy on his soule. Thear is no good logification, but woold think, I thik, y a syllogism thus formed of such a theuing maior, a rûaway minor, and a trayerous consequent, must não des prooue (at y weakest) to such a hanging argument.
Sir Jhon Luttrell knight, hauyng bene by my Lords Grace and the eounsell, elect abbot, by Gods suffraunce, of the monastery of Saincr, 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 couuent of a C. hakbutters and I. pioners to kepe his house and land thear, and ii. rowe barkes well furnisshed 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 sooueraigne ouer most of his neighbours.

My Lords Grace as this day geuyng warlyng that our departure shoold be on y morowe; and myndynge before, with recumpence sumwhat according, to rewarde one Bartō that had plaid an vntrue part, cómaundeth that our night his hous in Lyeth shoolde be set afer. And as the same, thesame night about v. of the clok, was doon, many of our souldziours that wear very forward in fyering, fyered with al hast all the toun besyde. But so farthorth (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 quitèd 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 campynge, many lardes and gentlemen of the cuntry nie thear, cam in to my Lorde to require his protection, the whiche his Grace, to whoom he thought good, did graunt.

This day also, cam the Erle Bothwell to my Lordes Grace, a gent-leman of a right cumly porte and stature, and hereto of right honour-able and iust meanyng and dealyng toward the Kyngs Maiestie, whom
my Lords Grace did tharfor accordyng vnto his degree & demerites, very frendly welcum and entertein, & hauing supped this night w his Grace, he then after departed.

Thar stode southwestward about a quarter of a mile from our caпе, a monasterie, thei call it Holly roode abbey. Sir Water Bonhā and Edward Chaberlayne gat lycence to supprese it: whearupō these commisioners makyng first theyr visitacion thar, they found the mooks all gone: but the church and mooth parte of y house well couered with leade. Soon after, thei pluct of the leade, & had doun y bels, (which wear but ii.), and accordyng to y statute did sumwhat hereby disgrace y hous. As touchyng the moоkes, bicaus they wear gone, thei put them to their pencions at large.

My Lords Grace, for consideracions moouing 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 caпе to dislodge. And as we wear parted from whear we laye, the castel shot of a peal (with chambers hardly & all) of a xxiii. 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 corpes liyng very rufullly with y colour of their skynnes chaугed grenish, about y place they had be smitten in, and as thento aboue grounde vnberied; many also we percyued to haue bene beried in Vndreske church yarde, the graues of whoom, y Scots had very slyly for sight couered agayn with grene turfe. By diuerse of these dead bodys wear thear set vp a stik with a clowte, with a rag, with an olde shoe, or sů oother marke, for knowledge, the which we vnderstode to be markes made by ý frendes of ý partie dead when they had found him; whoō then, sith they durst not for feare or lack of leasure conuey awey 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 morenynge his
INTO SCOTLANDE.

Grace makyng Master Andrew Dudley knight, broother vnto the Earle 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 Dundie, Sainct Johns town, and many townes els (the best of the cuntreys in those partes, set vpon the Tey) shall eyther be cum subiecte vnto this holde, or els be compelled to for goo their hole vse of the riuier, for hauyng ony thyng thearybby cummynghe 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 entreteynment, so had we no enuious resistauence, 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 thearybby, lyke shepe byter curre, to snach vp and it wear but a sory lambe for their prey, vpon a hill about half a mile sowtheast from vs, ran at, and hurt one of our me. For acquitaile whearof, my Lordes Grace commaundd that iii. or iiiii. houses, (such as thei wear) stondyng also vpon a hill ii. flight shot southward from our Cape, shoolde be burnt. Thomas Fissher his Graces secretarie rode straight theather w a burnyng brand in his tone hand, and his gun in the toother, accopanied with no mo but one of his own men, and fyred them all by and by. I noted it for my part an enterpryse of a right good hart & courage, peraduëture so mooch the rather, bicaus I woold not gladly haue taken in hand to haue doon it so my self, spetialy since parte of these prickers stode then within a flight shot of hi. Howbeit, as in al this iorney, vpon ony likenes 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 Wedensday afore written the vii. of this moneth, I sawe none so nere them as he: whearby I maye haue good cause to be ye les in doubt of his hardines. Here also as we wear setteled, our herauld Norrey retourned.
tourned from the Skottes counsell, with the larde of Brimston, and Roze their heraule; who, vppon theyr sute to my Lordes Grace, obteyned that v. of theyr counsell shoold haue his Graces safecundet, that at ony tyme and place within fifteen dayes durynge our abode in theyr cuntrey, or at Berwyke, the same v. might cum and commen with v. of our counsell touching the matters bitwene vs.

