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LORD HERRIES' MEMOIRS.



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# HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THE REIGN OF

## MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS,

AND A PORTION OF THE REIGN OF

## KING JAMES THE SIXTH.

BY

LORD HERRIES.

PRINTED AT EDINBURGH.

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TO

**The Abbotsford Club**

BY

ROBERT PITCAIRN.





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## PREFATORY NOTICE.

THE following historical Memoir has been selected by the Editor as the subject of his contribution to THE ABBOTSFORD CLUB—as well from the consideration of the interesting, but still obscure, period of Scottish history to which it refers, and which it materially tends to illustrate in many minute particulars—as from the fact that the transcript, or rather abridgment, of the original MS. by LORD HERRIES, now belonging to the Faculty of Advocates, is nearly all that is known to have been preserved of the valuable historical Collections made by the members of the Scots College of Douay, which, unfortunately, appear to have been totally destroyed during the French Revolution.

Nothing farther can be traced regarding the transcript from which this volume has been printed, than that it was purchased at a sale in Martin's Rooms, Edinburgh, in June 1796; and that it was presented by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esquire, to the late Archibald Constable, Esquire, in the year 1817. The Editor has been informed that Mr Constable had at one period contemplated the publication of this work, with suitable historical illustrations, &c. under the superintendence and editorship of Sir Walter Scott; but their various other and more important mutual engagements prevented the accomplishment of that design. The MS. was subsequently acquired by the Faculty of Advocates at the sale of Mr David Constable's valuable Library, in November 1828.

From internal evidence, and especially from the style and manner of the person by whom the original MS. has been

transcribed and abridged, the Editor was at one time inclined to think it by no means improbable that the individual to whom we are indebted for the preservation of this fragment of Lord Herries' work might have been John Pinkerton, the historian. On more minute investigation, however, the autograph assuredly appears to be considerably earlier than the period when Pinkerton was engaged in collecting his historical materials; and the probability is, that it must have been compiled about, or rather previous to, the middle of the last century. It is so far fortunate that some important particulars relative to the original Memoirs have been preserved by the transcriber, perhaps undesignedly, and most likely for the purpose of serving as memoranda for his future reference.

On the fly-leaf of this MS. the transcriber has written the following, as a sort of title to his work:—"An Abridgement of the Reigne of Queen Marie, faithfully copied from the Abridgement of the Scottish History by Lord Herries, whose MSS. lays in the Scots Colledge of Douay, in Flanders. J.P." He has likewise preserved a copy of the general title-page of the original work, which is—"An Abridgement of the Scottishe Historie, from the first foundation untill our tymes; collected with great integritie: Beginning first with a breefe description of all the Iles belonging to the Crowne of Scotland." An attempt is made to give a kind of fac-simile of the signature of Lord Herries, which is executed thus—"HERREIS, 1656." The transcriber then adds his own attestation, in these terms:—"What follows is copied *verbatim* from the original manuscript of Lord Herries, beginning by the regne of Q. Marie, *pagina* 310 of the MSS., and ends *pagina* 436. The Queen's death is related page 501; and Lord Herreis continues his abridgement down till the year 1631. The whole of the MSS. is of 624 pages."

We have thus an apparently authentic memorandum of the

extent of the original MS.; and perhaps, we may be pretty safe in inferring that, excepting in those instances where the transcriber distinctly notifies in his text that he has omitted or abridged particular portions of the narrative, we are to consider the work, as given by himself, to be *verbatim* the same with the Memoirs of Lord Herries. If such shall be held to be a reasonable and fair conclusion, in the absence of the original and genuine Memoirs of that nobleman, the present work, so far as it extends, may truly be considered as being entitled to almost the same historical credit. But, be that as it may, it must certainly be admitted to be clear that, in one particular at least, considerable liberty has been taken with the MS. of Lord Herries by the transcriber; for obviously the orthography has been modernized and reduced by him to a certain arbitrary standard. In other respects, however, he has apparently performed his task faithfully; although, unhappily, he has frequently thought fit to curtail several of the narratives, on the alleged score of the prolixity of his author. This is greatly to be regretted, because much of the interest and value of these Memoirs would otherwise have depended on the minuteness and circumstantiality of the various historical facts and details, conveyed in the very words in which they were at first narrated by the author.

A few instances of this unlucky spirit for curtailing his original (which, probably, may have resulted more from want of leisure on the part of the transcriber, during a temporary visit or residence abroad, than from mere indolence or want of relish on his part for accurate and minute historical details) shall now be briefly adverted to. After a pretty full narrative of the murder of Cardinal Beaton,\* allusions are made to the original for

\* *Hist.* pp. 16, 17.

the licentious proceedings which ensued after that most barbarous assassination. Again, he thinks fit to give a mere outline of the splendid ceremonial which took place on the first entry of Mary Queen of Scots into Edinburgh, on her arrival from France. "The solemnities," he says, "were trulie statlie, but too long for an abridgment. Some things we shall sie of best remark."\* He is not long of repeating the same offence—for he states that Mary lost no time in sending an embassy to Elizabeth, "in which tymes long conferences were past betwixt the Queen and him, which are at length set doune in my originall, and heer for brevitie omitted."† Once more, after Riccio's murder, he abbreviates some of the particulars of Mary's conduct.‡ And again, after narrating the facts attending Darnley's murder, it is evident that he only extracts the substance of his author's leading remarks regarding the proceedings as to the divorce between Lady Jane Gordon and Bothwell, and the subsequent infamous marriage of the Queen to that bad man.§ It is also much to be regretted that the transcriber has entirely suppressed the whole of Lord Herries' narrative of Mary's long and cruel captivity in England, which, from the original and authentic sources of direct information which he possessed, must have been equally minute and valuable, in an historical point of view. He contents himself, however, with very briefly mentioning the fact of the imprisonment of Mary in the Castle of Carlisle, shortly after her landing in England, by Lord Scroop, the English Warden; and then cuts short his labour of transcription by a flourish of his pen thus—"from whence she was transported, &c. &c.!"|| To cite only one instance more—after having described the conclusion of the proceedings of the Convention of York, held for the

\* *Hist.* p. 56.† *Ib.* p. 58.‡ *Ib.* 77.§ *Ib.* 89.|| *Ib.* 104.

professed purpose of considering Mary's claims, he mentions the efforts which were made by her "to stir up and encourage her friends in Scotland" by addressing a long letter to the people of Scotland from the place of her captivity; but he coolly contents himself with a notification to his readers, that it "is inserted *ad longum* in my original."\* This letter and others, he states, were intercepted by the Regent, "who was not a little astonished to see things of the secretest nature divulged."

In relation to THE AUTHORSHIP of these historical MEMOIRS, it is to be regretted that nothing which is at all definite or satisfactory can now be determined. It is by no means improbable, however, that materials may have been collected, and the original Memoirs commenced, by JOHN *fifth* LORD HERRIES, who figures most conspicuously during a considerable portion of the most troubled period of the reign of Mary Queen of Scots. We first meet with him as Sir John Maxwell of Terregles, knight, a powerful border baron, Warden of the West Marches of the Kingdom, and Justiciar within the same bounds. After his succession to the titles and estates of Herries, his efforts were distinguished, if possible, by even more uncompromising zeal and devotion to the interests of his royal mistress; and it is unquestionable that he adhered to her fortunes, during all the various vicissitudes of her singularly chequered fate, with unshaken fidelity. Reference may be made for the leading features of his character and public transactions to the various contemporary histories, especially to those which have been printed for the use of the Members of the Bannatyne Club,† to Sadler's State Papers, and Calderwood's MS. Church History.‡ In a very interesting

\* *Hist.* p. 112.      † *History of King James VI., Sir James Melville's Memoirs, Richard Bannatyne's Memorials, Diurnal of Occurrences, &c.*      ‡ Advocates' Library. This MS. has recently been completed from a copy belonging to the Church of

volume which is now preparing for the Maitland Club,\* under the editorship of Joseph Stevenson, Esquire, no very flattering character has been given of his Lordship, in a confidential letter addressed by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Secretary Cecil;† but it appears to be clear, from the following quotation, that these able statesmen equally stood in awe of his influence and abilities, and that they considered him to have been wholly incorruptible, and one who was diametrically opposed to the policy of Queen Elizabeth.

“The lord Herries ys the connyng horfleache and the wyfeste of the wholle faction; but as the quene of Scotland sayethe of hym, there ys no bodey can be fure of hym; he takethe pleafure to beare all the worlde in hande; we have good occasyon to be well ware of hym. Sir, yow remember how he handled us when he delyvered Dunfryfe, Carlaveroke, and the Harmytage, into our handes; he made us beleave all should be ours to the Fyrthe, and when wee trusted hym best, how he helped to chafe us awaye I am fure you have not forgotten. Heere amongst hys owne countreymen he ys noted to be the moost cautelous man of hys natyon. It may lyke yow to remember he suffred hys owne hostages, the hostages of the lard of Loughanver and Garles, hys nexte neyghbours and frendes, to be hanged for promessè broken by him. Thys muche I speake of hym, because he ys the lykelyest and moost dangerous man to inchaunte yow.”

A characteristic letter of Lord Herries also occurs in the above-mentioned Collection, which was addressed by him to Throckmorton, during the period of Mary's imprisonment at Lochleven, soliciting him to procure the interference of Queen Elizabeth; and it has been thought proper to insert a copy of it

Scotland; and it is understood that an Index has been prepared by the individual who was employed to make the transcript, for facilitating reference to the whole Collection.

\* *Illustrations of Scottish History*, the contribution of Kirkman Finlay, Esquire.

† August 20, 1567, from Addit. MS. 4126, No. 65, p. 282.



in this place, as it affords a curious and striking specimen of his Lordship's style, as well as of his zeal in Mary's service.

*" Letter from Lord Herries to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.\**

" MAYE YT PLEASE YOUR HONOURABLE LORDSHIP,

" UNDERSTANDINGE your lordships contynewaunce in this countreye for the helpe of the relief of our soveraigne, and pacifyinge of the present great cummers amangs us apparaunde, I haif thought yt my duetie humblye to praye your honour, gyf yow fynde any lyke apparaunce quharby our soveraigne maye be relevit, and thapparaunte trowbles with wifdome to be paeefyet, that your honour would commaunde me to serve yow theirein what I other maïy doe, or make my frendes to that effecte. And gyf your honour cannot fynde that anie good meanes nor reasonable nor honest condycions maye not relief our soveraigne out of the lordes handes, her subiectes, that nowe swa strayetlye deteinis her, that your lordship woulde commaunde your secretar to wryte me your pleasure quharrein yow binde me to serve yow. I humblye praye your honour appardoun me of fa lytle acquayntaunce and nawyse deservit, that I thus far swa trowbles yow, and speciallie in swa weightye a matter. The earnest desire that I haif to see some weile by yow wrought herein in the quenes majestie your soveraignes name, movet me to take this hardines, to requyre your lordships favorable aunswer. I desire hartelye your lordships pardon, that I come not to yow myfelfe, the cause beande bounde with a noumer of the nobyltye of this realme to seeke my soveraignes relyef may put them in suspycion gyf I come thaire for anie other purpoofe but knawyn her relief. What servyce that I can doe your honour heere, or anie parte of the realme where the lordes deteynours of her grace are not the gretteft partye, I sal be as readye as anie Scottifman of my degree; prayand theternall God and to preserve your honour, weill willinge the fame. Off Dumfries, the xxiiij of August, 1567.

" Your lordships to comaunde with all  
lefull servyce,

" HERYS."

\* From the Addit. MS. 4126, No. 67; *Illustrations*, p. 287.

It was this same remarkable nobleman who so strongly remonstrated with Mary, after her husband's murder, and implored her to abandon all thoughts of marrying Bothwell, a step which, he warned her, would inevitably redound to her own infamy and ruin. Nevertheless, he did not desert her cause after she had taken that fatal step, but he personally accompanied the Queen to Langside, and from that field, in her precipitate flight to England, first to Sanquhar, and from thence to Terregles, his principal seat, where she was sheltered for several days.\* On his failing to dissuade Mary from placing such implicit confidence in Queen Elizabeth, he embarked with her from a small creek near Dumdrennan, in Galloway; and after having landed Mary in safety at Cockermouth, in Cumberland, he posted to London with letters from his mistress to Elizabeth, and bore along with him a diamond ring which had been presented to her by Elizabeth, "in token of a sure friendship, which by her letters she desired her to keep, that if she should happen to fall in distress, the sight of that ring should be an infallible tie for Elizabeth to assist her, with all her power."†

John Lord Herries died in January 1583,‡ and was succeeded by his son WILLIAM *sic* LORD HERRIES, who also was subsequently appointed Warden of the West Marches, and Justiciar.§ In the Record of the Privy Council,|| the following entry occurs:—

\* The circumstances are minutely detailed in these *Memoirs*, p. 103.

† This is by no means a solitary instance of Elizabeth's perfidy—as witness the fate of poor Essex, who also (in common with others of her favourites) had a similar token from her, to be used in his utmost need.

‡ *Calderwood's Church History*, MS. Adv. Lib. vii. 112. This was probably January 1583–4, but the date of his death is not noted in the *Peerages*. *Wood* merely states that he died *before* May 1594 (when his son's investiture as his heir is dated).

§ June 17, 1600, apud Haliruidhous, *Acta Secr. Conc.* In the same Record, "Sir James Johnstoun of Dunskeillie, knycht," is recorded as having been appointed Warden, August 13, 1600.

|| *Acta Secr. Conc.* Sept. 15, 1599.

*“ Apud Linlithgow, xv. Septembris lxxxxix<sup>o</sup>.*

“ [SEDERUNT. Rex. Hammiltoun. Angus. Levingstoun. Neubottle. Thesaurarius. Secretarius. Clericus Justiciarie. Advocatus. Collector. Clericus Registri. Compotum Rotulator. Ceffurde. Carmichaell. Spott.]

“ The quhilk day, in presence of the Kingis Maiestie and Lordis of Secreit Counfall, compeirit personallie WILLIAME LORD HEREIS, and promeift and tuke vpoun him to mak his baill men, tennentis, and feruandis, anfuerable and obedient to iustice, alsuete be redres of complenaris as be plegeing, conforme to the lawis, Generall Band, and actis of Parliament. In consideratioun quhairof, and that Williame Erll of Angus, Lieutenant and Wardane of the West Marche, declairit and testifeit, in presence of his Maiestie and Counfall, that the said Lord Hereis had alwayis schawne him selff obedient, his Maiestie and the saidis Lordis, freithis and relevis the said Lord Hereis furth of his present warde within the Castell of Thomsptalloun, and grantis him libertie and licence to departe and pas hame at his plesour. Lyke as his Maiestie and the saidis Lordis hes statute and ordanit, that the vtheris landiflordis quha ar presentlie wardit, in default of making the lyke obedience, fall nawayis be sett at libertie quhill thai mak thair men obedient and anfuerable, be plegeing and redres of complenaris, as accordis.”

The deadly feuds which unhappily disgraced Scotland, especially during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were remarkably prevalent in the Border counties, and were handed down as heirlooms from one generation to another. One of the most fatal of these occurred between the Maxwells and the Johnstones, with whose broils, and the slaughters arising out of similar quarrels between other clans, the Criminal Records of this country abound.\* A brief entry which occurs in the Privy Council Records,† will

\* See *Pitcairn's Ancient Criminal Trials*, *Arnot*, and *Maclaurin*, *passim*.

† *Acta Secr. Conc.* March 7, 1600.

shew some of the distinguishing features of such feuds, and the lenient manner in which they were too frequently viewed by the supreme judicature of the country :—

“ *Apud Haliruidhous, septimo Martij, 1<sup>m</sup> vj<sup>e</sup>.*

“ THE quhilk day, Williame Lord Hereis Proteffit, that albeit he, at the speciall command of the Kingis Maiestie, and for a testimony of his obedience to his Maiestie, in respect he haldis his landis and all that he hes of his hienes, hes subferyuit ane Submissioun betuix him and the Laird of Johnestoun, for his awne ffeid and quarrell: That nochtwithstanding, he nicht referue his dewtie of blude and freindschip to the Lord Maxuell; and that the subferyveing of the said Submissioun fould be na preiudice thairvnto. Quhilk Protestatioun his Maiestie admittit.”

JOHN *seventh* LORD HERRIES succeeded his father William, who died October 10, 1604.\* Of his public transactions little information has been gleaned; but the feuds of his ancestors appear to have descended to him in full force. A letter addressed by his Lordship to King James VI. is preserved in the Denmylne collection of MSS.,† which has likewise been considered sufficiently curious to merit insertion.

“ *Letter from John Seventh Lord Herries to King James VI.*

“ MOST SACREIT AND GRATIOUS SOUERANE,

“ HAVING bein att the Bothe, and now vpon jorney home, I do most humblie intreitt your majesties pardoune thatt att this tyme I do nocht kis your hines hand. Iff itt be your majesties plifour to inquyr, this gentilman, the beirrer of this letter, will trewlie declair all accidents and the present estaitt of our pairts of your hines impyr.

“ It will pleis [your] majestie, thair is too lawles fellouis yitt leving

\* *Wood's Peerage*, II. 320.

† *Sir James Balfour's MSS. Adv. Lib.*

into Ingland, quho ar gilltie of the flawchter of my vncle, the Provest of Drummfreis. As your majestie has ever bein willing to haive that murdour persecute, and all vikettines quhamsumeuier supprellitt, so now do I most humblie intreitt your hines letteris to Sir Wilzame Phenuik, Sir Wilzame Selbie, and to the Bischop of Kairlell for apprehending thos too fugittiss and bludie limberis; and being apprehenditt to be sent in Scotland to ressaitt their punichment wher the murdour wes committed. Thair nains ar Fergus Ghrame callitt ‘the plump,’ and David Jonstoune callitt ‘skal-litt Davie.’ If thair be ony thing quherin I kan do your hines servie, I do expec your majesties imploymente, quhervnto I schall carrie most respec than to my awin cheiffest blude. Most humblie kissing your hines hand, I tak my leif; and rittis, etc.

“ Your majesties most faithfulle

“ Oxfurde, 30 of

and humble servitour,

“ Maij, 1608.

HEREIS.

“ To his most excellent Majestie.”

JOHN *eighth* LORD HERRIES, who, it must be admitted, was indisputably at least the continuator, if he cannot be proved to have been the author, of the original Memoirs, succeeded his father, who is conjectured by *Wood* to have died about 1627.\* In the year 1667 he succeeded to the Earldom of Nithsdale, and the Lordship of Maxwell, which were added to his paternal estates and title of Herries,† &c. The history of this nobleman, and the misfortunes of his descendants, who were all zealous adherents of the House of Stuart, are too well known, as matter of public history, to require any further remark. Some plausible arguments might be urged for his having been the author of these Memoirs; but as it must be confessed that the subject is still involved in considerable doubt and obscurity, the reader is

\* *Wood's Peerage*, II. 320.

† *Ib.*

left to draw his own conclusions from the brief outline of circumstances above set down.

With respect to the great repository of historical Collections and Records, in which the original MS. of these Memoirs was deposited by Lord Herries, it seems to be but too probable, indeed it may now be asserted to be absolutely certain, that nearly the whole of the invaluable MSS., books, &c. belonging to the SCOTS COLLEGE AT DOUAY, in Flanders, perished by fire and depredation during the period of the French Revolution. The only authentic accounts which the Editor has hitherto met with, in relation to the foundation and endowment of that religious establishment, are to be found in *Dodd's* (Roman Catholic) "Church History of England,"\* and in *Butler's* "Memoirs of English, Irish, and Scottish (Roman) Catholics, since the Reformation;"† and to these works the reader is referred. After some pretty careful and extended research, in relation to the Collections of MSS. and historical materials which had been amassed at the Scots Colleges of Douay and Paris, the Editor has at length satisfied himself (notwithstanding the great obscurity which, it must be confessed, still necessarily hangs over all details relating to the plundering and destruction of Records, MSS., &c. during the fury of the French Revolution, and especially those belonging to Religious Houses,) that almost the whole collection of MSS. at Douay irrecoverably perished at that time. The Editor has not been able to discover, in any of the numerous Continental Me-

\* 3 Vols. folio, *Brussels*, 1737, l. 14, &c. This work is of extreme rarity. It was in reality printed at Sherborn, but the printer and author, in dread of prosecution, affixed the fictitious imprint "Brussels," and the copies were surreptitiously circulated among the Roman Catholics of that period. The work has been sold for very high prices. In a recent sale catalogue a copy is priced at L.17, 17s. There is a fine set of this book in the Signet Library, Edinburgh.

† 4 Vols. 8vo, *London*, 1822, l. 313, &c.

moirs relative to the period of the Revolution, any trace of the destruction of the Douay MSS.; but in that valuable historical and antiquarian repertory, the *Gentleman's Magazine*,\* a short sketch is given by a correspondent of the state of the Scots College there, which is accompanied by a small circular engraved view of the garden-front of the building. It is there stated, that the inmates were forcibly expelled at the Revolution; and that the building and extensive grounds on which it stands were sold to a person from St Quintains, who also purchased the English monks' fine College in the same town, and the great or metropolitan Church of Cambray. Nothing, however, is detailed by the person who communicates this information in relation to its literary treasures.

No traces whatever can now be found regarding the fate of the valuable and extensive Library of printed books and MSS., in which last department the College of Douay is understood to have been peculiarly rich. In hopes that some notices relative to these historical Collections, and their fate, might still be preserved in the British Museum, inquiries have been made there by the Editor's friend Joseph Stevenson, Esquire, on his solicitation, but hitherto without success. It has only been discovered that the town of Douay still possesses a considerable public Library;† but after having searched the contents of the printed Catalogue, it turns out that no Scottish, or other historical MSS. whatever, have been preserved in that great national collection. We may therefore reasonably infer, that had any of the more valuable books and MSS. been saved from destruc-

\* *Gent. Mag.* for 1796, p. 897.

† Inventaire des Livres de la Bibliothèque Publique de la Ville de Douai, fait en 1805 par ordre de M. Defriest de Quartdeville, maire; continué par ordre des successeurs, jusqu'au 1<sup>er</sup> Avril 1820. Quarto, *Douai*, 1820.



tion, at the sacking of the College during the Revolution, at least some portions of them would have found their way into the Public Library of the town, either by means of donations, purchases, or bequests. No vestige, however, can be had of the existence of any such documents; and those of the Editor's friends who have made inquiries on the spot have stated that they were unable to discover anything farther, than that the MSS. and printed Collections belonging to the Scots College at Donay were understood to have been very large and valuable; and that it was most probable that the whole of them must have perished, by fire or otherwise, during the French Revolution.

Considerable obscurity also hangs over the fate of the MSS. which belonged to the SCOTS COLLEGE AT PARIS, but the Editor has better hopes of some considerable portion of that Collection having been saved, previous to the sacking of the place by the populace during the French Revolution. There is no doubt whatever that some parts of the Collection are still in existence, for it is known that not only did the members of that institution succeed in carrying off a considerable quantity of whatever was portable, and not particularly liable to observation, but many of the unfortunate persons who had been confined as prisoners in the College made no scruple at appropriating whatever they could lay their hands on, to prevent the total destruction of the Collection by the infuriated rabble. During a short residence in Paris, in October 1832, the Editor attempted to trace some of these documents to the public Collections of the Royal and Mazarine Libraries, but without effect. The accounts which he was then enabled to collect were of the most unsatisfactory and contradictory nature; and it unfortunately happened that at that time the whole of the Royal Library was in the course of undergoing



a thorough painting, and other repairs. He was also informed that none of the principal librarians were then resident in Paris, nor could access be procured to the Catalogues of MSS. &c., the book-cases having been barricadoed and matted up during the whole time of the repairs.

Fox, in his Historical work,\* has given the result of his own inquiries after the MSS. which belonged to the Scots College at Paris, in so far at least as related to the MSS. deposited there by King James II., two copies of whose History were known to have been preserved there; one in the King's own hand, and the other supposed to have been compiled by Thomas Innes, one of the Superiors of the College, and author of the Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland.† The late intelligent and learned Roman Catholic Bishop at Edinburgh, Dr Alexander Cameron, stated, in a communication to Lord Holland,‡ that Lord Gower, the British Ambassador, before he left Paris in the beginning of the French Revolution, wrote to Principal Gordon of the Scots College at Paris, offering to take charge of King James's MSS. &c. and to deposit them in some place of safety, in Britain; but that, so far as he knew, no steps appeared to have been taken in the matter.§ When Principal Gordon came to England, the care of the College devolved on Mr Alexander Innes, the only British subject who then remained in it. "About the same

\* *Fox's Hist. James II.* Lond. 1808, pp. xxv. xxxi.

† *Fox's Hist.* p. xxvi. He was Sub-Principal in 1734, *Edin. Review*, xxvi. 410, &c.

‡ See his Prefatory Address to the Reader.

§ It afterwards turned out that Principal Gordon refused to deliver the papers to the care of the British Ambassador, unless Lord Gower would undertake to remove the Plate, &c. belonging to the College, in safety; but as that step might have led to the detention of the embassy, and perhaps have endangered the safety of British subjects, this condition was declined.—See *Edin. Review*, xxvi. 407. Principal Gordon afterwards contradicted this statement, in a notice published in the same Review.—*Ib.* xxviii. 260.

time, Mr Stapleton, then President of the English College of St Omer, afterwards bishop in England, went to Paris previous to his retiring from France; and Mr Innes, who had resolved not to abandon his post, consulted with him about the means of preserving the manuscripts. Mr Stapleton thought, if he had them at St Omer, he could with small risk convey them to England. It was therefore resolved that they should be carefully packed up, addressed to a Frenchman, a confidential friend of Mr Stapleton,\* and remitted by some public carriage. Some other things were put up with the manuscripts. The whole arrived without any accident, and were laid in a cellar. But the patriotism of the Frenchman becoming suspicious, perhaps on account of his connexion with the English College, he was put in prison; and his wife, apprehensive of the consequences of being found to have English manuscripts, richly bound and ornamented with Royal arms, in her house, cut off the boards and destroyed them. The manuscripts thus disfigured, and more easily huddled up in a sort of bundle, were secretly carried, with papers belonging to the Frenchman himself, to his country-house, and buried in the garden. They were not, however, permitted to remain long there. The lady's fears increased, and the manuscripts were taken up and reduced to ashes."†

Reference may also be made to the Rev. J. S. Clarke's "Life of James the Second, collected out of a Memoirs writ of his own hand," &c. which was published from the original Stuart MSS. then in Carlton House.‡

\* Mons. Charpantier, whose country-house was at St Momelin, near St Omer.

† *Fox's Hist.* xxviii. xxxi. *Edin. Review*, xii. 281, 282. Bishop Cameron states this to have been the substance of the account given to Mr Innes, and reported by him to the Bishop when in Paris, in June 1802.

‡ *Clarke's Life of James II.* 2 vols. quarto. Lond. 1816.

Lord Holland, in his Prefatory Address to the Reader, prefixed to *Fox's History of King James II.*\* states, that

“ Among Mr Fox's Papers were found a List of ‘ the works which were placed in the Scotch College at Paris soon after the death of James the Second, and were there at the time of the French Revolution.’ It is as follows :

|                          |   |   |
|--------------------------|---|---|
| Four volumes folio,      | { | Memoirs in James the Second's own handwriting, beginning from the time that he was fourteen years of age.                                   |
| six volumes quarto.      |   |   |
| Two thin quarto volumes. | { | Containing Letters from Charles the Second's Ministers to James the Second (then Duke of York) when he was at Brussels and in Scotland, MS. |
| Two thin quarto volumes. |   | Containing Letters from Charles the Second to his brother, James Duke of York, MS.”   |

The following remarkable paper was communicated to the Editor by his friend James Maidment, Esquire, Advocate, and as it seems to be so singularly curious, and so very minute in some of its details, the Editor cannot refrain from inserting it at length in this place.

*LETTER from a Scots Gentleman to a Friend in Edinburgh, giving an account of the MSS. which were then in the Scots College at Paris; dated Paris, September 23, 1716, N. S.*

“ I was yesterday for four or five hours clofed in the Scots College in this place, together with a very learned antiquary and keeper of the Records and Library. Understanding that I was remitted to my study of the law, he produced all their old writts on the table ; and first, we read ane old chartour granted by Robert II., which is without doubt a clear solution of the debate concerning his marriage. The writt contains a donation of severall lands near to Hamilton, in favours of a Chappele founded in memory of his beloved spouse, Elizabethe More, ‘ *dum in humanis agetur* ;’ and, indeed, the whole stile of the chartour runs with the

\* *Fox's Hist. of King James II.* Lond. 1808, p. xxv.

outmost love and respect to her memory. This chartour is dated, very distinctly, 1363. One Oliphant, Lindfay, and severalls more, insert as witnesss, ten years before he was married to Eupham Rofs; nor do I see the least ground of suspition in this writt. It is writt very clear, all in contractions usuall in those days, but no such affected antiquity as very probably a forgerer would have used. The sealls are distinct, the first arms of the family of the Stewarts, sett in its ordinary way, and no supporters; the inscription ‘*Robertus Rex Scotorum*.’ The other seal is not so distinct, but represents the same arms in a shield sett angularly, or like a lozen (excuse my ignorance of heraldry), with a horse issuing from the angle of the crest, and no motto. The parchment is very finall, and only seven or eight lines in the whole, in a chancery hand. It has the word ‘*guarantizare*’ in the clause of warrandice. The next proof of this affair shewn to me was a chartour granted by King Robert of severall lands in the diocefs of Glasgow, containing these words:—‘*Tesibus Roberto filio nostro primogenito et heredi, Senescallo Scotiæ*.’ and dated in the year 1371, about three years before his second marriage. It’s true, slanderers will not allow this to be demonstrative, becaufe his legitimation might occasion this title; but the former chartour proving the marriage, joynd with this, will corroborat the matter, and make it as evident as the sun at mid-day. This chartour was never controverted; and truly, by comparing, I think the writer is the same with the former, though it be in larger characters, and not so many contractions: The seall is larger, but the same stamp and subscription. This production may suffice to your conviction to conclude the improbation.

“ The next production was a currency of chartours, from Alexander, Malcom Kennure’s son, to the end of Robert Bruce’s reign; for they have none in Malcom’s days. I think they are 13 or 14 in number; all of them belonging to the archbishoprick of Glasgow, and containing lands granted to the severall Bishops. The oldest is very musty, finall, but still legible, containing the lands of Cadyou. The sealls varys: some finall, but most of them large, with the King on horseback on the one side, and his effigies on the other, with the continuall motto, ‘*Rex Scotorum*.’ But in John Baliol’s time they have one chartour, and no more in his days, with

this infeription, '*Joh: Rex Scotice,*' as well as his . . . . . the chartour. But Robert Bruce foon changed '*Joh,* . . . . . novelty and in the first chartour I saw granted by him, when he was lurking in the hills, he is designed '*Rex Scotorum.*' It is the only one that wants a seall and writt in confusion amoungst all this collection; but in another, which is one year after Bannockburne, the seall is magnificent. He is on the one side sitting in a chair of state, with a globe in one hand and sword in the other; the motto '*Robertus Rex. Deo Rectore.*' His countenance is full and lively. On the other side he is on horseback, trampling under foott his enemies; the motto '*Scotorum Rex. Hostium Terror.*' The two chartours together is an embleme of the world. I suppose it will be needles to enlarge on the severall other chartours, writt distinctly, and fine sealls; especially that in King David's time.

"Nixt, I saw a notoriall instrument, or rather the contract in King James the First's days, when he was prisoner, with the acknowledgement of the King and Parliament in England that they had no right or title to the crowne. This is signed by three nottars and three instruments. It was at the time of his liberation, but I do not think it matteriall or valuable, if true. What I saw nixt was a very great collection of original Letters writt by Queen Mary; with her Testament, writt the day before she was murdered; and her codicill, the same day, in the morning. The writt is large, but not good. The Testament contains severall donations to her servants; as well the codicill, with a declaration of her faith, signed '*MARY.*' Her letters are to the Duke of Guise, and severall other persons of distinction, in France; and many to the Bishop of Glasgowe, all in French; and many to the Earls of Argyle and Atholl, in one of which she expostulates with Argyle, in pathetic terms, that her son may not be delivered to the English, of which she was afraid; puts him in mind of the loyalty of her ancestors, and bounty of her predecessors to his family. The other to Atholl is very delicat, and solid sense, writt the same day with Argyle's; she says that she has writt to Argyle, and concludes that if both the familys continued loyall and dutifull to the Crowne, there was no fear of either enemies abroad or parties at home. Most of them signed '*MARIE, REINE.*' In one of her letters, when she was prisoner in

England, she bewails her misfortunes, and thus she wept at writing; and indeed the paper is spoiled a little, with a small blank of three or four words. I saw one from Lochleven, when she was prisoner, which made myself tear at reading.

“ There is a collection of originall Letters and writts from 1568 to 1580, of thirteen volumes in folio, very necessary for a history. I cannot insert them in a letter; and severalls in King Charles’ time. Next, I saw a collection of Letters, Journals, and many other Papers, in four volumes in folio, finely bound, all writt by the late King James; \* beginning about the time of his father’s imprisonment (with severall letters from his father to him), continued to 1698. They are very pointed, when he was in the army under Turrane’s command; and, generally, very handsomely done, though not so well writt as his father’s, whose writt is very fine.

“ There was a large book shoven next, writt extreemly fine, with various collours on parchment, and many figures, as the seasons of every moneth, and country affairs in every moneth in the kalendar. It has belonged to some Religious House of those days, with abundance of legends, and other ridiculous fables. It bears itself writt in 1431; but it is so very fine I cannot but suspect it.

“ I saw, lastly, a manuscript of Fordon, with R. Bruce’s Testament. It is all writt by himself, with some lines discovering, by every first letter of the line, his name. The writt is good, and on parchment. As to the Library here, there is nothing extraordinary in it, and but few books of value.”

In the absence of more minute information relative to the Scots College at Paris, an eye-witness having communicated to the *Gentleman’s Magazine*† some very interesting particulars, the following brief extract is now made from that useful work:—

“ It was decreed, during our abode at the Scotch College, that the books

\* This has evidently been either the original, or duplicate copies, of the same series of historical collections which had been deposited by King James II. in charge of the Scots College at Douay.

† *Gent. Mag.* Nov. 1798, lxxviii. part ii. 937. Letter by an Eye-witness.

in the Library should be disposed of. The Goths, who had the superintendence of this business, knew so little of their value, that the most valuable MSS. were sold by the quintal, or burnt. Many of the prisoners pilfered (if I may use the expression) in the wreck. Mr Hartman Hartenberg found a box containing several Papers, in each of which was a lock of the hair of one of the Scotch Royal Family. There was one of each of the Stuarts, with a small Latin inscription indicating to whom it had belonged," &c.

It is with mingled feelings of anxiety and pleasure, that the Editor has to announce an unexpected, but very interesting article of intelligence, recorded in the fleeting pages of an Edinburgh Newspaper, which he likewise met with in the course of prosecuting the present enquiries.\* At the period of the French Revolution, the superiors of the Scots College actually seem to have been in treaty with the Trustees of the British Museum for the sale of the Manuscripts and literary reliques belonging to that national institution. This newspaper notice is communicated in a manner so very brief, vague, and tantalizing, that the cause of that negotiation having been interrupted, or entirely broken off, can now be only surmised. It is in the following terms:—"The curious Manuscripts in the possession of the Scotch College at Paris will be a most valuable and interesting addition to the treasures of the BRITISH MUSEUM."†

During a recent visit of the Editor to London, Sir Henry Ellis and Mr Forshall, at his request, politely examined the correspondence and minutes of the Museum, but he regrets to say, that no traces of such a negotiation can now be found among the documents in the possession of the present trustees. He has also searched a variety of magazines and periodicals of that

\* The paragraph was pointed out to the Editor by James Maidment, Esq. Advocate.

† *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, Nov. 1, 1790.

period, but has not hitherto succeeded in obtaining any additional information on this subject.

While, on the one hand, it appears to be clear that a considerable part of the Library, MSS., and furniture of the Scots College were burnt or plundered, yet the above letter from an eye-witness would lead us naturally to infer, that if “the most valuable MSS. were sold by the quintal,” a very considerable portion of these documents must still be somewhere extant in France, Holland, or the Low Countries. Many of them are likely to have long since found their way to Great Britain, where the most obvious and readiest market existed for the sale of such Documents, shortly after or during the French Revolution; and it is not improbable that some of these purchasers “by the quintal” may have been wise enough to make offer of their wares to the British Museum. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted, if the seller did not happen to be in this country with his MSS. at the time the offer was made, it is possible that he may have lost his life during the tumults of that unhappy time; and if so, his MSS. having fallen into the hands of ignorant persons, the secret of their value would most probably have perished with him.