Rose the heraule departed erely with this saufecundet, our campe reysed, and we went that day an vii. myle till as far as Hume castell; whear we camped on the westye of a rocky hill, that they call Hare-crag, whyche stondeth 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, makynge her humble sute, that lyke as hys goodnes had graciously bene shewed to right many oother, in receuyng them and their howses into his Graces protection and assurance, euen so, that it would pleas him to receyue and assure her and her howse the castell. My Lordes Grace, myndynge neuer oother but to assure her she shoold be sure soon to forgo it, turned straight her sute of assurance into communicacion of rendring: for my part I doubt not but the terour of extremitie by their obstinacy, and profit of frëdship by their submission, was sufficiëtly 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 amoong the Frenchmen, which sayeth, Chasteau que parloit & femme que escote: lug voet rendre, & laurre; and so foorth. There wear certei hakbutters that vpon appointment afore, had beset the castell: whoo then had further commaundement geuen them, that takynge diligent hede none shoulde pas in or out without my Lordes Graces licence, they should also not occupie ony shot or annoyaunce tyll vpon further warnyng.

This
INTO SCOTLANDE.

This lady in this mean tyme consulted with her sun & heir, prisoner with vs, and with oother her frendes the kepers of the castell, at the tyme appointed, returned this day to my Lordes Grace, requirynge first a longer repit 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 husbads, captains of this castell, to cum and speake with his Grace in the meane while: It was graunted her; whear- upon these captains, about iii. of the clock, cam to his Lordship, & after oother coouenautes, with long debatyng on bothe partes agreed vp- on, she and these captains concluded to geue their assent to render y castell, so far forth as the rest of the kepers wold thearwith be content. For ii. or iii. within (saide they) wear also in charge w keping it, as wel as they: for knowledge of whose mides, my Lords Grace then sent Somerset his herauld w this lady to y castel to them: who, as the herauld had made them priuie of the articles, woolde fayne haue had leasure for xxi. hours lenger, to send to their Lord to Edëborowe to kno his wil; but beyng wisely & sharply cauld vp by the herauld, thei agreed to the coouenautes, afore by their lady and capteyns concluded on. Whearof parte wear (as I sawe by y sequele) that they shoold de- parte thence the next daie mornynge by x. of the clock with bagge and baggage as mooch as they could cary, sauyng all municon and vytayle to be left be hynde them in the castell. Howbeit, for as mooche as before tyme, theyr nacion had not bene all together so iust of coouenauant, wheary as then we mought haue cause fyrmyly to credyt their promys, my Lords Grace prouidyng ech wey to be redy for them, cau- sed this night viii. peces of our ordinaunce, fenced w baskets of earth, to be plaeted on the southsyde towarde the castell within pour of batrie, & the hakbuttes to continue their watch and warde.