After having searched many of the voluminous collections of the Revolutionary Memoirs, without finding any special mention made of the Scottish Colleges of Douay and Paris, the Editor, in the meantime, feels perfectly satisfied that, although there appears to him to be a very strong probability that nearly all the MS. collections of the former establishment have been irretrievably lost, or perished during the French Revolution, yet that a very considerable portion of the latter do still exist; and he confidently hopes that eventually they may be made available to the public.



In the progress of the various investigations which the Editor has been induced to make from time to time, in relation to the Scottish Colleges of Paris and Douay, he has met with some curious papers as to the original foundation of the former, which have been deemed of sufficient importance, in connexion with these Memoirs, to merit insertion in this place.

I. PREMIERE *Fondation du College des Ecoffois.*\*

KAROLUS Dei gratiâ Francorum et Navarre Rex ; universis presentes litteras inspecturis, salutem. Notum facimus nos infraSCRIPTAS vidisse litteras, quarum tenor sequitur in hec verba :—

“ A TOUS CEUX qui ces lettres verront, Hugues de Crufy garde de la prevosté de Paris, salut. Nous faisons à sçavoir que pardevant nous vindrent en leurs propres personnes, en jugement noble homme Ancel de Mortery escuyer et damoiselle Jehanne sa femme. Distrent et affermerent en droict que eux, tant du propre heritage dudiect Ancel, comme de leur conquest, ils avoient et possésoient en franc aluef, et à eux seuls et pour le tout appartenoient les heritaiges qui s'enfuivent, assis à Grify près de Braie-comte-Robert, en terrouer de Grify et ès environs : c'est assavoir un hôtel ou manoir que l'en appelle la Fermete, assis en ladiète ville de Grify devant le moustier, s'y comme il se comporte et estend, jusques aux bournes qui sont ou jardin, et sy comme icelles bournes se comportent, tenant d'une part au chemin devant le moustier, et d'autre à iceluy chemin devant le moustier, et aboutist par derriere ausdiects Ancel de Mortery et damoiselle Jehanne sa femme. De rechef six vingts arpens de terres arables ou environ, assis en plusieurs pieces ou terrouer de Gryfy : cest à sçavoir un arpent et trois perches de terre ou environ, assis au champ qu'on dit aux Maros, tenant d'une part, &c. Item, deux arpens et 14. perches de terre et 23. perches de marchais ou environ.

\* “ *Buleus* (Cæsar Egassius).—*Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, a Carolo Imperatore usque ad annum 1600—6 vols. folio. A work of extreme rarity.”—*Watts' Biblioth. Brit.* I. 167. Vol. v. “ *Preuves et pieces justificatives*,” an. 1326, fol. 631.

allis, &c. . . . . Item douze arpens et demy et vingt verges de pré allis au terrouer de Gryfy, et environ en plusieurs pieces: c'est à feavoir trois quartiers et trois perches de pré ou environ allis, &c. Lefquieux maison ou manoir, fy comme il se comporte et estend de toutes parts dedans les bones et metes dessusdictes, avecques tous les droiëts, veüs, agours, aifances, appartenances et appendances audict hostel ou manoir fy comme bournez et limitez est entre les bones qui sont audict jardin appartenans, avec les dictz 120. arpens de terre, 12. arpens et demy, et 20. perches de prez ou environ, et tous les profits et esmolumens de ces choses et de chacune d'icelles, les dessus nommez Ancel de Mortery es-cuyer et damoiselle Jehanne sa femme pour ce presens en jugement pardevant nous, attendans et considerans que chacun est tenu naturellement de veiller et estre curieux à faire honestement et procurer son profit, mesement quand il en est requis, si comme eux en cette partie ont esté des gens de reverent pere en Dieu monseigneur DAVID par la grace de Dieu EVESQUE DE MOREVVE EN ESCOSSE, qui pour la bonne devotion que il a (si comme l'en dit) de fonder et instituer perpetuellement une quantité de povres escoliers de son diët eveché à Paris, en l'hostel que fonda reverent pere en Dieu monseigneur Jehan le Moyne jadis Cardinal (que Dieu abfoille) le lez l'hostel des Bons enfans, lequel hostel fondé dudiët Cardinal l'on appelle l'hostel de Chardonnay, pour apprendre et pourfiter illeèques en science, les avoient requis et faiët amonester par plusieurs fois de vendre et delaissier les choses dessus declarées pour le perpetuel vivre desdicts pauvres escoliers dudiët eveché de Moreve instituez et à instituer audict hostel dudiët Cardinal, de leur bonne volonte, de certaine science et de leur commun accort et assentement, et pour leur grant profit cler et evident, eüé sur ce grand deliberation et diligent conseil de leurs amis et allins et de plusieurs bons et feables personnes en ce faiges et congnoissans, si comme ils deïoient, recognurent et confesserent en droiët eux au nom de eux au nom de eux et de leurs hoirs et de chacun de eux principalement par foy et pour le tout, et mesinement ladiete damoiselle Jehanne de l'auctorité dudiët Ancel son mary à elle de luy donnée sollempnelment et souffizamment en jugement pardevant nous, avoir vendu, et en nom de pure, simple et perpetuelle vent irrevocable quitté, oëtroyé

et delaiffé perpetuellement et hereditablement à toufjours aus devant ditz efcoliers intituez et à instituer audiet hostel dudiect Cardinal à Paris, nez et à neftre dudiect evefchié de Moreve en Efcoffe et a leurs fueceffeurs : c'eft à fçavoir pour le prix de mil livres de bous parifis petits, que lefdièts vendeurs en confeffèrent avoir eu et receu avant la confection de ces lettres oudièct reverent pere monsieur Danid Evefque de Moreve, par les mains de honorable homme et diferet M. Adam Herert treforier de l'eglise de Moreve, en bonne monnoye bien comptée et nombrée et ja mife, tournée et convertie entierement en leur profit commun, fi comme ils defoient, et l'en tinrent entierement et a plain pour bien payez pardevant nous. Et d'icelles mil livres de parifis lefdièts vendeurs et chacun d'eux pour le tout avec l'auctorité deffus declarée quitterent à toufjours lefdièts Evefque, treforier, efcoliers et les choses deffus nommées vendues, fi comme dièct eft : transportans, mettans, ceffans, quittans et du tout en tout delaiffans dès ores en droièct perpetuellement et hereditablement lefdièts vendeurs et chacun d'eux par foy et pour le tout, avec l'auctorité deffus declarée esdièts efcoliers et en leurs fueceffeurs tout le droièct, propriété, faifine, poffeffion, et toute l'aètion reelle, perfonelle, mixte, directe, leuè, exprefle et tout aultre que ils avoient, pouvoient, devoient, entendoient et attendoient à avoir en toutes les choses deffus vendues et fpecificées et en chacune d'icelles, et en tous les profits et emoluments d'icelles, et de chafcune d'elles, fans aucune chose excepter, retenir y ne reclamer d'orefen avant. Et promiftrent lefdièts vendeurs et chafcun d'eux par foy et pour le tout avec l'auctorité deffus declarée, au nom de eux et de leurs hoirs, par les foiz de leurs corps donnez corporellement en noffre main, et par leurs fermens faièts aux fainètes Evangiles de Dieu corporellement touchiez pardevant nous, que contre cette vente, quittance, ceffion, transport et delaiffement ne contre aucune des choses devant diètes ne vendront ne venir fouffriront à nul jour ou temps à venir par droièct de heritage, par raifon de conqueft, de douaire, de fon faièct pour nopces, de fueceffion, d'efchoite, de decevance par aucun art, engin, cautelle ; par aucun droièct quel que il foit, commun ou efpecial, ne autrement ; ainçois auxdièts efcoliers et à leurs fueceffeurs dudiect evefchié de Moreve intituez et à instituer audiet hostel dudiect Cardinal de Chardon-nay à Paris les heritages deffusdièts, à la charge de la dixme accoustumée

desdicts heritaiges tant seulement, avec tous les profits, exploitz et émolumens d'iceux et de chascun d'iceux franchises, quittes et delivrez de toutes autres charges, servitudes, redevances, rachatz, reliefs, quins-deniers, debtes, obligations, arrerages, troubles, empeschemens garentiront, delivreront et defendront chascun de eux principalement par foy et pour le tout o l'auctorité devant declarée, envers tous et contre tous, en jugement et hors jugement, toutes fois et quantes fois que mestiers en fera, et que eux ou l'un de eux en feront ou sera requis, à leurs propres coultz, perils, frais et despens, et à rendre et payer chascun d'eux principalement par foy et pour le tout paisiblement et a plein, o l'auctorité dessus declarée, deux cens livres parisis pour le quint denier en nom de paine audict evesque, aux escoliers ou au porteur de ces lettres pour eux, se ladiète vente estoit retraite ou eüe d'aucun en tout ou en partie; et ladiète paine voldrent encouurre toutes fois ce feroit faict, et avec ce tous couds, despens depers, dommages, journées et interests, ausdicts evesque et escoliers ou au porteur de ces lettres pour eux, qui faiz et encouruz feroient par defsaute de garentie, dont ils promistrent à croire le porteur de ces lettres par son simple serment, sans charge d'autre preuve faire, et sans autre taxation, declairation ny amenuisement de juger, demander ne avoir: non contrestant aucun droict, us ou coustume, ne aucune aultre chose qui a ce pourroit estre contraire. Et quant à toutes les choses defussdictes et chascune d'icelles faire tenir, garentir payer, accomplir, enteriner et à non venir encontre, lesdicts vendeurs et chascun d'eux par foy et pour le tout, o l'auctorité dessusdictle, ont obligé et soubmis du tout en tout à la jurisdiction de la prevostle de Paris, sans autre juge, court ne seigneur advoer ne requere, par especial et pour especial gaige et contreplaige toute leur terre quils ont à Mincy lez Meleun, tenu en fié de Pierre Bourdon esenyer, et tous les pourfuitz exploiz et emolumenz d'icelle terre, et avec ce eux et chascun de eux principalement par foy et pour le tout, leurs hoirs, tous leurs biens et de leurs hoirs meubles et non meubles, presens et à venir, tout pour prendre, saisir, arrester, vendre, et despendre à tel marchié telle vente, à la requeste du porteur de ces lettres, par le prevost de Paris et par toutes autres justices sous quelque jurisdiction qu'ils soient trouvez et pourront estre trouvez, pour ces lettres du tout enteriner sans demander ne avoir nulz quatorzaine, quarantaine ne aucun

aultre chose qui à ce pourroit estre contraire. Et renoncierent en ce faicēt lesdicts vendeurs, et ladiēte damoiselle de l'auctorité dessusdictē, par leursdicts foy et serment, à ladiēte vente et aux choses dessusdictes non avoir esté faictes d'eux, si comme dict est dessus, à ce qu'ilz puissent dire eux avoir esté ou estre en cette vente deceus, faissant outre la moitié de juste prix, ou en aucune chose ou benefice de restitution enteriné à action en faicēt, à convention de lieu et de juge, ausdictes mil livres de parisis, non eniēs et non receus, non comptées, non nombrées, non mises, non tournées ou non converties entierement en leur prouficiēt, et à toute coustumes, usaiges et establissemens de pays et de lieu, à la copie de ces lettres, a demande et tradition de libelle ladiēte damoiselle Jehanne de l'auctorité dessusdictē à elle donnée, si comme dict est dessus, ou droiciēt que dict que alienation des biens aux femmes ne peut ni ne doibt estre faicēt, a tout douaire, à dont faicēt pour nous, au benefice du senat-consult Vellayan, qui ly fut exposé et faicēt entendre en François, et à tout aultre droiciēt introduict en la faveur des femmes, à toutes autres exceptions, deceptions, de mal, de fraude, de barat et de tricherie, à tout et de faicēt, de droiciēt, de us et de coustume, parquoy il pourroient venir contre la teneur de ces lettres, et au droiciēt disant general renonciation il voudrent et accordierent que toutes especiaulz necessaires et proufitables renonciations pour la confirmation de cette vente soient entendues et comprises, mesmement comme par eulx demeure qu'elles ne sont escriptes. Et jurerent sus sains Evangiles d'abondant touchées à non venir, procurer ni faire venir contre la teneur de ces lettres. Ex temoins de ce nous à la requeste desdicts vendeurs avons mis en ces lettres le sel de la prevosté de Paris. Ce fu faicēt et accordé en l'an de grace mil trois cens vint-cine, le Vendredy derrenier jour du mois de Febvrier."

NOS AUTEM prefati Episcopi de Moreve in Scotia laudabilem affectionem, quam ipsum in hiis habere cernimus, in Domino commendantes, ut in ejus et dictorum scolarum sue diocesis per eum in studio Paris. fundatorum, ut prefertur, bonis operibus effici mereamur participes, emptionem rerum predictarum, que, prout per informationem de mandato nostro factam compertum extitit, site sunt in Franco alodio, et solum circa

quinquaginta libras par. annui redditûs valere noscuntur, omnia que alia et singula in prescriptis contenta litteris, volumus, laudamus, approbamus et nostra auctoritate regiâ tenore presentium confirmamus; volentes et concedentes expresse quod dicti scolares qui nunc sunt et erunt pro tempore, premissa omnia teneant, habeant et possideant perpetuo pacificè, libère et quietè, absque coactione vendendi vel extra manum suam ponendi, aut prestandi nobis seu quibuscvis successoribus nostris financiam propter hoc qualemcumque. Que ut perpetuæ firmitatis robur obtineant, presentes litteras appensione sigilli nostri fecimus communiri, nostro in aliis et alieno in omnibus jure salvo. Actum apud Espiers, anno Domini m.ccc.xxvi. mense Augusti. *Signé sur le reply*: Per dominum Regem, vobis presentibus, ad relationem domini Daude TESSON. *A côté est écrit*: Facta est collatio; *et au dos*: Registrata est. *Et jecté sur double queue en lacs de foye rouge et vert du grand sceau de cire verte.* Pris sur une copie collationnée à l'original en parchemin le 6. May 1639. pardevant Mazzeau et Maret, notaires.

II. TRANSACTION entre les Maîtres et Escoliers du College du Cardinal le Moine et ceux du College des Ecoffois.\*

(Tire des archives du College des Escossois.)

A tous ceux qui ces presentes lettres verront et orront, Jehan de Milon garde de la prevosté de Paris, salut. Sachent tous que pardevant Jehan de Montfreart et Jehan de Bussy cleres, notaires jurez establis de par nostre seigneur le Roy ou chastelet de Paris, auxquez nous adjoutons plaine foy en ce cas et en plus grant, et especialement de par nous et en lieu de nous commis et envoyez quant aux choses qui f'eussivent oir et feablement rapporter, furent personellement establiz honorables personnes fages et discrettes maistre Symon de Mauvailliez maistre en divinité, et maistre de l'HOSTEL des escoliers de bonne memoire le CARDINAL LE MOINE, que Dieu aboille, maistre Jehan Huirel prieur dudict hostel, maistre Jehan Dourouer bachelier en divinité, maistre Pierre de Ergnies,

\* *Bulæus*, Hist. Univ. Par. v. 634, "Preuves," ad an. 1333.

maître Jehan de Ouchié, maître Raoul Gaehart, maître Jehan de Sars, maître Guillaume de Franleux, tous maîtres en la faculté des arts, faisant et representant la plus grant partie et la plus saine des escolliers dudiect hostel. Lesquiez maîtres muz d'un mesme accord, et assentement, tant en leurs propres noms, comme ou nom de leurs compagnons absentez, et de leurs bonnes volonteiz et de certaine science, sans force et sans contrainte, meuz à ce de bonne foy, quitterent, recognurent et confessèrent pardevant lesdits notaires jurez, eux avoir quitté, octroyé, cédé et transporté, et du tout en tout delaisié a touzjours perpetuellement à reverent pere monseigneur JEHAN par la grace de Dieu EVESQUE DE MORREF en Escosse, à ses successeurs et a tous ceulx qui de luy auront eues, tout le droit, action, propriété, possession, fief et seigneurie que iceulx maîtres et escolliers avoient, avoir pouvoient et devoient et entendoient à avoir comment et par quelconque cause tiltre, droit ou raison que ce soit ou fust, sans rien excepter, retenir ou reclamer d'ores en avant, es heritaiges et possessions cyaprès nommez, declairiez et divisiez, seantz et estant en plusieurs pieces et divers lieux en la ville et ou terrouer de Grify de lez Braye-le-compte-Robert, lesquiez furent Ancel de Mortery escuyer et damoiselle Jehanne sa femme, en franc alleu; premierement, un hôtel ou manoir, si comme il se comporte et estend de toutes parts jusq'aux bones qui sont ou jardin . . . . . lequel hostel ou manoir est appelé la Fermeté, seant en ladiète ville de Grify devant le moustier, tenant dune part au chemin devant le moustier, et aboutit par derriere et damoiselle Jehanne sa femme. Derechief 120. arpens de terre arables ou environ assis en plusieurs pieces et divers lieux oudièct terrouer de Grify: c'est assavoir un arpent et trois perches &c. . . . . Tous lesquiez heritaiges et possessions dessus nommez et divisez avoient esté achetez des propres deniers de bonne memoire feu monseigneur David jadis par la grace de Dieu évesque dudièct éveschié de Morref, pour fonder et instituer certains escoliers de son éveschié preudes hommes à Paris en l'hostel et en la compagnie desdits maîtres et escolliers: c'est assavoir pour ce que iceulx maîtres ne vouloient pas recevoir avec eulx quatre escoliers, l'un en theologie et les trois en la faculté des ars pour lesdits heritaiges et possessions, qui ne valloient pas

tant que lefditz quatre efcolliers en puffent eſtre ſouſtenuz honorablement ſelon leur eſtat, ſi comme ils diſoient ; et auſſy enſement pourceque lediēt eveſque Jehan qui à preſent eſt, ou ſon procureur pour luy et en ſon nom, diſoient et maintenoient contre iceulx que le procureur dudiēt feu eveſque David leur avoit appliqué leſdiētz heritaiges et poſſeſſions depuis la mort dudiēt eveſque ſon maĩſtre, laquelle choſe il ne pouvoit faire, par raiſon que ſon pouvoir eſtoit failly quant au faiēt de ſa procuration. Et avecques tout ce aſſermeront leſd. maĩſtres et efcolliers pardevant leſditz notaires jurez, que ils avoient preſté du leur au procureur dudiēt eveſque David deux cens et foĩſſante livres parĩſis, pour parfaire ſon payement quant leſditz heritaiges et poſſeſſions furent achetez ; et encore avoient ſouſtenu couz et frais des heritaiges et poſſeſſions deſſus-diētz la ſomme de foĩſſante et dix livres parĩſis. Leſquelz deux cens et foĩſſante livres pour cauſe dudiēt preſt, auſſi les foĩſſante et dix livres parĩſis par raiſon des couz et frais deſſus nommez, ils avoient eu et receu par la main de honorable homme ſage et diſcret M. Eſtienne de S. Adrien clerc efcollier à Paris, procureur dudiēt eveſque Jehan, ſi comme ils le confeſſerent, et ſ'en tindrent entierement et bien payez pardevant leſd. notaires jurez ; et en quitterent pardevant iceulx jurez abſolument à touzjours led. eveſque Jehan, led. M. Eſtienne ſon procureur et tous ceux qui ont et auront cauſe de eux, et eſpeciallement tous les heritaiges et poſſeſſions deſſus nommez et diviſiez &c. . . . Ex teſmoing de toutes ces choſes, et que ce ſoit choſe ferme et ſtable à touzjours, nous à la relation et au rapport deſd. cleres notaires jurez avons mis à ces preſentes lettres le ſeel de la prevoſté de Paris, le Jendy viii. jour du mois de Juillet, l'an de grace M.CCC.XXXIII.

III. *EXTRACT from the History of Paris, as to the Foundation of the Scots College.\**

“ DAVID Eveſque de Morevv ou Murray en Eſcoſſe penſoit en ce meſme-tems à l'eſtabliſſement de quelques efcolliers de ſon diocèſe à Paris

\* *Histoire de la Ville de Paris*, compoſée par D. Michel Fedibien : revue, augmentée et mise au jour par D. Guy Alexis Lobineau. 5 vols. folio, Paris, 1725, i. 560.



pour y estudier dans l'Université. Ses députés achetèrent pour cet effet d'Ansel de Monterey escuyer et de Jeanne sa femme, la manoir de la Fermeté situé à Grisi près des Brie-comte-Robert, et environ cent trente-deux arpens de terre et de prez aux environs, le tout tenu en franc-allen et valant cinquante livres de rente, pour le prix de mille livres bons parisis petits que leur paya Adam Herért tresorier de l'église de Murray; et les vendeurs, pour gage de la garantie, obligèrent tous leurs autres biens, et particulièrement leur terre de Mincy-lez-Melun, qu'ils tenoient en fief de Pierre Bourdori escuyer. Hugues de Crusi, garde de la prevosté de Paris, fit mettre le sceau de la prevosté à l'acte le 28. Fevrier 1325. L'intention de l'Evesque de Murray estoit que les escoliers de son diocèse fussent reçus à l'hôtel fondé par le Cardinal le Moine, à côté des Bons-enfans, au Chardonnet. Le roy Charles le Bel approuva la vente et en accorda l'amortissement à l'evesque de Murray, par ses lettres patentes du mois d'Aoust 1326. Le college du Cardinal le Moine avoit aidé le tresorier de Murray à faire cet achat, tant en lui prêtant de quoi parfaire la somme de mille livres, qu'en avançant quelques frais nécessaires. Tant à cette considération, que pour se conformer à l'intention de l'Evesque David, les terres de Grisi avoient été données au college du Cardinal le Moine, et on y avoit reçu quatre boursiers Ecossois, un theologien, et trois artistes. Quelques années après Jean Evesque de Murray prétendit que le tresorier avoit passé son pouvoir en attribuant ces terres de Grisi au college du Cardinal du Moine; et de leur côté ceux du college prétendirent que la rente de cinquante livres n'étoit pas suffisante pour l'entretien des quatre boursiers. La conclusion fut que le college rendit les terres à l'evesque Jean, et que les quatre boursiers Ecossois fussent congédiés, comme il se voit par un acte du 8. Juillet 1333. rendu authentique par Jean de Milon garde de la prevosté de Paris. Dans la suite les escoliers Ecossois furent établis dans une maison de la rue des Aman-diens ayant entrée sur le college des Grassins. Cette maison appartient encore au college, et portoit autrefois le nom de *College des Ecossois*. En 1560. lorsque la religion Catholique fut éteinte en Ecosse, et que les universités de ce royaume furent tombées entre les mains des hérétiques, il ne resta plus que cette ancienne fondation de Murray pour l'edu-

cation des catholiques d'Ecosse. C'est pourquoi dès l'an 1566. Thomas Vwinterhop principal du college présenta requeste à la reine Marie Stuart douairiere de France et alors regente en Ecosse, pour la solliciter d'augmenter le revenue du college et le nombre des etudians. Cette princeesse répondit favorablement à la requeste; et quoique la revolution qui arriva l'année suivante en Ecosse et sa prison en Angleterre, qui en fut la suite, l'empeschassent de donner en cette occasion d'aussi grandes marques qu'elle eust voulu de son amour pour la religion et pour la lettres, elle ne laissa pas, durant sa prison, d'augmenter le nombre des estudians, en leur donnant des pensions annuelles; et du peu de bien qui lui restoit à sa mort, elle leur laissa quelque chose par son testament. Ce fut principalement à la sollicitation de Jacques de Bethune archevesque de Glasgo en Ecosse, et ambassadeur d'Ecosse en France, que cette reine se porta à encourager à l'étude ses sujets établis à Paris, afin de former des ecclesiastiques propres à soutenir ce qui restoit de la religion catholique dans son royaume. Ce fut dans la même venue que cet archevesque laissa en mourant tout ce qui lui restoit de biens, pour faire une nouvelle fondation en faveur des Ecossois estudians dans l'université de Paris. Il mourut le 25. Avril 1603. et fut enterré dans la chapelle de la Vierge à S. Jean de Latran à Paris, où l'on voit son monument avec des inscriptions rapportées dans les antiquités de du Breul. L'archevesque de Glasgo laissa cette fondation sous la direction et l'intendance des prieurs des Chartreux de Paris, pour avoir seuls la nomination des superieurs et des boursiers, et entendre les comptes de chaque année; ce qui a toujours été exécuté depuis. Les boursiers de cette seconde fondation demeurèrent en même maison et sous la même discipline que ceux de l'ancienne fondation de Grisy; mais ils eurent leurs biens séparés, jusqu'à l'an 1639. que les deux fondations furent unies dans un seul et même college, par une ordonnance de Jean-François de Gondy archevesque de Paris, confirmée par lettres patentes du roy Louis XIII. du mois de Decembre suivant, vérifiées en parlement le 1. Septembre 1640. Et comme il n'y a plus eu depuis plusieurs années d'evesque catholique de Murray, il n'y a plus eu depuis cette union, aucune distinction entre les boursiers de l'une et de l'autre fondation, qui ont tous vécu sous la direction du prieur des

Chartreux. En 1662. pour mettre ces escoliers plus au large, Robert Barclay, alors principal, acheta une place sur les anciens fossés de Saint Victor, joignant d'un côté des peres de la Doctrine Chrestienne, et de l'autre les religieuses Angloises, sur laquelle il fit faire le nouveau bastiment qui sert à present de college où il y a cour, jardin, et toutes les autres commoditez necessaires à des etudians. Ce bastiment, tout de pierres de taille, ne fut achevé qu'en 1665. La chapelle fut bastie en 1672. Elle est aussi toute de pierres de taille, voutée, et d'une architecture reguliere. Elle est dediée a S. André Apôstre patron d'Ecosse, et fut bastie par les soins du mesme Barclai, qui y est enterré. Il y a dans cette chapelle un très-beau monument érigé à la memoire de Jacques II. roy de la Grande Bretagne, qui a donné à cette maison des Memoirs escrits de sa main, que l'on y conserve religieusement. Le duc de Perth, qui fit la despense de ce monument, choisit sa sepulture tout auprès dans la mesme chapelle, et y est enterré sous une tombe de marbre blanc. Ce fut à la priere du mesme roy Jacques II. que le roy Louis XIV. accorda le 15. Decembre 1688. de nouvelles lettres patentes pour le college des Escossois, dans lesquelles, après avoir rapporté la premiere fondation faite en 1325. par David évesque de Murray, la seconde faite en 1603. par Jacques archevesque de Glasgo, et l'union des deux faite en 1639. S. M. voulant donner en cette rencontre des marques de son zele pour la foy C. A. et R. et de sa consideration qu'elle a pour le roy de la Grande Bretagne, confirme, autorise et supplée ce qui peut manquer à l'ancien establissement du college des Escossois, située presentement sur l'ancien fossé de S. Victor, rue Doctrine Chrestienne, tant pour élever et former des ecclesiastiques missionnaires pour envoyer au royaume d'Ecosse, que pour l'éducation de la jeunesse d'Ecosse à la science et à la vertu. Veut que ce college demeure toujours uni à l'université de Paris, comme il a été par le passé, et qu'il jouisse des mesmes privileges, droits et prerogatives dont jouissent les autres colleges de l'université; que les prieurs de la Chartreuse de Paris en soient les seuls et perpetuels superieurs; qu'il y ait un principal, un procureur de la nation d'Ecosse, des boursiers et escoliers tous nez Escossois, sans qu'on y en puisse admettre d'autres, qu'ils jouissent pleinement et paisiblement du

bastiment, de la chapelle et de l'enclos du college, comme il se comporte, ayant vingt-sept toises ou environ de face sur la rue et vingt-sept toises ou environ de profondeur, le tout amorti de nouveau par ces lettres; enfin qui le principal et le procureur et ceux qui leur succederont, soient reputés vrais et naturels sujets du roy et regnicoles, et en cette qualité puissent posséder des benefices et offices dans le royaume de France, sans avoir besoin de lettres de naturalité. Ces lettres furent enregistrées au parlement le 12. Juillet 1679. et à la chambre des comptes le 23. du même mois."

IV. EXTRACT from *Crevier's History of the University of Paris*.\*

LES bourses Ecoffois furent fondées à Paris en 1326. par David Evêque de Murrai en Ecoffe, et nous avons dans nos registres un acte qui fait foi de la fondation d'une nouvelle bourse pour la même Nation sous l'année 1359.† Cet établissement devint plus cher et plus précieux que jamais depuis l'extinction de l'exercice public de la Religion Catholique dans ce royaume, en 1560. Marie Stuart l'aida et le soutint de sa prison même Jacques de Béthune archevêque de Glasgow l'augmenta. Le demeure des boursiers n'a pas toujours été la même. Elle fut fixée en 1662. au lieu qui est main tenant le Collège des Ecoffois dans la rue des Fossés de S. Victor. Ce Collège bâti alors à neuf, orné d'une Chapelle élégamment construite, se soutient sous nos yeux par une bonne discipline dans un état qui fait honneur à l'Université.

V. LETTRES PATENTES en faveur du College des Ecoffois.‡

Du xii. Juillet, M.DC.LXXXIX. Veu par la Cour les lettres patentes du Roy données à Versailles le xv. Decembre M.DC.LXXXVIII. signées

\* *Hist. de l'Université de Paris*, depuis son origine jusqu'en l'année 1600, par M. Crevier. Paris, 1761, ii. 281.

† *Hist. de Paris*, i. 560. *Hist. Un. Par.* iv. 349.

‡ *Hist. Univ. Par.* (Bulæus,) v. 236, "Preuves," ad an. 1689.

LOUIS, et sur le reply: *par le Roy*, COLBERT, et scellées en laes de soie du grand sceau de cire verte, obtenues par les principal, procureur, bourgeois et escolliers du COLLEGE DES ESCOSSOIS EN L'UNIVERSITE DE PARIS, par lesquelles, pour les causes y contenues, ledit seigneur Roy auroit confirmé, et en tant que besoin est ou feroit, de nouveau autorisé et suppléé par lesdites lettres ce qui pouvoit manquer à l'ancien établissement du College des Escossois situé presentement sur l'ancien fosse Saint Victor, dit *ruë Doctrine Chrestienne*, tant pour élever et former des ecclesiastiques missionnaires pour envoyer au royaume d'Ecosse, que pour l'Education de la jeunesse dudit pays à la science et à la vertu; veut ledit seigneur Roy que ledit College soit et demeure toujours uni à l'Université de Paris comme il a esté par le passé, et qu'il jouisse des memes privileges, droits et prerogatives que les autres Colleges de ladite Université, et ainsi que plus au long le contiennent lesdites lettres à la Cour adressantes; veu aussi le consentement donné à l'enregistrement d'icelles par le Recteur de l'Université de Paris, du viii. du present mois de Juillet; et la requeste présentée à ladite Cour à l'effet d'enregistrement; conclusions du procureur general du Roy; ouy le rapport de M. René le Meunier conseiller; tout considéré, LA COUR a ordonné et ordonne que lesdites lettres sont enregistrées au greffe d'icelle, pour jouir par les impetrans et ceux qui leur succederont audit College de leur effet et contenu, et estre executées selon leur forme et teneur.

Before closing this Prefatory Notice, the Editor would farther wish to preserve a brief memorandum of certain proceedings of the French National Assembly, in relation to these Establishments, which may perhaps ultimately lead to farther discoveries. On June 5, 1790, Lord Robert Fitzgerald, then the British Minister Plenipotentiary, presented a Memorial, claiming an exemption from the decree of the National Assembly in favour of the Scots and Irish Colleges at Paris, setting forth that these endowments had not been French, but British, from the beginning; and that their property had been purchased with money carried from

Scotland and Ireland.\* And on 23d October of the same year, the Report of the Ecclesiastical Committee gave in their account of the English, Scottish, and Irish Religious Establishments, in France. They then amounted to *Twenty-eight* in number, including Monasteries, Convents, and Colleges; and the sum total of their revenues extended to *Three hundred and twenty-nine thousand livres*, of which more than one-third was expended in charges of various kinds, and out of it were maintained about *Fifteen hundred individuals*, including Professors, Students, and Religious. The Assembly passed a decree for their being continued in their existing situation, under certain modifications. At the same sitting, the claim of the Irish College of St OMER for a pension of *Six thousand livres* was referred to the Committee of Finances.†

The Editor is in possession of various important Papers relative to the Families of NITHSDALE, MAXWELL, and HERRIES, which he had at one time intended to have presented in the shape of an Appendix to this volume. He readily abandoned that plan, as soon as it was suggested to him that it would be more acceptable to the Members were he to communicate them to the Editor of the forthcoming MISCELLANY OF THE ABBOTSFORD CLUB, a collection which promises to be equally honourable to our Association, as assuredly it will be valuable and important as a series of rare Documents and Papers from original sources, illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Scotland.

ROBERT PITCAIRN.

EDINBURGH, 50, Castle Street,  
December 26, 1836.

\* *Scots Mag.* lii. June 1790.]

† *Ib.* Oct. 1790.

## POSTSCRIPT.

*23d January 1837.*

SINCE the above Prefatory Notice was printed, the Editor's friend, James Maidment, Esquire, has obligingly pointed out to him an interesting entry in the Minutes of the Faculty of Advocates, relating to the Manuscript Collections of the Scots College at Paris, which had recently fallen under his observation. Owing to the very limited impression of the *Antiquarian Miscellany*\* to which Mr Maidment had originally communicated these papers, it has been thought proper to annex a copy of them to this Preface.

### I.

*Edinburgh, 5th August 1771.*

THE Librarian informed the Curators, that Mr Adam† of the High School was to fet out in a day or two for Paris: that he was humbly of opinion it was a proper opportunity of writing to Mr Gordon, Principal of the Scots College, and of getting from him a list of such of the MSS. under his care as relate to the History, the Antiquities, or the Laws of this country. The Curators approved, and ordered the following letter to be wrote, and sent to Principal Gordon :—

SIR,—Sensible of the great civilities, and the many other obliging things which you have from time to time done to our countrey men, and of the great readines to encourage learning, and learned societies, which you shew upon every occasion, we are fully persuaded that your goodness will excuse us for giving you the trouble of this letter.

\* *Analecta Scotica*, 8vo. pp. 410, Edin. 1834.

† Afterwards Dr Alexander Adam, the late learned and laborious Rector of the High School of Edinburgh.

As Curators of the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, we consider it our duty to embrace every opportunity of adding to our collection any thing that may serve to illustrate the History, the Antiquities, or the Laws of the ancient kingdom of Scotland; and as, doubtless, there must be many original and other valuable MSS. relating to those subjects in your library, it would be very obliging if you would cause a note of the most ancient and valuable of them to be made and transmitted to us, either by the bearer, Mr Alexander Adam, a man of learning and of worth, or in any other way that you shall think most proper. When we are possessed of the above note, and shall have compared it with the MSS. already in our library, we will be able to point out such of them as we would wish to have copies of; and, if it is consistent with the rules and regulations of your library, to allow of transcripts to be made of such as we shall choose, we will request that favour; which will not only be a valuable acquisition to our library, but a great service to this kingdom.

Mr JOHN GORDON,  
*Principal of the Scots College*  
*in Paris.*

DAV. DALRYMPLE.  
JO. SWINTON.  
ROBT. CULLEN.  
J. MACLAURIN.\*

## II.

*Advocates' Library, 28th October 1771.*

SEDERUNT,—Mr Dav. Dalrymple, Sen. Curat.  
Mr John MacLaurin.

THE Librarian informed the Curators that Mr Adam, who some weeks ago had taken the trouble of a letter from them to Principal Gordon, in Paris, was now returned, and that he had brought the Principal's answer

\* All the above Curators subsequently became Senators of the College of Justice, under the honorary titles of Lords Westhall, Swinton, Cullen, and Dreghorn.



# PREFATORY NOTICE.

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to their letter. The letter having been read, was ordered to be entered in their minutes. The tenor of the letter is as follows :—

GENTLEMEN,

I received the honour of your letter of the 6th August, by Mr Alexander Adam, whom I found to be what you say, a man of worth and of learning.

I shall be very glad to have it in my power to oblige the Curators of the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, in gratifying their laudable desire of adding to their collection whatever may serve to illustrate the History, the Antiquities, or Laws of Scotland. The MSS. in our Library relate to the reigns of James Seventh, James Sixth, Queen Mary, and to those of prior kings. Of the MSS. relating to James Seventh's reign, I can cause no note to be made and transmitted to you, at present ; much less can any transcripts be allowed to be taken, as they are only deposited in our Library, and cannot be made publick without a license from him to whom they belong. The Collection of Papers written during James the Sixth's and Mary's reigns, in fourteen thick volumes, folio, consists principally of letters to Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, their Ambassador at Paris, several of which are in cyphers. The other Papers, in two volumes, quarto, are Charters granted by different persons, one in particular by a son of Malcolm Canmore to the Church of Glasgow.\* Of this collection an exact copy was sent some time ago to the University of Glasgow. I hope you will find this short account satisfactory ; if any thing more be required, I shall be always ready to give you all the information I can.—I am, with the greatest regard,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN GORDON.

PARIS, 11th September 1771.