This mornynge my Lords Grace hauynge 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 iii. oother of y chefest thear with hym cam out, & yeldyng
yeldying þ castell, deliuered my Lord the keis. His Lordship causynge: the residue also to cumme out then, saying vii. or vii. to kepe their baggage win (who all wear in number lxxviii.) entred þ same with Master Dudley and diuers oother gentlemē with him. He found theire indifferent good store of vytalē & wyne: and of ordinaunce, twoo bastard culuerins, one sacre, iii. fawconets of bras, and of iren viii. peces beside. The castell stondeth vpon a rocky crag, with a proud heith ouer all the contrie about it, on every syde well nie fenced by marysh, allmost rounde in forrne, w thik walls, & (which is a rare thing vpō so hie and stonie a groud) a faire well within yt. The kepyng of this castell, my Lord betakynge vnto Master Dudley accordyngly, retourned to my Lordes Grace at the campe.

We reised, and cam that mornynge to Rokesborow, and iii. myle from Hume. Our camp occupied a greate fallowe felde betwene Rokesborowe and Kelsey, stondying eastward a quarter of a myle of; a pretty market toun to; but they wear all goon foorth theair. My Lordes Grace, wyth dyuers of the counsell, and Sir Richard Lee knight (whose charde in this expedycyon spetially was to appoynt the pioners ech whear in woork as he shoold thykke meete, and then (whear my Lordes Grace assigned) to deuyse the fourme of byldying for fortificacion; whoom suerly the goodnes of his wytt and hys greate experience hath made in that science right excellent) went straight to Rokesborowe to caste what theair for strengthenyng mighte 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 breth, 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, Tiuet on the north, and Twede on the sowth: both which ioyning sum what nie to gyther at the west ende of it, Tyuet by a large cum-pas a bowte the feldes wee laye in, at Kelsey dooth fall into this Twede, which wi greate deapth & swiftnes runneth from thence eastward into the sea.
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 ſ Skottes in time paste haue all to broken, bycaus we should not that weicum to them. Soō after my Lords Graces survey of the plot and determinacion to doo asmuch indeede for makyng it defencyble, as shortnes of the tyme and season of ſ yere could suffer, (which was, ſ one great trench of twenty foot brode, with deapth accordyng, and a wall of lyke breadth and heyth, should be made a cros win the castel from the tone sidewall to thoother, and a xl. foot from the west ende; and that a like trēch and wall should likewise be cast a trauers within, about a quoysts cast frō theast ende, and hereto that the castell walles on either syde, whear neede was, shoulde be mended with turfe, and made ſ loopholes as well for shooting directly forthward, as for flankyng at hand; the woorke of which deuise did make, that bisyde the sauegard of these trenched & walles, ſ kepers should also be much fenced by both the ende walles of the castel) ſ pioners wear set a woorke, 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 lardes and gentlemen aforesayde, beyng the chefeste in the hole marches and Tyuetdale, cam in agayn, whom my Lords Grace with wysdom and pollecie, without any fghtyng or bloodshed, dyd wyn then vnto the obedience of the Kyngs Maiestie: for the whyche they dyd wyllyngly 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 Bammersyde.

Gentlemen.

George Trombull.
Jhon Hollyburton.
Robert Car.
Robert Car of Greyden.
Adam Kyrton.
Andrew Meyther.
Saunter 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 remayn in regester with these, I haue thought the lesse mister here to wryt.

My Lords Grace did tender so mooch ý furtheraunce of ý work in ý castell, ý this daie (as every day els duryng our campynge thear) his Grace dyd not styk to digge w a spade aboue ii. houres him self; whearby, as his estate sure was no more embased then ý Maiestie of great Alexāder, what time w his own hādes he set the poor colde soldiour in his own chaire of estate to releeue hym by his fier; so, by ý example herof was every man so mooued, as thear wear but fewe of lordes, knightes, and gentlemens in the feld, but with spade, shoouel, or mattock, did thearin right willyngly & vncompeld their partes.

This daye began the Skottes to brynge vitayll to our campe, for the whiche they wear so well entreated and paide, that durynge the tyme we laye thear, we wanted none of the commodities their cōtry coold minister.

No notable thyng but the continuaunce of our woork at the castell; for furtheraunce whearof, order was taken that the captayns of footmen, eche after oother, shoould send vp his C. of soldiours thither to woorke an houres space.

The larde of Coldehamknowes not hauyng so fully kepte hys appoyntment made at Hume castell, touchyng his cummynge agayn.to my 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 whiche chardge Master Vane dyd so earnestly appyle, 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 welcummed, and ha-
uing no resistauce 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 certified 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 yeldying vnto them, the whiche
Sir Andrew dyd then enter, and after kepe as captain.

A Skottysh heraulde accompanied with certein Frēchmen y wear
perchaunce more desierous to marke our armie then to wit of our wel-
fare, cam and declared from their coussel, y within a seuenight after,
their commissioners to whoom my Lords Grace had before graurant his
safecundet, shoold cum & commune with our counsel at Berwyk: whose
cúming 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 pro-
mys and vsyng vntruth) neither cam, nor by like ment to cū: And yet
sure take I this no fetch of no fine deuise, òles thei mean hereby to wyn,
y thei shal nede neuer after to promys: vsyng the feate of Aunu, who,
w his all weys swearyng and his euer liyng, at last obteined that his bare
woorde was as much in credyt as his solemn oth, but his solemn oth in-
deede no more then an impudent lye. Howbeit, since I am certeyyn
that sundry of them haue shewed themselues right honest, I would be lōb
here to be couūd so vnadoised, as to arret y fautes of many to y in-
famie of al.

It was sayde amoong vs, they had in the meane tyme receyued let-
ters of consolacion and of many gay offers from the French Kyng: yet
had that bene no cause to haue broken promys w y couesel 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 the a corzey that will freate them a nue sore.

My Lords Grace considerying 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 encouorage to oother then after to doo the lyke, dyd this daye after noon adourne many lorde, knyghtes, and gentlemen, with dignitees as folowe. The names and promotiōs of whoō I haue here set in order, as they wear placed in the herauldes book.

Sir Rafe Sadlier, treasurer.
Sir Fraunces Bryan, capteyn of the light horsmen.
Sir Rafe Vane, lieutenaut of all the horsmen.

These knightes wear made banerettes, a dignitie aboove a knight, and next to a baron, whose acts I haue partly touched in the story before.

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 Maiestyes priuie couisel, and in this armie (as I mought call hym) chefe secretarie,
THE EXPEDITION

who with his great peyns and expedite diligēce in dispatch of things passyng from my Lords Grace and the couisel thear, did make þy his merite was not with þy meanest.

Sir Fraunces Flemmynge master of thordinaunce thear, a gentlemā whom long exercisē & good obseruaunce hath made in that feate right perfitt, 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 Greshām.
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 þy I haue writte in þy storie before wwhat forward hardines Sir George Haward did bear þy Kings Maiesties stāderd in þy battail, & thear also of þy industrious peyn of Sir James Wilford, & how Sir Rauf Coppiger did aied not smally in saufgard of the standard of our horsmen, I woold haue bene more diligent to haue rehearsed 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 Ĉūstable.
Sir George Āwdeley.
Sir Jhon Holcroft.
Sir Jhon Soutwoorth.
Sir Thomas Danby.
Sir Jhon Talbott.
Sir Rowland Clerk.
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 Brädling, 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 differed, 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 wisedome, who preferd them to it. Whearupon all mē may safely thus far foorth without offence presume, ý his Grace vnworthely bestowed this honour on no man.

By this day, as Rokesborowe was sufficiently made tenable and de-fensible, (ý 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 Maisties 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, cap-
tain.
tain of Rokesbrowe, CCC. souldyours of hakbutters & oother, & CC. pioners.