\* The original Chartulary of Glasgow.



# HISTORIE

## OF THE

### REIGNE OF MARIE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

WE shall now enter into a time full of distempers, and shall see a child crowned. Our Queen, who, by the misfortunes of the time, and rebellions of her wicked subjects, shall be involved in a wordle [world] of cares and tumults, till at length she shall be splitt upon a rock, as the end of all her miseries. We shall see rebellions raised and fomented under the colour of religion. The pretence shall be against the authoritie of the Pope in this kingdome; but the aim shall be to trample under foot the throne and civil power, which shall rage with violence in all this Queen's time, untill the first scene be acted: And from that, untill these our times, it shall never leave clofs working; then shall again burst out like an impetuous torrent, untill the last act be likewise completed, which we now have seen with our eyes. In a word, we shall see nothing in all this Queen's raigne but a troubled state, a factious nobilitie, tumults amongst the gentrie, and the commons madd!

Before the King died, by perswasion of Cardinal Beatoune, he subcryved dyvers papers which the Cardinal kept with himself; and now, after the King is dead, there is a commission produced by way of testament, wherein, under the King's hand, the Cardinal is nominat cheif Governor of the Queen and kingdome, with three noblemen, assessors; of which number the Earle of Arran is one. This commission was mightilie impunged, and it was alledged that the Cardinal had onlie caused the

King subferyve that paper, blank, amongst others, and that he had filled it up by himself; at least, one Henrie Balfour had done it at his direction. The Cardinal, seeing factions alreddie to ryse, made hast, and first he procures the good will of the Queen mother, and then proclaims an edict for election of four under Regents.

The Earle of Arran was next heir to the croune, and a man of a quiet temper, and of himself peaceable anuff inclyned; who, being one of these assessors nominat by the King, was well pleased to take the next best place to the Cardinal, his own cousting german; but his friends were factious, and desirous of innovations: They infused many things in his head. They said that he is next to the croune, the first man of the kingdome, and has many friends; that it was a shame to let a priest have the government of the Queen and whole kingdome; that it were good for him to have the possession of the government, whatsoever should fall out; that the Queen was but few days old, and was to go through many hazards before she came to age, &c. &c. These suggestions tooke root, and he harkned to them. So many, thinking upon a revolution, and to start in tyme, formed presentlie, and made Arran head of this faction.

King Henrie of England, in this tyme, having heard of King James his death, thought to make use [of] these Scots noblemen, prisoners, to his best advantadge. At first they were put in the Towr, but thereafter enlarged, and upon paroll were put severallie to noblemen's houses. He now sends for them to Whitehall, and offers them freele their libertie, if they will procure a match betwixt their young Queen and his sone, Prince Edward. They undertake to doe their endeavours, so farr as might stand with the honor of their cuntry, and the young Queen. So they take leave, with this condition, that they shall give in pledges at Newcastle to the Duke of Norfolk, that if they shall not procure the business to be done, they shall returne themselves again prisoners. Archibald Earle of Angus, and his brother George Dowglafs, after fifteen years' banishment, returned with them.

The Cardinal at the beginning forfaw a storm, and (as is said) made hast with a Convention, wherein he was established Regent. But now, upon the returne of these prisoners, and the Dowglafs, there was present-

lie another Convention, in which the Cardinal was depofed, and the Earle of Arran was made Regent in his place. There were feverall forts of people that wrought this revolution, and for two feverall ends ;—one fort refolved to ftrike in tymouffie with Arran, who they faw was next heir to the croune, and they imagined, direēlie, that he would fucceed, either by the death of the child, or fome other fatalitie that might fall out, in fo long time ;—the other fort were thofe who affected the new doētrin, and affifted willinglie to thruft downe both the Cardinal and all the reft of the clergie. There followed a parliament upon the thirteenth day of March, unto which Sir Rauff Sadler came Ambaffador from the King of England. He defyred that a firme peace might be concluded betwixt the two kingdoms, and demanded the young Queen in marriage for the Prince of Wales. [The] Queen mother and the Cardinal oppofed the propofitions with all their power, and was verie lyke, by the Cardinal's wifdome and gravitie, to ftop the bufinefs. But the Regent commanded the Cardinal to remove (and fome fays fent him to Dalkeith, prifoner), untill that the vots were taken, and the propofitions agreed unto. Whereupon pledges were appointed to be fent up to London, for performance. After this, the Cardinal was transported to Seatoun ; from whence he made an efcape.

Thefe things, being carried by force, could not hold long ; for the nobilitie, confidering what was done ; how a league was made with England, and the antient league with our old friends the French broke ; how they had promifed away their Queen, and the whole kingdom with her, to their antient ennemies ; how relligion was certanlie to be altered, and greater confufion then ever was lyke to ryfe ; they faw likeways the verie common people contemned their actions, and cryed out both upon them and the Englifh ambaffador, whom they railed upon to his face, and with many indignities affronted daylie. Many noblemen then, and in fpecial thofe who were prifoners, and had left their fons and friends pledges for them in England, repented their hafte conclufion. They confulted with [the] Queen mother and the Cardinal, by whose advyfe a meeting was appointed of all thofe who adhered to the antient league with France, and loved beft the relligion of their fathers ; where, by a general confent,

they resolve to crofs the busines, and retard the deliverie of the pledges promised; which was so cunninglie wrought that it tooke effect; for by no means the Regent could perform that part of the agreement, although the first and most material.

When King Henrie understood of this demurr, he raged and vowed to force us to keep these conditions made with his ambassador. He first arrests all the Scots ships that were within his power; then he imprisones the pledges, and denounces warr. The Earle of Cassils is noted the onlie man of all the prisioners who refused to signe with the rest. He preferred the love of his brothers whom he left pledges, before the love to his cuntrie. He onlie appeared, and rendered himself again to releave his brothers; and King Henrie, to gratifie him in publick, dismissed both him and his brothers frielie.

Now, warr being expected from England, it was easie to know on which partie the weight and burthen would light. Those who were the authors of this match expected it, and might be sure they were not onlie to esteem the English their enemies, but they stood in greater fear of their own cuntrie-men, who were combyned. Whereupon they dispatch letters to France; wherein they inform the King of all—in what danger the friedom of the cuntrie, the young Queen, the antient religion, the crowne, and the whole friends of the crowne were into. They desyred and implored his assistance, without which they were not able to subsist; they desyred, above all, that Mathew Earle of Lenox might be sent over to be a head to their partie. He was sone to John Earle of Lennox, killed at Lithgou, one who was much in the affections of the people, for the antient faim and actions of his hous, and for the memorie of his father, who was the people's darling; one who was bred a Roman Catholick, without tincture of this new doctrin; and one whome they perswaded themselves wold be an utter ennemie to the Hamiltouns, who killed his father. They maintained, directlie, that it was his place, by blood, to take the charge and government of the cuntrie upon him; because the Earle of Arran (they said plainlie) was a bastard, for he was begotten upon a second wyff, which his father tooke in his first wyve's lyf tyme, which first wyff he still kept in his hous; and had the first place of the second at all tymes

(excepting his bed), and was called by the name of the old Lady, whome meerlie he cast off becaufe she was barren. So, Arran being a bastard, this Mathew was not onlie neareft lawful heir to the crowne, but was alfo lawfull heir to Arran's father ; which wold be made good, if Arran was fuppreft.

The Governor has adverteifment of all this, and thinking to prevent thefe plotts, he refolves to feafe upon the young Queen, as yet at Lithgou in her mother's cuftodie ; but the Cardinal, having gote notice of this, coms with a great many noblemen of his faction to Lithgou, where they ly as a guard, untill the arrival of the Earle of Lennox, which fhortlie followed ; who, immediatlíe upon his landing, he makes his firft addres to the Governor at Edinburgh, whom he faluted with a complement. Then he goes to Lithgou, where he met with the Cardinal and his friends, and opened to them the conditions that were offred to bring him here ; which were, that the government of the cuntrie and the Queen mother in marriage was promifed, under their hands ; that he was come over with full affurance of affiftance from France, and now defyred that things might be performed. This being done, he faluted the young Queen, after his friends were flockt unto him, being now four thoufand ftrong.

The Governor, in the mean tyme, determines with all his friends at Edinburgh, and refolves to force his way ; but fynding himfelf overpowered, he was content to harken to an agriement. Upon this, commiffioners from both fydes meet at Kirkciftoun, where it was agried that the Queen fhall be carried to Stirling, and delyvered to the cuftodie of four neutrall Lords—the Earle of Montrofe, the Lords Erskin, Lyndfay, and Liviftoun—and a parliament was convened at Stirling, upon the nineteenth day of Auguft 1543, where the young Queen was crownd by the hands of the Cardinal in prefence of the Governor, who affifted, and all the nobilitie. And foon afterward the Governor, either fynding his power too weake to oppofe Lennox, who he knew had the favor of moft part of the nobilitie, or repenting himfelf of his former aétions, made a publick recantation of any opinions he had mantain'd contrarie to the Roman Church ; and in the Francifean Church, at Stirling, he was received by the Cardinal again unto the Catholick profeffion.

The Earle of Lennox sees how matters are carried, and how the government is lyke to continue in the Earle of Arran's hands, thinks that both the Queen mother and the Cardinal's resolutions are turned an other way, whereupon he resolves to fute performance of the mariage. He presses [the] Queen mother and the Cardinall that he may enjoy that for which he had taken so much pains. In this mean tyme the Earle of Bothwell, a gallant young gentlman, was newlie returned from banishment, high-mynded and aspyring. He aimed likewyses at marriage with [the] Queen mother; whom, being put by his hopes, he had left the court and reteared; and the fute of this young lord was, possiblie, an other reason that hastened Lennox to have things performed. But whither it was disaffection in the Queen mother to the person of the man, or was it out of state policie, agried upon betwixt her and the Cardinall, the conditions were deferred; and Lennox marieng [the] Queen mother put off, from one tyme to another, by many delayes. In the mean tyme, lettres were sent over to France, both from [the] Queen mother and the Cardinall, by which they gave many thanks to the King, by whose assistance the affairs of this kingdom were settled; and humble beg'd him not to leave them yet, but to send them his help hereafter to prosecute the business to an end. Their greatest desire was, that he would be pleased to recall the Earle of Lennox, whom they now found to grow factious, and by appearance a trubler of the state.

Lennox all this while frets and rages that performance is delayed. He layes the blame upon the Cardinall, and vowes to be revenged. He sees the Governor not onlie to keep the place, but he sees the Queen mother and the Cardinall respect him as one that they mynded to make use off, and himself neglected. Whereupon he reteares to Dumbartain, and professes open enmitie against the Cardinall. He had newlie received from France thirty thousand crowns, which was to be disposed upon by advyse of [the] Queen mother and the Cardinall. This he makes good use off now. He divyds a part amongst his friends, sends a small summe to the Queen mother, and with the rest he wages soldierys. Thus, the Earle of Lennox has declared himself in opposition to the Cardinall, wherein he quicklie gets assistance. The people are naturally factious,



and were glad of this occasion. Two ferts of men troupe unto him—those who loved innovation, and those who affected the new doctrine, even those same people that formerlie fyled with and favoured the Governor and hated the Cardinall; who, together with his own friends, were estimated to no less than ten thousand men; and with this army he marched the streight way to Leith.

[The] Queen mother and the Cardinall, hearing of these preparations, consult with the Governor, who likewise leaved an army in all the haste he could, with which he resolved to march from Edinburgh to Glasgow, where he thought to have surprized Lennox before he had been reddie—but (as is said) Lennox was soonest reddie, and was at Leith before they knew so much. His pretence was against the Cardinall, who he blamed for all, and would seem to make the quarrell particular against him; yet, being come to Leith, he sends up to Edinburgh to the Governor, and shewes that to ease his pains he is come this length, and reddie to fight; but the Governor, by the Cardinall's advice, strove to drift tyme, and make delays, for he suspected that Lennox's armie, which consisted all of voluntar men, would not keep long together; and means was likewise used by secret correspondances to draw division amongst them. These things were so handsomely acted, that Lennox soon found its effects; whereupon he then desired that things might be composed. This proposition was accepted, and Lennox went up to Edinburgh himself to treat matters in his own person; who was kindly received, and stayed some days, with very great demonstrations of friendship. But upon a sudden he takes leave, pretending to goe to Lithgow to speake with some friends; from whence he goes directly to Glasgow, takes up the castle that belongs to the bishop, and mans it with a garrison, and then goes to Dumbarton. The Governor, hearing of this, takes his march likewise to Glasgow. In his way he mett with the Earle of Angus, betwixt whom a sure friendship was made up, conditions agreed upon, and pledges delivered upon either side, for security. For the Governor was delivered his brother, the Master of Glencairne; and the Earl of Angus gave his eldest son, the Master of Angus, George; who were both kept still, untill the coming of the English armie.

The Governor having ended these things, he marches to Glasgou; and here the Earle of Angus and the Lord Maxwell interposes themselves as mediators, betwixt the Governor and Lennox, and were both sent prisoners to Hammiltoun—but the original does not shew a clear cause.

The King of England intends to take his advantage, in the tyme of these intestine troubles, and sends down a herault to Edinburg; who first demanded the custodie of the young Queen, according to conditions agreed upon; and then he turns to the magistrats of the town, and expostulates with them these abuses which the last ambassador received by the towns people, and threatened them with a rigorous reveng. The herault is scarce returned, when King Henrie sent a fleet of ships, with a land armie (which he had prepared for France) about the coast; and before any notice was had, they had cast anchor anent Wordie castle, about a myle above Leth. This fleet consisted of two hundred sail, and was commanded by the Earle Hartfoord, who immediatlie upon the third day of May 1544, landed ten thousand men, and marches to Leth; which town they took without any opposition. The Governor and Cardinall are both in Edinburgh at this tyme, and were much astonished at this sudden surpryse. They know that Edinburgh is not defensible, and they know the castle is not provided to keep out a long seidge. They doe therefore resolve to treat. Whereupon they direct Mr Adam Otterburne, the provost, and two of the balyes doune to Hartfoord to know the reasons of his invasion, and withall to shew that they are willing that commissioners be appointed to cognosce upon any injuries that Scotland has done, and are redde to make reparation, if any just cause of offence be given. The Earle of Hartfoord answered, That he had no commission to treat; that his orders were to take reveng upon the kingdom for the affronts done to the King's ambassador, but in special upon Edinburgh, and the town of Leth, untill they absolutlie submit to his master's pleasure.

Upon the report of this answer, the Governor and Cardinall retears the streight way to Lithgow, to take counsel what to doe in this sudden business. Order is presentlie sent, to set the Earle of Angus and the Lord Maxwell at libertie; and the pledges you heard on, betwixt the

Governor and Angus, were fried. The English, in the mean while, refrechcs there foldiers at Leith three days, and then marches up to vew Edinburgh; and fent a strong partie up the Cannogat, thinking to enter the toune without resistance. But the Nether-bow was stronglie barricaded, and maintained with a guard; who gave fyre upon the English and killed one captain, and some common foldiers. Whereupon the English partie retreated. But upon the morrow the whole armie drew out of Leth with their great guns, and marched straight up the Cannogate, and without any opposition entred the town, went the direct way toward the castle; and here they planted some of there cannon, and played upon the castle. The captain of the castle did his dutie, for he answered them with his guns from within. He killed and hurt many, and dismounted some of there ordinance, and forced them to retreat. In there retreat they sett fyre in the toune, and then fell out upon the cuntrie, where they burnt many villages and houses. The next day they returned to Edinburgh, and again sett fyre in the toune, and burnt most part of the Cannogate. Then they sett fyre in all the quarters of Leth, and went aboard their ships; and with the first wind they were gone.

In this tyme the King of France is sufficiently informed concerning the Earle of Lennox, how he has carried himself in Scotland; and moreover many complaints and informations against him, all drawn up by the Governor and Cardinall, and backt there by the Cardinall of Lorrain, and the Duke of Guise. He was throughlie inform'd how he was now turned the head of a faction, a trubler of the state, and is turned in profession with these of the new doctrine. The king was mightilie moved at these informations, and professed himself displeased. Whereupon he committs the Lord Obignie (the Earl of Lennox brother) prisoner, and denuds them both of there estate and pension. Lennox was foone acquainted with these proceedings in France, and wryts over to King Francis long letters, in his excuse; endeavouring to make all these informations appear false, and calumnies given out by his enemies, who traduced his actions to disgrace him at his majesties hands. Then he made relation of all the good offices he had done in this kingdome; how by his means factions were suppressed, and the Queen put in securitie,

&c. &c. These letters were sent by John Campbell, his own servant, whom the king caused committ prisoner, and refused to answer the letters. He refused to give hearing to a petition which Lennox sent over, by which he desired licence to come to France, and enjoy that estate which he had formerly possessed under the King's protection.

So soone as the English were gone, the Governor draws together a number of men beyond the Granthevan mountains, with whom he comes doune to Glasgou; and upon a sudden beseedges the castle, which in short time he took by surrender; and afterward hanged all he found within, bearing arms, excepting two; which his contrarie partie averred to be against the articles of capitulation.

Lennox fynding himself now much overpowered by the Governor, resolved to goe to England and procure assistance from that king; and upon this he apoynts with his friends the Earle of Glencairn and the rest, to meet at Glasgou, upon a day agreed on, and with all there strength, first to fall upon the Nether Ward of Cliddisdail, the Hamiltoun's lands; and after they had spoiled it, to march together to England. The Governor, upon intelligence, thought to prevent this meeting, and take up the toun before the day prefix; but Glencairn was alreddie in the toun; and with eight hundred men of his owen, and these of the toun that favored him, he drew out and fought the Governor and all his forces; but by the help of the Lord Boyd, who brought in fresh men to the Governor in the time of the fight, he was totallie beaten and routed. There died on both fyds three hundred men; whereof most pairt were of the Cunninghams, and that partie. This overthrow did mightilie discouradge them, and they resolved no more to oppose the Hamiltons, by force; whom they saw was too strong for them, and was lyke to carie the busines. Whereupon the whole gentrie fell off, and everie man made his own conditions for pardone. Lennox himself, not daring to pass through the cuntrie by land, gives the keeping of the castle of Dumbartain to George Stirlin, takes shipping and goes to England by sea. The King of England received him with all honor; and within short tyme gave him to wyff his owen sister-doughter, the Lady Margaret Douglas, the doughter of the Earle of Angus, and halfe-sister to King James the Fifth.

The Earle of Lennox being thus gone, a parliament was called at

Lithgou, where he is declared trator, his goods and lands forfeaulted, and most part of all his affiters were fyned in fums of money.

The English, in this tyme, are not idle. They breake over the Border and makes incurfions, fpoyles the Mers, and the lower pairts of Tiviotdaill; they burne Kelfo and Jedburgh, and both there abbayes; from thence they goe to Coldinghame, and thrust a strong garrifon in that place. The Governor rafes eight thoufand men, with onlie eight days provifion; and with thefe, in the heart of winter, he marches and lyes doune before Coldinghame; and with fome canon which he had brought with him he batters the fteeple. But, in the midft of his bufines, the Governor one night takes fuddenlie hors and pofts to Dumbar. His ennemies did attribut this to want of courage, or els a pannick fear; but himfelf faid he did it upon a difcoverie of treafone againft his perfone, in the camp. However it was, he left the camp, and wold not returne. This gave occafion to the whole armie to breake unorderlie, and in fuch confufion that they left the cannon to be taken by the enemy, if the Earle of Angus had not engaged himfelf, and with great courage and skill brought them fafe to Dumbar.

This gave fo much encouradgment to the English, that within fhort tyme afterward, Sir Rauff Evers and Sir Brian Latton entred the Mers with fome troops rafed in the Border, and without any refiftance they overrunn the whole cuntrie. Tiviotdaill and Lauderdaill fell lykewayes within the compafs of there furie. They burnt a hous called Broomhous, with man, woman, and beaft; all that was within were turned to afhes. The terror was fo great that the whole people within thefe cuntries either fled or fubmitted. This good fucces filled thefe two English knights with conceat of a poffibilitie to make conquest of the whole cuntrie. Whereupon they made their addres to the King, and firft pre-fents unto him the victorie they had over the Scots; and then they defyre a commiffion to invade the kingdome of Scotland, and a Patent under the great feell, that what lands they fhall conquer within Scotland that they fhall brook it as their owen; which the King by the advyfe of the Duke of Northfolk granted. Then, having brought there commiffion, they return to the Lower cuntries [Netherlands] and rafes three

thouſand men in pay; with whome, together with there owen friends and voluntiers, they again croſs Tweed.

The Earle of Angus did firſt receit theſe injuries; for he, being the greateſt man in theſe parts, had receaved greateſt harme; and now, hearing of this new ſtorme, he makes his addreſſe to the Governor, and with much regrate layes the miſeries of the cuntry before him. The Governor was verie ſenſible of the people's ſuffering, and expreſſes his willingnes to act; but fears the diſobediencie of ſome, who were turbulent ſpirits. But neceſſitie forces them to conclude ſomewhat. So, by the Earle of Angus advyſe, a Convention is called, who put out proclamation, commanding all men on the fourth fyde of Forth to ryfe (that were betwixt ſixty or ſixteen years of age) and to come provyded, to attend the Governor. The randevous was appoynted at Melros, whither the Governor went with the Earle of Angus and onlie three hundred hors in there companie. The enemye reſolved to anticipat this day of randevous, and before the cuntry ſhould come, they wold attempt upon the Governor. Whereupon with the bodie of there armie they come over the Border, and marches directlie to Melros. In the mean tyme, Norman Leſlie (he that afterward killed the Cardinall) came from Fyffe with three hundred gentlemen, all voluntiers; and Walter Scot of Bucklewgh cam lykewayes with five hundred cuntry people. But the Governor, hearing of the approach of the enemye, durſt not byd, but reteared with thoſe that were with him, who did not exceed eleven hundred men. The enemye by there fore-parties did ſo retard and truble there retreat, that the whole body came up and engadged the Governor, upon Ancrommoore, that he was neceſſitate to fight; which he did with ſuch reſolution, that the Engliſh armie was routed. Two hundred men were onlie killed; but amongſt theſe the Lord Ogill, Sir Rauff Evers, and Sir Brian Latton were numbred; the cheef commanders of the armie. A thouſand men were made priſoners. Thus was the Engliſh armie defeat, which conſiſted of five thouſand men, upon the ſeventh day of February 1544. The Governor was much commended, at this tyme, both for wiſdome and courage; but the victorie was aſcryved to the Earle of Angus. The Scots loſt onlie two men. From this victorie, the Gover-



nor marched directlie to Coldinghame, and by the way took in all these houses wherin the enemy had placed little garriſons; among which Wetherburn house is onlie named. The garriſon of Coldinghame abandoned the place, and left it voyd; whereupon the Governor makes George Douglas captain, and puts in a garriſon of his owne.

It was about this tyme that in the North the Clanrannold fought with the Fraſers (two powerful names in that pairt). The occasion was upon ſome old quarrell and deadly feid; which ſome ſayes the Earle of Huntlie did again kindle amongſt them, and bounded out the Clanrannold to take advantage upon the Fraſers. The end of it was that the Fraſers were beaten, and the Lord Lovat himſelf (who is chief of that name) and moſt pairt of all his friends were cut off. It was known that this day eighty gentlemen of the name of Fraſer were all killed, whoſe wyves were all with chylde, and everie chylde was a boy.

The next year, 1545, the Governor ſent over to France, both to informe the King particularlie againſt the Earle of Lennox and deſyre ſupplies of men; for now he expected certainlie warr from England. Theſe ambaffadors related to the King that the Earle of Lennox had detained, for his owne uſe, the thirty thouſand crowns which was ſent over to him laſt year; with which he tooke up and wadged ſoldiers to trouble the cuntry: That it was onlie his pryde and hate to the Cardinall that was the occasion of all theſe inteſtine troubles: That he kept ſtill correſpondence with the King of England, and at length retreated to London: That his kynde reception there by the King, and his marriage with the King's neece, were viſible proofs. The King of France, upon this information, ſent over to Scotland three thouſand foote and five hundred hors, under command of James Montgomerie, otherwayes called Monſieur de Lorgis, with commiſſion lykewayes to examine all theſe complaints and informations againſt Lennox. Monſieur de Lorgis arryved with his men in July, and preſentlie there were rafed fifteen thouſand more. The randevous was at Haddintowne; and the whole armie, together with theſe French ſupplies, marched directlie to the Border, and lyes downe anent Wark caſtle. But upon the Scots ſide, Monſieur de Lorgis, the French officer, and the Lord Home urged much to have the armie march over to the

Engliſh fyde; but upon great conſiderations it was not thought fitt by the Governor and his counſell. Onlie fix thouſand men were ſent out, in parties, everie day to forrage the cuntry, who alwayes returned to the camp at night. After the armie had lyen hear a fortnight, the Governor retreated back, and diſſolved his armie; and Monſieur de Lorgis was ſent to Stirling. Nothing more is recorded to have been done in relation to warr this year, but ſome Border inroads upon the Weſt; in one of which, Robert Maxwell, ſone to the Lord Maxwell, was taken priſoner.

Diviſions for matter of religion and doctrine for dyvers years paſt had been but in conception; they are now at the poynt of birth, and reddie to ryſe; and factions, private hatreds, contempt of lawes, diſobedience to the civil power begun to burſt out, which in ſhort tyme turned to open rebellion. It is certain that in theſe dayes the Church in this kingdome was in a lethargie; the members were all diſeaſed, and ſchiſms and diſtractions in the Church were raging in many pairts of Chriſtendome. Heer, were, in a corner of the wordle [world] far from thoſe that manadged affairs of the Church, and had almoſt forgote our obedience, prelates and biſhops, who ſhould have governed the Church heer, were turned laſie in ſpiritual exerciſes; prieſts and the inferior Clergie were become looſe and idle, and laſcivious, many of whom with a greedie appetite embraced thoſe liberties newlie preached. In a word, all was out of fraim; for the people in general (as it were) wearied with the old Church government, and willing to accept of any novelties that agried with there humors.

The firſt thing of diſobedience that fell out in publick, for cauſe of religion, was this year, 1546. The Cardinall procured the Governor to goe, in way of circuit, and viſitt ſome countries and touns in the north, and execute juſtice upon ſome who were contemners of the Church and epiſcopall power. After he had been at ſome others, he came to Perth; where ſome people, both men and woemen, were put to death by law, for actions of contempt againſt the Cardinall and his authoritie. From thence he went to Dundie, and back again to Perth. Heer the Earle of Rothes, and the Lord Gray, with many of there friends, cam to give there attendance; but the Governor, ſuſpecting them for ſome other projects, not



attendance, sett them both prisoners; and within a short tyme, sett them again at libertie. The Lord Ruthven was this tyme proveft of Perth; which office, by long possession, was almost turned hereditarie to him. He professed himself a great favourer of this new doctrine, which now takes the name of reformed, and an opposer of the Cardinall. The toun, from his example, is lykewayes addicted to the same doctrine. It was thought by the Governor, and Cardinall both, an act of great policie for suppressing this reformed religion, that the Lord Ruthven should be put out of the place of provest, and John Charters, Laird of Kilfaines, should be preferred; who was a constant professor of the religion professed. The Lord Ruthven tooke this as a high affront, and incenses the citticens; who resolve to oppose the entrie of the new provest, who they heard was comming well accompanied, with the Lord Gray, Norman Leslie, and many of there friends. The Governor had lykewayes sent some to attend him, fearing some opposition might be made. In the mean tyme, the toun's people were all in arms, and commanded by the Lord Ruthven; who (although some straglers were alreddie come in) yet denies entrie to the new provost. Whereupon the Lord Gray offers to force his way; but he was put back with the slaughter of sixty of his men. This was the first act professed to be done in defense of this reformed religion. It grieved the Governor extraordinarie, but much more the Cardinall, who suspected by this that the authoritie of the Church was lyke to fall in contempt. After this he resolved to use more strict justice against these preachers who are the cause, and (as he said) seduced the people, both from religion and obedience. He begins at one Mr George Wihart, a gentleman, who, out of his heat of zeale to this new reformation, was turned preacher; and after privat conventions which he had used some tyme, he now preached in publick. This man was found in the hous of Ormiston and taken by order of the Governor, and thereafter sent prisoner to St Andrews; where, after some months imprisonment, he was convicted of heresie by the Clergy, and by the civill Justice, was burnt at a stake.

After this the Cardinall married his base daughter to the Earle of Crawford, who was gotten and borne when the Cardinall was yong, and

before he was a priest; and then, hearing that an English fleet was reddie prepared to infect the coast of Fyffe, he took great pains with the gentrie of the cuntrie to vew and fortifie everie place needfull; and so returned to St Andrews, and sett men a work to fortifie the castle. In the mean tyme, these of the reformed religion consulted which way to cutt away the Cardinall, that by his death the reformation might have more freedom. Whereupon they perswaded Norman Leslie, the Earle of Rothes' son (as was spoken of before), to be the instrument of his murther. It was easie to perswade him to this, for he was alreddie at great malice with the Cardinall, becaus he had refused him a fute of some lands or teins that belonged to the Church. The circumstances are at large set doune in the originall; which in breef are thus.—Norman Leslie, John Leslie, his uncle, and William Kirkadie, the young laird of Grange, were the principal actors, and some twenty more that attended them. They come to St Andrews at night, single; and lodged in severall houses. In the morning they stowes themselves in houses nearest to the castle gate, which opened verie earlie to lett in the workmen; at which tyme they entred, after there having sett a guard to the gate. Norman, with some with him, goes directlie to the Cardinall's chamber, which was kept shut against them, untill Norman (who was the Cardinall's verie neer kinsman) gave promise of fastie; but nevertheless of this oath, they murthred him instantlie. Then they thrust out all the people out of the castle, and tooke up the hous, seased upon all his plate, money, jewels, and other furnitor; and whatsoever was within was made their owen. After all this, they take the dead slaughtered carcase and hangs it out at a window in a rope, to be a spectacle, and satiffie the eyes of the complices. These things being ended, they victuall and fortifie the hous, takes in a convenient number of there friends, and mantains it a garrifoune.

This act was highlie commended by all those of the reformed religion, who (as the original sayes) did congratulatt, and feasted amongst themselves. Thus, having settled themselves in garrifoune, they take in John Rouch, a reformed preacher, and admits him to be minister of the garifoune. He gladlie accepted the charge; and for there further instruction he brings in John Knox, whom he knew to be of a violent spirit.

This man likeways embraces this societie, willinglie; and within a little tyme he so moulded the affections of the garrifone, that they rejected Rouch, and gave him both a call and admission, by shaking of hands; and by this admission he practised the function of ministrie all his lyftyme afterward, wherin he is very famous.

Although the Governor was extremly displeased with this murther, yet he could not for the present take any other course, but he summons the actors and those complices to underly the law; and becaus they did not answer, he declared them rebels. In the mean tyme, John Hammiltoune, abbot of Pasley, the Governor's bafe sone, is presented to the archbishop's fee of S<sup>t</sup> Andrews; wherewith the chapter was not pleafed, whoe alreddie had made choyce of James Beatone, archbishop of Glasgowe.

Now the actors of this wickedness being declared rebels, they resolve to maintain the castle, out of which (as is said) they had thrust all that belonged to the Cardinall; onlie, they detaine Lord John Hammiltoune, the Governor's sone, who by accident was there that night, and kept him prisoner. In end, the Governor raises a competent force and besieges the hous, and batters the wals with cannon; but at the end of three months (all this tyme being winter) he was forced to dissolve his men, and return to Edinburgh to keep a parliament, in Februarie, 1547. The historie says that these within the castle, being nowe freed from the seidge, breaks out, and in a hostill way overrunns the whole cuntrie, dryves in cattell, and brings in corns, and with fyre and sword kills and destroys those whome they esteemed there unfriends. They ravish women, gives themselves over to whordome, drinking, and all sorts of licentiousnes.

An English armie at this time is raised in England, which comes over the March at Solaway, comes up through Annandaill and Eskdaill, and destroys everie thing in there way. Robert Lord Maxwell, the Warden, represents these miseries to the Governor; who, by the advyse of the counsell, raises an armie and marched toward Eskdaill, but encamps by the way upon Megget water. Heer the Cardinal's friends takes great

exception, that the Earle of Rothes, Norman Leslie's father, was in the armie; whom everie man suspected was accessarie to the Cardinall's death. They representes it to the Governor as a thing incompatible with justice, and besyds as a danger to him and the whole armie, for it was knowen what correspondence that partie had with the English. The storie sayes that he was put to a tryell of law, and absolved. This being done, the Governor ryfes with the whole armie, and marches to the castle of Langthelme; which he takes easilie from a little garrifone of English, who were left there; for the bodie of the armie was reteared.

The Governor, when he reteared from the castle of S<sup>t</sup> Andrews, sent over to France, and desyrd some assistance, both of skilled foldiers and engyns fitt to take such a place; for he was not provyded in these things himself. Heer he receaved intelligence that some French forces were upon the sea, comming for the Scots service. Whereupon he disbands most part of the armie, and only reserves some of his best troupes; with which he marches straight way to S<sup>t</sup> Ebb's-head, nigh Dumbar and Berwick; where he receaves on land these French, commanded by Leon Strofie, prior of Capua: And with these runs over to Fyffe, and joyns his owen men, and on a sudden lyes doune before the castle of S<sup>t</sup> Andrews; but having lyne heer some dayes without any success, the Governor causes mount some cannon upon the top of the two steeple that overlookt the castle, and put the defenders in great fear; for they both battered doune a curtain which they called the old wall, and were reddie to give an assault. Whereupon the defenders, being now in a desperat condition, they capitulatt, and renders to the French upon condition onlie of lyff. So the castle was rendered, wherein was found the Governor's sone, whome they had still detained, and all the furnitor that was not disposed upon, and much more which was put in by the people of the cuntrie and toune (for securitie) who favoured there action. The castle was by act of Counsell rased and slighted; and the French tooke leave of the Governor, embarked there prifoners and spoyle, and so returned.

In August, this same year 1547, amongst the prifoners was John Knox, who soone after returned, to act the rest; but it was knowen that the

actors of the murther could not flie from the judgment of God; for ever after they lived disperfed, and lookt upon by all men with contempt; and not one efaped an unfortunate end.

King Henrie of England is dead before this; and the Earle of Hertfoord is declared Protector to the young King, Edward the fixth. This man denounced warre againft Scotland, for not performing the contract made four years agoe, anent the marriage betwixt our young Queen and his King Edward; and prepares to invade both by fea and land. The Governor repreffents this to the nobilitie, who were mightilie divyded. Many were now of the Reformed Relligion, with whome joyns in affection all the friends of the Earle of Lennox, men whome the Governor was fure both hated him and favored the Englifh: Yet, by a general confent, an armie was rafed; and by this tyme the Earle of Hereford, Duke of Somerfett, and Protector himfelf, who commanded the Englifh armie in perfone, was come with his whole forces, on this fyd of Dumbar; and the Scots armie was mett and encamped at Inneske. The next day the Englifh armie advanced, and eight hundred hors, under command of the Lord Home, were fent out to view the motion of the enemy, who had chance to encounter with the fore-partie of the Englifh; and heer a ftout combat was fowght, wherein the Scots had the worfe; for the lord Home himfelf was killed (by a fall from his hors) and his fone lykewayes loft his lyffe; one Maxwell was taken prifoner, and fix other gentlmen. Upon the Englifh fyd, Harrie Vane was hurt; and Bartevell, a French man, Bulmer, Gower, and Croach, three captens of thers were taken; and the Duke of Somerfett, with the whole armie, lay doune at Prefton-pans, about a myle from the Scots. It is written by fome, that the Governor, to rafe his armie with greater fpeed, fent through the whole cuntrie the fyre crofs (which they fay was two fyrie ftikks fett a crofs upon the top of a fpear, or elfe a fyrie crofs panted upon a cloath), which was a token of a fudden danger, which made all men formerlie ryfe with great expedition. But, however the armie was rafed, it was a gallant and numerous armie. It was certain that the Englifh were defyrous that bufines might be compofed with a peaceable way; for which end they fend letters to the Governor, defyryng performance in an ami-

cable way. They said, there onlie quarrel was to seek performance of that condition of marriage with the Queen, which was granted by consent of most part of the nobilitie. They likewayes shew the benefitts and good which this performance would produce to both the kingdoms, by many reasons, in a long letter; and then they offered that if this should be willingly granted, they would returne in peace, and give satisfaction for any loss or prejudice the cuntry had sustained. The Governor durst not divulge the substance of these letters to the armie; for he knew the inclination of many of the nobilitie, by whose procurement this armie came here. They were onlie made knowne to some few, and were not approved. So all men made reddie for battell. The Governor's armie was thirty thousand men, divided in three battels; the van was committed to the Earle of Angus, the rear to the Earle of Huntlie, and the Governor led the middle battell himself. The Earle of Angus is noted for his valor and honestie; who maintained bravely the first charge of the English horse and arms, broke them, and defeat them. These that retreated back declared to the Duke, that it was no more possible to break that battell of spears, then a stone wall! This first charge cost many on the English side their lives; amongst whom were Captain Shelbie, and Captain Rateiff, men of great note. The Lord Gray, general of the horse, was himself dangerously wounded in the mouth; and the English standard was so near lost, that the carrier, Andro Flammock, left the staff behind him, and was glad to get away with the colours. The Governor with his battell advanced next, who is much commended for doing his dutie. But the rear, which was commanded by the Earle of Huntlie, is noted to have fled at the first charge, and were the occasion of the ruin of the whole armie; for they fled themselves, and discouraged the rest, that in an instant all gave backe, were killed, and trode downe. The English fleet, lying in the road of Musselburgh, did much harm with their cannon from the sea, and killed many in their confused flight. Many were likewise drowned in the river of Esk. There were reckoned, that died this day, ten thousand men; whereof divers were men of good qualitye, of whom the Lord Flammie is named one. There were taken prisoners, the Earle of Huntlie, chancellor; the Lord Yester, Hamiltoun, captain of Dum-



bar, the maister of Semple, the Laird of Weems, and a brother of the Earle of Cassels. It is recorded that in Edinburgh there were made, this day, three hundred and sixty widowes.