As thinges wear thus concluded, & warnyng gyuen ouer night that our cápe shoold this day dissolue, euer man fell to pakkyng a pace. My Lordes Grace this morning 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 cáp, and not farr from ý broké arches of ý brokébridge) was yet with great stones in ý bottom so vn- euen of grounde, and, by reafon 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 pereyll, and one or twoo drownèd; and many cariages ouerthrown 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, w diuers oother, rode towarde Barwyke, to abide the cúmyng of the Scottish commisioners. In ý meá 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 Bartheuile, Fréch man. And anoother.

But the Skottes, lyke men, though slipper in couenaunt yet cõstant in vsage, and thearfore les blussshing to break promes, then custome, came not at all: whearupó my Lord & oother of our commisioners, hauyng taryed for them the full time of appoyntment, which was vntil the iiiii. of October, ý next day after departed thèce homeward. In part of ý meane tyme, while my Lordes Grace was thus doyng theexploits in Skotlād, as I haue before written, the Erle of Linuos, w my Lord Whartō, Lord Warden of our westmarches against Skotland (according as his Grace had before takē order) w a nüber of v. M. entred Skotlād on the west marches. And first passing a ii. mile (after a dayes & a nightes
INTO SCOTLANDE.

nightes defence) they wan the churche of Annan, a strōg place and very noysum alwey vnto our men as they passed that wey. They hear they toke lxii. prisoners the kepers of thesame, burnt ý spoile for cumber of caryage, and caused the churche to be blowen w pouder. Passinge thence a xvi. mile within the lōd, soon after they wan a hold, called ý Castle of Mylke, ý which they left well furnyshed with municion & mē, and so retourned. Diuers other actes notable they did, here left vnwrite ṭ of me, because vnknowen too me; but asmuche as I certeinly hard of, I haue thought mete hereunto to adde: because I may wel coūt theim âs part of this expediciō & viage.
A PERORACION VNTO THE GENTLE REDER, WITH A SHORTE
REHERSALL OF THE ACTES DOON.

I haue thus absolved my boke, but neyther w suche spede as per-
chaunque it had bene the office of hym that woold take vpó hym to wryte
of this matter, nor as the dignitie of y argument required publicacion.
For well it may be thought, a man with meane diligëce, that had ben
forth in no parte of the viage, might in this space haue learned and writ-
ten as muche by enquirie at home. And sith y pour of tyme is in eche
case so great, as thinges indifferently good, by choyse of opportunitie
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 tale, whearof al mens
eares are ful of a four mooneths before. Yet for excuse of my slacknes
(as who woolde 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 thy busynes, and theary comp-
peld to consyder y precise obseruance of dedes, wordes, and in a ma-
ner of gestures; and y diligët markinge of y situaciõ of tounes, castels,
and Churches, of y lieng of hils, playns, and feldes, of y course of ry-
uers, 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 perfittly written in
my notes, and thearfore dryuen to stresse my memorie y more for cal-
linge the same too mind again); And herew regardyng y greate hede
that
THE PERORACION.

that ought to be had in rehearssall of circuistaunces, and placinge of thinges accordingly in writing as they wear done, seen or hard; I foué the enterprize a great deale more weyghtie, then the sleedernes of my wit was able quikly to pas with. Howbeit, whë vpon deper consideraunce I pondered with my self, what a thig it was to make ony monument in this so prosperous a comminalg, wherof the gouernours are so absolutely wise, & whear in an infinitie number of men soo fynely wytte and so profoundly learned are besyde: I rather regarded the counsell of the wyse poet Horace, whoo wils a man to kepe his writinges in his handes nine yere, (meaning a good while, for correccion) then hadde any hast of publicatïo, whearby at ones I shold lose my libertie of amëdment. Which libertie, though, after, I mought haue neuer so well, yet becaufe it is nothinge so commëdable to mend a faut as to make no faut, I woolde gladly before haue had the leysure to loke y the thyng might haue past as fautles from me, as my diligëce could haue made it. And surely had it not ben more for aüswering the expectacion of sum men of honour, whoo knew I was in hand w the matter, and who els peraduenture might haue doubted my diligence, then it was for myne own desyre to haue my doings soon to cûme abrode, I wold haue taken a better breath ear they had cum out yet. But sins the chaüce is cast, & the woord thus vttred cannot be called agayn, whearby I haue ieoperd-ed w your iii. houres reding to make you cësour of my three‘ moneths wryting: judge ye, I pray you, (as ye maye) with fauour, and constër my meanyng to the best. My nede, I knowe, is much to pray; for I am not so foolysch too thinke my self so wise, that with a text al fautles I can druee foorthe so lenge a proces. But as I for the tyme haue enđeuoured 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 vttter, eyther foorther or better: which if thei do, I shal with all my hart becum then as benign a redcer to thë, as I wold wish you now to be here to me.