Now, as his armie was composed of two contrarie factions, so did eck partie attribut the los of the day to the oppositt partie. For by these of the Reformed Relligion, who were favorers of the English, with whome was joynd the Earle of Lennox friends, the los of the day was absolute laid upon the Earle of Huntlie, who (say they) fold the armie to the English; and the night before the fight he was seen to goe to the English camp, where he received a great deale of gold, delyvered by Sir Rauff Sadler treafurer of there armie; and his sudden flight the next day confirmed there opinion. Those again on the Governor's partie layes the los upon the treacherie of these of the Reformed Relligion, and the Earle of Lennox friends. The one, for particular malice to the Governor; and both, for cause of relligion. And it is confessed, in the originall, that the greatest fear was, that in case the Governor had win the day, the priests and papists wold have used more tirannie over them then the English. But, however it was, the day was lost, with a verrie great overthrow. The English wryte, that the Earle of Huntlie, the day before the battell, sent a challenge to the Duke of Somersfett, and offred to fight, bodie to bodie, or with ten for ten, to decyde the quarrell without more bloode; but, becaus of his great charge, being Protector to the young King, the English wold not suffer him to accept. This unfortunat day was the tenth of September, and is called Pinckie-field, becaus it was fought hard by Pinkie Church.

After the battell the English advanced to Leth, where they refresh there men eight dayes; then they sackt the toun, and returned to England. In there retreat they tooke in Fast-castle and Home; and builded two forts, one at Lauder and another at Roxburgh, and put in foldiers. The fleet fortified Insketh and St Columb's ile, took in Bruchtie castle, and so returned.

Som tyme before this the Earle of Lennox was made Warden upon the English fyd, for the King of England; and at this tyme he invaded Scotland with eight thousand foot and eight hundred hors. He began at

Elkdail, from whence he marched doune Annandaill, spoyling the whole cuntrie as he went. He put a garrison of fifty hors in Castlemilk, and gave the command to one Fergus Grhame; then he laid seidge to the castle of Annan, which for many days was well defended by John Lion, the captain, but at length it was deliyvred and blownen up with powder; so he returned.

All these tempests being blown over, the Governor meets with [the] Queen mother and the nobilitie at Stirling, where they concluded for securitie of the young Queen's persone. She should be sent to Dumbartain castle, where the Lords Erskine and Livistoun are apoynted to attend and guard her. After which ambassadors were disinissed to France, to desyre assistance, conforme to the antient league, with an offer of our Queen in marriage to the Dolphin of France. In this tyme the Earle of Lennox is busie in agitation with his father in law, the Earle of Angus, and some other friends, to assist him by force to recover his estate in Scotland, which by none other means he could obtain; which they were willing to doe, upon condition that he will quitt the English interest and turne a Scotsman. John Master of Maxwell, and brother to the Lord Maxwell, was the special man in this negotiation. He was at this tyme in fute of the heretrix of Herreis, whoc was kept in protection by the Governor, who had a mynd to marrie her to his owen son Lord John. The Master of Maxwell, a young gentlman of great faime upon the Border, to work mischief to the Governor for crossing him in his fute, agitates this busines, and brings it to that poynt, that two thousand hors are apoynted and conditioned to meet the Earle of Lennox and the Lord Whartoun, Livetenant for England, at Dumfries. Whereupon he deliyvers to this Lord Whartoun fifteen young gentlmen pledges. The Governor, fynding how the game lay, sent to the Master of Maxwell and offred the young lady to him, if he will cros again this invasion; which was accepted. So, when Lennox came to Dumfries, he found none there for his assistance. He sends out six hundred horse to vew the cuntrie, who had hap to encounter with seven hundred hors commanded by the Laird of Drumlanrig (for all the cuntrie were in a posture of re-



distance, not in one bodie but severallie, everie man by himself and his friends) and by them are put to the worfe at first ; but in end Drumlangrig was chafed, and many of his men taken prifoners. The Master of Maxwell with his followers and friends is upon the fields lykewayes, and meets with an other partie of the English, which he routs and beats back to Dumfries. The Earle of Lennox, by this, fieng no conditions kept, the whole cuntrie in opposition, and wants falling in the armie, after some dayes stay at Dumfries, he advyfed the Lieutenant Whartoune to retear back to England ; where he instantlie hanged fourteen of those pledges. Onlie one, called George Herreis of Terrawchtie, was spaired, being too young.

The Governor glade of this, to keep the people in action, rafes some forces and befeidges the castle of Broughtie ; but fynding that he could not carrie it fuddenlie, he left one James Haliburtonne with a hundred hors, and captain Lermouth with the foot, to keep them in and starve them.

The next year was 1548. This summer there aryved from France fix thousand men ; whereof three thousand were German foot, under command of Rongrave ; the rest were two thousand French foot and one thousand hors, commanded by Monsieur D'Esse. These landed at Leith ; and after they were refreshed, the Governor joyned these whome he had reddie, and marched streight to Haddintoune, which was fortified and garrifend by the English. With these he only blok'd up the toune, untill eight thousand men were reddie, whome were a rayfing by the Governor's order. This being done, a Convention is called, to consult upon the Queen's marriage with the Dolphin of France. This counsell was held at the Monastrie of Grayfreers, with much debate. These of Reformed Relligion preferred the English friendship before the French, which they fortified with many arguments ; but in special, for cause of relligion. But the other partie, that stood for France, carried it. Then, soon after this, that French fleet that brought in these soldiers at Leth, saild about the north of Scotland, cam to Dumbartain, tooke the Queen aboard ; and with her, her bafe brother Lord James, her two tutors, the

Lords Erkin and Livistoun; and after much distres at sea, landed at Breff, in Britanie, in the end of August. The Queen was presentlie carried to S<sup>t</sup> Germans in Laion, where the court lay.

The cuntrie people tooke great encouragment by the besieging of Haddintoun; and it made them adventure upon action. In the night they surpryfed the castle of Home, and killed the guards. And a little after this, the cuntrie people, being commanded by the Captain of Foft-castle to bring in provifions, there cam so many with those provifions that they surprisfed the castle and killed the garrifone. An English navie by this tyme was come in sight of our Scots coasts, which terrified the whole cuntrie. They resolve to attempt upon Fyffe, and lands twelve hundred men at a village called S<sup>t</sup> Minianus [Monans]. Lord James Stewart, the Queen's bafe brother (who was newlie returned from France), convenes the cuntrie about S<sup>t</sup> Androes, fights the English; and with the los of fix hundred of there men, and one hundred prisoners, he beats them back to there ships. From hence they fail about the coast, and interpryfed something upon Montros; but by the valor and conduct of the Laird of Drum, then provost of Montros, there camp was surpryfed in the night, five hundred and more were killed, and the rest fled to their ships.

Now these about Haddintoun were still in action, and had brought the toun to some wants. Sir Robert Bowers and Sir Thomas Palmer comes from Berwick; with one thousand foot and three hundred hors, with intention to releve the garrifone with vittell, and thrust in these supplies of men; but they were mett with by the way, cutt in peeces, and those two officers taken prisoners. After this a les supplie of three hundred foot coms from Berwick; who disceaved Monsieur D'Esse, that was laid to keep the pass, and got safe to the toun with powder, munition, and some vittells. In the neck of this, intelligence coms that an English armie is alreddie upon march, to releve Haddintoun; whereupon it was not thought fitt to byd, being overweared with a long and hard dutie. So they drew off the armie, and Monsieur D'Esse, with his French, retears to Edinburgh; where, being refused entrie, his foldiers shuffling to be in, and the toun's people to stop them, Sir James Hamiltonne of Stainhous,

and Mr William Stewart, one of the Queen's fervants, were both killed. Monfr D'Essè to repair this, by some act of valor, retears from the port, and with all his men marches that same night back to Haddintoune, thinking to surpryse the toune in the dawning of the day, and mist but verie little of his intention; for he surpryses the utmost guards, and when he was in the verie entrie of the port, one of the fentries within fyred a great peice that lay to keep the entrie, which being loden with case shott, overthrew a number of the French, and the rest reteared. Yet although Monsieur D'Essè failed of his purpose heer, he will not lye idle. He marches streight to Jedburgh, where he takes up quarter; from whence he makes frequent roads and incursions in England, and does many things to his commendation. At length, both he and his men grew infolent, and gave much offence to the cuntrie; with which [the] Queen mother and the Governor acquainted the King of France, and how the cuntrie was wearied of this man. Whereupon the King sends over Monsieur de Thermes to take the charge, and recalls D'Essè. Monsieur D'Essè, when he heard of this, he presentlie marches to Edinburgh, and before he give over he will act something. He draws out a partie of French and Scots and assaults Inchkeith, where there was a garrifone of English. He beats them from the shoar, kills three officers, and forces the rest to submitt. Then he returns to Leth, and gives up his charge.

The next spring, Monsieur de Thermes drawes his men to the fields, and marches against Bruchtie castle, which he tooke with a great deall of execution; and from thence back to Lothian, and blocks up Haddintoune, where he did not ly long; for intelligence came, suddenie, that an English armie approached for the relefe of the garrifone. This made De Thermes draw off. In the mean tyme, some light hors of the Scots surprysed a quarter where a German regiment lay, and carried safe away there whole baggage; yet nevertheles the toune was supplied, and then the armie reteared to Berwick. In this retreat our Scots hors fell upon one Julius Romanus that commanded a companie of Spaniards. They cut his men in peeces, and took himsele prisoner, hard by Coldinghame.

The English are scarce upon English ground, when De Thermes returned again to Haddintoune, and blocks it up for a long tyme; untill the garrifone within, being drawn to visible necessities, and despairing of any more supplies from England, they watched there owen advantage, sett fyre in the toun, and reteared to Berwick. The garrifone of Lawder was even reddie to doe the lyke, when a peace is proclaimed betwixt France and England, wherein Scotland was compryfed. This proclamation was in Apryle 1550. The next month De Thermes, with all that cam from France, returned.

Now the kingdome being frie of forrain foldiers, and peace proclaimed with England, it was a right tyme for these factious spirits, that could not rest, to doe somethyng. The Reformed Relligion increafed, and the professors repyn to be kept at under and commanded by men of a contrarie religion. They have long since put the Cardinall out of the way; and now the Governor, and his base son the Archbishop of St Androes, are these who stop the course of reformation. Whereupon they traduce there actions, and taxes there fame, to bring them in contempt with the people, and there authoritie in misregard. The Governor is taxed with crueltie, oppression, and avarice; and the Archbishop is taxt with licentiousness and whordome (vyces worthie to be detested by the men themselves, if they be guilty). But the greatest imputation was, that they laboured to keep doune the Reformed Relligion, by fynyng, banishing, and execution to death, which they termed a persecution of the fainthe of God; although the other partie termed it an executing the laws upon factious and fedicious men! The truth was this: nothing was done by the one that was any way satisfactorie to the other partie. Everie day the Governor's authoritie, in the civill government, was more and more misregarded; and the Archbishop's, in Ecclesiastical matters, contemptible. Everie thing that fell out was a ground for the Reformed partie to take hold on, to bring themselves respect, and the authoritie of the other partie in hatred with the commons; as may easilie be observed in the historie. But the Governor was not long a block in there way; for within a short tyme he gave up his charge.

In this last fommer [the] Queen mother's brother, the Marquis de Main, cam to Scotland to vifett his sifter; but did not stay many dayes, for a poast with intelligence of his father's death followed him in the heels, and [the] Queen mother herselfe refolved to goe to France to see her daughter and friends, which she did in the month of September following. She tooke in her companie Leon de Strossie, prior of Capua, the Earls of Huntlie, Marshall, Caffils, and Sutherland. She stayed in France more then a year in all; which tyme she and the nobilitie with her were highlie honored by the King. The Earle of Huntlie was made knight of S<sup>t</sup> Michaell, and Lord James Hammiltoune, the Governor's oldest sone, was made Captain over all the Scots foldiers in France, and had a pention of twelve thousand crouns a year bestwed upon him. Many other favors, and estates in Scotland, were bestwed upon particular men, expressed in the originall. Sir Robert Carnagie of Collechie went over at this tyme from the Governor, to rander the King thanks for his last supplies; who was graciouſlie receaved, and dismissed with reward.

At length the King called M<sup>r</sup> David Panter, bishop of Ros, and Gawen Hammiltoune, the Governor's yongest sone, on whome he had newlie bestowed the Abbacie of Kilwinnen, unto whome he disclosed his intention; which was, to disburthen the Governor of the charge, and gratifie him most noblie for his pains; and that he mynded to put [the] Queen mother in the place, who was one frie from factions or kinred in Scotland. Whereupon he dispatches the Bishop of Ros to Scotland to acquaint the Governor with this defyne, and to deall with him to accept of these offers which he made unto him. The bishop goes over, and works so effectuallie with the Governor that he brings back his consent to the King; for which service the King bestowed upon him the Abbacie of Labloie, in Potiers. So the next year, 1552, [the] Queen mother returns with a commiſſion of Regencie.

The first thing the Queen mother intended was to sattle with the Governor; which was done, upon these conditions: That he should be discharged of all his intromiſſions of whatſomever movable goods King

James left at his death, excepting onlie such as he should declare were yet resting undisposed, which he was obliged to delyver: That the King of France should creat him Duke of Chattelaraut in France, and have twelve thousand francs in pension for his lyffe: And last, that he should be declared next heir to the crowne, if the Queen died without lawfull heirs of her bodie. These things were fullie agried unto, at this tyme, with the consent of all his friends, excepting his brother the Archbishop of St Androes, and the Lord Livistoun; by whose perswasion he seemed afterward a litle to stagger; yet afterwards, upon better advysement, when [the] Queen mother had engaged herselfe to cause the King of France, the Cardinal, and the Duke of Guise, and his other brother (who were curatours to the yong Queen) ratifie this agriment, and lykewayes obliged that the Queen herselfe should ratifie all at her majoritie, by act of parliament, he frielie renounced in [the] Queen mother's favors.

All these conditions were, the next year, presented, sealed, and subscribed, according to agriment, at a Convention of the nobilitie at Sterlin; and then, in Apryle after, in Edinburgh, he publickly renounced his government in favors of [the] Queen mother, and rendered sword, scepter, and crowne to Monsieur De Ofell, in the Queen's name, conforme to her order; who, with consent of the whole parliament, delyvered them to [the] Queen mother. This being done, [the] Queen mother ascended to the Governor's seat, and he tooke place amongst the nobilitie according to his rank. This in the year 1555.

The first stroake of [the] Queen Regent's authoritie fell upon the Earle of Huntly, whome she caused imprisone, for that he did not his duetie against the Captain of Clanronnald, in obedience to her command. This was not the secret cause of his imprisonment; but he was too great, and did many things without respect to authoritie. And now, being once made prisoner, he could not obtain his libertie untill he renounced all the right that he claimed to the earldome of Murray, and to any rents which he lifted out of Marr, Orkney, or Shetland; and denuded himselfe of some shirieffships, or other casualties and benefitts, that he possessed without just right. The Earle of Cassils is noted to be the author

of these hard conditions imposed upon him, who professed himselfe his unfriend; yet within short tyme after he was sett at libertie, he was received in favor with [the] Queen mother, and was he whose counsell she made 'greatest use off afterward, for some tyme.

After this [the] Queen Regent applies herselfe altogether to settle the affairs of the kingdome, and administrat justice. She makes a progres to the North; and at Ennernes kept a court, which we call a Justice-air. Heer many complaints comes in against John Mudhart Captain of Clanrannald, who had done much more harme since the imprisonment of the Earle of Huntlie. The Queen sends out the Earle of Atholl against him; who forced the Captain to submitt himselfe and his children, and were all brought in prisoners to [the] Queen Regent; but in short tyme he deceived his keepers, and made an escape. But afterward, she made another expedition to the North, in person, to suppress this Captain, and at her return (the storie says) she restored some of these that were guiltie of the Cardinal's death, and was laught at for her pains.

The place of Chancellor, that was taken from Huntlie, [the] Queen Regent bestowed it upon Monsieur Rubie; and the Prior of Capua [Leon Strozzi] was made keeper of the seall. Several other places of trust were disposed upon to Frenchmen. Then a proposition is made, in a Convention, for a guard to be raised for the Border, to be constantly maintained in pay; and the way to raise money, for this use, was concluded to be by way of tax upon the subject. For which cause, everie man's estate, both real and personall, were apoynted to be valued, and these particular valuations to be registrat to stand as a rule in tyme to come. This tax was grevous, but the valuation was taken worse by all men generallie. The overturn of the busines was fair; that garrisons might be planted upon the Borders, to lye constantlie, both to be reddie to defend the cuntrie from incurfions, and keep the nobilitie and people of these cuntries in securitie and ease; that they should not be trubled upon everie small occasion, as they were formerlie, unles an armie should come downe which the garrisons were not able to resist.