To the entent now, I wold quite from cumber of enquirie or question, suche as hapyly wold wyt what a-do I had in the armie, or how I z hadde
THE PERORACION.

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 Ṣ
Erle of Warwyke, lieutenãnt of the host, (who thearyb had pour to
make officers) too make me one of the Judges of the Marshalsey, as
Master William Cycly, now Master of the Requestes, with my Lorde
Protectours Grace, was the other: whearyb 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
ẏ came; the which thing (as it chaunced) we booth dyd; but so far
from appoyntmẽt betwene vs, as neyther was wytyn of others doing,
tyll sumwhat before our departure homeward. Mary, since my cûming
home indede, his gëtilnes being such as too communicat his notes with
me, I haue (I côfes) bene thearyb bothe mucche a certeyned in many
things I douted, and sumwhat remembred of ẏ, which els I mought
hap to haue forgotten.

But now, forasmuch as it hath pleased the moste benign goodnes of
God, so fayorably to ayd vs in these our affaires, and so mocchio
tender the equitie of our cause, as by hys mynter, and our hed in this
journey, my Lord Protectours Grace, we haue tourned our enemies
tenents for destrucccion of vs, vnto theyr own confusion: And fyrt
ouerturned of theyr holdes, Dunglas, Thornton, Anderwyke, and Am-
na church, ouercummẽ them with the half of their number xxxii. M.;
Kynkorne, (as more of their tounes els we mought, if our Chieftaĩ had
bene as willing, as our capitayns wear reddy); wun ẏ best of theyr nauie,
and burnt the residue; wun from thẽ, and kepe in the mids of their
londe Saint Coomes Ins and Broughty crak, and thearyb (but by our
leave) kepe thẽ from their hole entercours of merchautes; wũ also &
kepe the castle of Mylk and Hume castle; wun of ordinâice in their
fortes, and at the feld, aboue lxxx. peces; bylded Rokesborow castle,
& Aymouth, and gayned vnto the Kynges Maiesties obedience, al Tyue-
dale
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 under the numbre of lx. persons; and that in this the fyrst yere of our Kynges Maisties dominion & rule; whearby, according vnto his singuler towardenes, els euident, we may well coneyue an assured hope, hys Hyghnes too shall haue a most happie reygn, and (with Gods grace) a longe: I woold wshe and exhort, that ye, whiche wear not theare (for thoghte ye wear far from ony daunger of the los, yet can ye not be but full parteners of the winnynge) shoolde effectually with vs (accordyne as we all haue cause) gyue & wishe, firste glorie and prays vnto God, obediëce and victorie to our Soueraygn, honour and thankes vnto our Protectour and cousellours, woorship to our chyualrie, commendaciō vnto the rest that wear out, and a better mynd vnto our enemies. And I, trustyng vnto the benigneitie of your gentle acceptaunce, whoo of this woorke shall hap to be reder, with such indifferentie of request touch- ing thesame, as Horace made to hys welbeloued frēd Numicius, shal thus Epist. i. take my leaue of you.

Vivē, vale: si quid nouisti rectius istic,
Candidus imperti: si non his utere mecum.

Out of the parsonage of S. Mary hill in London, this xxviii. of January, 1548.