The nobilitie gave way to this proposition, either through fear or expectations of favor; but the gentrie repynd and tooke it grievouslie, and



convened in Edinburgh in no les number then three hundred. They made choose of two of there number to represent there grevance, and the prejudice that might follow to [the] Queen Regent. James Sandilands laird of Calder was for the South, and John Weems of that ilk for the North. These, getting aeces to the Queen, represented the inconveniencies which this course wold at length bring upon the cuntrie, and what troubles wold follow, by a long speech. The cheefe of all was the dislyke the people wold take at the Queen Regent herself, and her cuntrie men the French, who were thought to be the counsellors in this busines; and the great fear there was that this wold draw a necessitie of greater charge upon the cuntrie; for England, being both more populous and welthie then we, they might mantain greater garrisons constantlie, upon the other fyd, then our garrisons were able to resist. Many reasons more were alledged, at length exprest in the historie. [The] Queen Regent, sieng this general dislyke, excused herself and these French they spoke on, and said plainlie that the advyse came from some of the best of the nobilitie. Whereupon this busines was crusht, and [the] Queen Regent discharged any further to be done into it.

In the next year, 1557, there was a Treatie of Peace betwixt us and England, and Commissioners mett at Carleill for both kingdomes. But before this Treatie tooke any effect, ambassadors cam from France desyring [the] Queen Regent, according to the old League, to make warrs upon England; becaus Marie, then Queen of England, assisted her husband Phillip the second King of Spain (unto whome she was latlie married) with English forces, in West Flanders, against the French. Whereupon the Commissioners were recalled from Carleill, and returned without any certain conclusion, either of peace or war. [The] Queen Regent then convenes the nobilitie at Newbottle, and in a handsome speech desyred that warrs might be denounced with England (for many reasons exprest at length) which wold prove both a recompense for all late incursions, and a way to procure a sattled peace heerafter. This was refused by the whole Convention; yet it was thought necessar to build a fort at Alimouth, which might both stop these incursions of the



English, and be a strength to keep cannon and munition in that pairt of the cuntrie, for ease of the foldiers; for it was trubefome upon everie occasion to draw cannon and other necessars from Edinburgh. These whoe did not love [the] Queen Regent constructed this to be a politick trick of the French, to engadge the two kingdomes, since warr was refused by consent. The trewth was, that the garrison of Berwick wold not suffer this port to be builded. They made dyvers fallies from the toune, and both stopt the work (although it was far within Scots ground) and lykwayes spoyled the cuntrie about.

At last, open hostilitie being used on both pairts, warr was proclaimed. Then all men, by open proclamation, was summoned to repair to Edinburgh at a certain day, which was obeyed: And out of this multitude an armie was modelled; which presentlie marches to the Mers, and encamps beyond Tweed, at a pairt called Maxwellhewch. Monsieur de Ofell (who commanded the French, and unwilling to be idle) tooke some cannon with him and marched over the March, to Wark castle, spoils round about, and threatnes the castle itselfe. This was a sufficient ground for these who were continuall priers in all the Queen Regent's actions to breed a mutinie. It was alledged a presumption in him to enterpryse any action before the counsell of warr had concluded upon the manadgment of the warr itselfe; and that this was not intended for any love to the Scots service, but to please the King of France and begin the warr, without regard to what should follow. Whereupon he was commanded to retear his men, under pain of treafone.

All this winter was spent in continuall skirmishes. There was one action onlie worth the relating, that fell out betwixt the Duke of Northfolke and Sir Andro Ker. Those two mett by accident at the foot of Cheviott hills, and had a bloodie fight; but in end Sir Andro Ker's troops [were] routed, himselfe and many of his best men taken and carried away prisoners.

Neir about this tyme ambassadors arryved from the King of France, which was the occasion of a new Convention at Edinburgh, in December.

The ambassadage was to defyre the nobilitie of Scotland to fend over ambassadors to France to perfytt the conditions of marriage betwixt the Dolphin and our yong Queen, &c. This was presentlie agried unto, and eight were choosed a pairt of everie state. Gilbert Earle of Caffils, George Earle of Rothes, and James Lord Flammin were for the Lords; for the Church were James Beatone archbishop of Glasgou, Robert Red bishop of Orkney, and Lord James Stewart prior of S<sup>t</sup> Androes, the Queen's bafe brother; George Lord Seatone, and Sir John Erskine Laird of Dun (the first was provost of Edinburgh, and the other of Montros) represented the third state. These were dispatcht with ample commission, but were miserable storm-beaten by sea. Two of there ships were beaten in upon the road of Boulogne, in France, and were broake and sunk. Not one escaped alyve, in both these ships, excepting the Earle of Rothes and the bishop of Orkney, who were saved by a fisher boat. The rest of the ships, after many dittres, arryved at severall ports in fastie. These commissioners had not much to doe after they went up to Paris, for things were agried upon long before. The Queen had allowed her fifty thousand crowns in dowrie by year, and twenty thousand crounes more in pension.

All things and preparations being ended, the marriage followed upon the eighteenth day of Apryle 1558, which with great majestie was solemnized in the Church of Notre Dame, in Paris. And immediatlíe thereafter a proclamation was put out, in further connexion of the two kingdoms: That there shall be in all tymes to come a mutuall freedome for both nations: That all Scots men shall be esteemed hereafter naturall Frenchmen, in France; and Frenchmen the lyke, in Scotland: That a Scots man within France, or a French man within Scotland, in all tymes coming, shall be capable of honors and offices, and shall frielie enjoy inheritances in lands or moveables: And finallie, that the two kingdoms shall be unitt in one, and be esteemed as one nation in all tymes to come. This was mutuallie agried upon by both kingdoms, and ratified by the parliaments of them both.

It is recorded that when the Scots commissioners tooke leave from the King, they were called before the Counfell; where they were defyred, in

a long speech by the chancellor, to delyver the croune, scepter, and sword of Scotland now unto the Dolphin, as belonging unto him; wherin they excused themselves at that tyme, being a thing not mentioned in there commiffion. Then they were defyred to give, under there hands, there consent unto this demand, that it might be presented before the parliament of Scotland; which they lykwayes refused, as a thing neither reasonable to defyre nor lawfull for them to grant. These are unliklie relations, but howfomever they are sett down by my author. Thus the Commiffioners takes there leave from court, and fett out to there journey. But the Earles of Caills and Rothes, the bithop of Orkney, and the Lord Flammin, died all suddenie in there returne; and Lord James Stewart, the Queen's bafe brother, efeaped death by a long and dangerous ficknes. All which was by many attribute to poyfone!

All this year the Borders were infested with daylie incurfions, depredations, and skirmishes, fome whereof were remarkable. About Withfunday, Sir Hairie Perfey, and Sir George Bowers Marshall of Berwick, entred Scotland with two thoufand foot and eight hundred hors. They burnt the toune of Dunee, and the hous and village of Langtoun, in the Mers; and in there returne they were overtaken by fome Scots troup hard by Swintoun, where they fought a long tyme; and the Englifh both beat back the Scots and carried away the bootie they had gott. There were dyvers killed in this skirmish; and William Mafter of Marshall, Captain Cullen, and Captain Kennedie were taken prifoners, upon the Scots fyd; Captain Edrintoun and Ensigne Pell, upon the Englifh partie, were taken by the Laird Edmiftoun. At another incurfion, the Earle of Northumberland burnt Long Ednam, in the Mers, and took Patrick Lord Gray prifoner; and fo returned. The Earle of Bothwell, Warden of the Scots Marches, entred England with fome troup and burnt Fертounetoun; whereupon Sir Hairie Perfey gets together a thoufand hors, and in haft coms doune toward the Border; but (the ftorie fayes) upon a panick fear he reteared again in confufione, and about the foot of the water of Till they were overtaken by fome Scots troup, where Captain Edrintoun and Captain Ker were both taken prifoners, and fix fcore

more. Sir William Kircadie of Grange and Rauff Ker, an English man, had chance to single themselves out upon the fields, and in fight of all they fought a combat, wherein Rauff was beaten and hurt.

One Sir John Clerc, an English man, with some ships arryved at Orkney and invaded the land; but himselfe and almost all his men were killed by the cuntrie people. After this, the Earle of Suffex with twelve ships came about the North Iles of Scotland, and landed some men at Cantyre, whoe burnt the cuntrie and killed some men. From this he failed to Lamfash, and, without any more enterpryse, he returned to England by the coast of Ireland.

Now to retorne to our owen feditiouns at home. These of the new Reformed doctrin (as is alreddie said) being much increased in number, which they sie daily to increase more, disdains to be any longer suppressed; for they think themselves now of power to oppose by force. Whereupon the great men meets in a public Convention, where, by a general consent, a Band was drawn up and subscribed by all there hands; by which they combyne themselves by oath to maintain that Relligion which they now profess, and ech one another, in that cause, with lyffe, lands, and goods against all men whatfomever; and takes upon (them) to be named The Lords of the Congregation, whereby they may be distinguished from the rest of the kingdome. Thus having drawn themselves to a bodie, they proceed. They resolve to take arms; but before matters come this length, it was thought fitt, that some pretext of cause should be showed to the wordle (world). Whereupon they send Sir James Sandilands of Calder to [the] Queen Regent with a petition, in name of the Congregation; by which [the] Queen Regent was humblic desired to grant them free profession of there Relligion: That they might have libertie to plant the Churches of the kingdome with Ministers of their owen Relligion: That a general Reformation may be made in the Kirk of Scotland: That all prayers be said, and the sacraments administrat, in the vulgar language: That everie toune or parish within this kingdome may make choofe of there owen minister: That they may have power to examin the lyves of there present pastors, and if they shall not fynd them answerable to there place, that

they have power to depose them, and put others in there rounge. This petition was presented with this verbal commission: "Madam, If your highnes refuse this petition, there will be no face of a Kirk in Scotland heerafter; nor it is not in our power to stay the people from infurrection!"

[The] Queen Regent was much perplex with this petition; whereunto she gave no more answer for the present, but that she would take it to her consideration. Upon this [the] Queen Regent calls a Counsell, and the Clergie assembles by themselves. The issue may be easily guessed; for nothing was proposed by the Congregation that [was] yielded unto by the Clergie, nor nothing was offered by the Clergie that was acceptable to the Congregation. Much altercation there was, on both sides. At length the Congregation resolved either to force their libertie by arms, or overturne all. Nevertheless, the Clergie proceeds against them with Church censures, as hereticks; weapons that were now esteemed blunted, and of no reputation! This Convention ratified all that there ambassadors had done in France, and gave them thanks.

In the mean tyme, there was an ambassage from France arrived heer, some dayes before this, whoe now presents himselfe to [the] Queen Regent and the nobilitie heer assembled. He delivred his commission in public, by which was desired that the sword, sceptre, and crowne of Scotland might be sent over to the Dauphin of France; which now he claimed by his wyffe; and it was named a matrimonial crowne! This was granted (although much opposed by those of the Reformed Religion). Whereupon Gilespick Campbell Earle of Argyle, and Lord James Stewart, prior of St Androes, the Queen's base brother, are appointed to carrie them to France. These two put off tyme by many delays, and at length declared there unwillingnes to such an employment; which Lord James professed he did, fearing to be brought in question for it heerafter; and besyds that, becaus the Queen had now a title to a greater crowne, by the death of Marie the Queen of England. Yet it was spoken by many, that these were but forgd pretences; for this aver-

nes proceeded from his aim, which he lookt at afarr, for the crowne to himfelfe.

It was in the raigne of Edward the fixth of England, who was a Protestant himfelfe, and had modelld that Relligion in England, and did encouradge thofe of the new doctrin in Scotland (although differing from that of England in many things), yet they of the Reformed Relligion in Scotland increafed exceedingly. After whofe death Marie, King Edward's fifter, fucceded to that crowne; whoe was a Roman Catholick in Relligion, and eftablifhed again that which fhe profefled herfelfe. And this was one great reafone that kept the Reformed partie in Scotland in quiet, having none to proteét them. But now Queen Marie of England is dead, and her fifter Elizabeth is crowned Queen, whoe is a Protestant in religion, and has alreddie overturned all that her fifter had re-eftablifhed, and planted the Protestant Relligion, by aét of parliament, in England. Now our people of the Reformed Relligion, having correfpondence with this Queen of England, and having obtained affurance of protection from her, they are both incouraged in there profefion, and to propagat and mantain it by the fword. Whereupon we fhall now fie nothing but rebellions and faétions burft out lyke a flame of fyre!

There was a Convention called at Stirling, upon the eighth day of May 1559, by [the] Queen Regent, unto which Alexander Earle of Glencairne, and Hugh Campbell, Shirreff of Air, were fent from the Congregation, to prefent there petition, whoe (after much argument) fynding [the] Queen Regent not fo reddie as they defyred, to give full fatiffaction to there demands, they declared publickly, that unles fhe wold confent fullie to there defyrs, that they would renounce all oaths and tyes of fidelitie and obedience unto her; and then the might judge what wold follow.

When [the] Queen Regent is yet in thefe perplext agitations, adverteifment coms to her that thefe of the Reformed Relligion are broake out in many pairts of the kingdome, and rifen in a tumultuarie way, hes shaken off there obedience to the difciplin and profefion then in autho-

ritie, and made publick profession of this new doctrine. [The] Queen Regent, mightlie discontent at these insolencies, commanded the Lord Ruthven (whoe was both shirreff of Perth and provest of St Jhonstoune) to goe home and suppress these insurrections, within his jurisdiction at St Jhonstoune. My Lord refused, and answered plainlie, That in what concerned there bodie, his charge was to keep them in order, but what concerned there souls, or religion, it was neither in his charge, nor would he medle with it! She commanded James Haliburtone (who was provest of Dundie) to apprehend Paul Messon, a turbulent man, whoe had stirred all that toune to insurrection by his preachings. [He] promised to doe his endeavor, but in the mean tyme, he adverteised Paul, whoe slipt himself asyde untill a counterfitt searce was made.

Things growing to this confusion, proclamation comes out, by authoritie of parliament, commanding the feast of Easter to be kept holie, and celebrat after the accustomed forme. But no obedience was given at all. Wherupon [the] Queen Regent, fynding her authoritie misregarded, and all things lyke to turne to confusion, she apoynted another Convention at Stirling, upon the twentieth day of May; to which all these disturbers of the peace were summoned to appear. They resolve to doe so, not [in] obedience to the order, but to bring things to a greater tumult. So all that were joyned with the Congregation flockt to Stirling, in multitudes. They brought all there ministers alongst with them, and a Confession of there Faith, in wryte; which, in a turbulent way, they offred to present. Those multitudes of people (though for the most part unarmed) astonisht [the] Queen Regent not a little. But yet, having most of the antient nobilitie on her pairt, and the lawes of the land, standing in force, she declared these whoe had not appeared rebells, and commands the Laird of Dun (a cheefe man of the Congregation) to disperse these people with quietnes. The Laird of Dun acquents the rest of the Congregation with this; whoe, indeed, sent home the people, but even there, they conclude to make open rebellion and ryfe in arms.

Now aryfes tumults upon tumults, killing of priests, sackings and pull-



ing doune of Churches, ruining of statlie Abbacies, and other glorious buildings, dissolving hospitalls; all in confusion. In a word, these antient buildings and brave fabricks, monuments of antiquitie, and marks of pietie, which for many hundred years have been a building, shall, in few months, be destroyed and rased to the ground! The ornaments and riches of the Churches fell to the share of the commone rable; the estats and lands were divyded amongst the great men, by themselves, without right or law; which they resolve to maintain by the sword!

The first storme fell upon Saint Jhonstoune, in this same month of May. John Knox (of whome we spoke before, whoe had been minister to these rebels in the castle of S<sup>t</sup> Androes) was the occasione; whoe, by a feditious sermon, sturred up the people to furie and madnes; who encouraged them to pull doune the Churches; for in his sermon he bid them "Pull doune the nests that the crowes might not build again!" Wherupon they run out in confusion, killed the priests, broake doune altars, and destroyed all the images and ornaments. From that they fall upon the Relligious Houfes and Monasteries; those two goodlie Abbayes of Franciscans and Dominicans, with there Churches, were pulled doune and made leuell with the ground, in two dayes; and all there riches made a prey to the people! But the Abbay of Charters Monks stod longer, by one day. The next storme fell upon Couper. Those people, upon notice of this busines at Perth, fell lykwayes upon there Church; which they spoyled and ranfackt, and chafed away the priests.

[The] Queen Regent fies now things past remeed, by fair means; and she resolves to goe to the fields, and presentlie poasts adverteisment to Duke Hammiltoune, the Earles of Argyle and Atholl; and in short tyme she had an armie reddie to march. It was thought fitt to goe first against Perth. The Earle of Glencairne is noted for the most forward. He brought two thousand five hundred men, hors and foote, with great expedition. The storie sayes, that Lord James [Stewart] the prior of S<sup>t</sup> Androes, the Queen's bafe brother, and the Earle of Argyle, whoe were known to be special fomenters of all thes innovations, kept still with the Queen, in shew; and stayed still in the armie, on purpose to act better



for the advantage of the Congregation; with resolution to take part publickly, when they found the tyme feasonable. The armie of the Congregation were seven thousand men; but the Queen's exceeded them in number. Yet, by the perswasion of the Earle of Argyll and Lord James, the Queen's bafe brother, she was moved to a Treatie. These same two were sent, for [the] Queen Regent's part, to meet with the Earle of Glencairne and the Laird of Dun, for the Congregation. The four did foone agree upon these conditions: That the foldyers should be disbanded, on both fyds: That the toun of Perth shall receave [the] Queen Regent, where she may reside, at her pleasure, to refresh herselfe: In the mean tyme, no tounfman to be trubled in bodie or goods: And that no French man shall approach the toun be thrie myls. All other things were left till the next Convention.

These things being done, and [the] Queen Regent's armie disbanded, the Earle of Argyll and Lord James resolved to partie the Congregation openlie. Wherupon they leave [the] Queen Regent, and goes to St Androes; where they meet and consults with the Lords of the Congregation, and shewes themselves openlie for them, and joyns with them in publick. This bred [the] Queen Regent great distemper. She thinks now that what she hes done in things past, by there advyse, was nothing but policie in them, to win ground and tyme to the Congregation. She sends unto them a command to returne; but they both refuse to obey; and then presentlie poasts adverteisment everie where for there friends to ryse, that they might have the start of [the] Queen Regent, whoe had now disperfed her forces; and although she had no foldyers on foote, yet to put the people in the greater furie to ryse, they made the word goe that she was alreddie at Falkland, reddie to surpryse Couper and St Androes!

[The] Queen Regent was at St Johnstoune when she heard that Lord James and the Earle of Argyll had joynd themselves to the Congregation, and what they had done. She thinks this a breach; she will therefore secure Perth. She changes the old magistrats, and put in new; she punished some of the most fyrie zelots, and banished them the toun; causes priests exerce there function, and leaves a garrifone of Scots men

in Perth to keep the toune; and then returned to Stirling, where she stayed not long; for, hearing that the Lords of the Congregation were alreddie upon the fields, she thought it high tyme for her to draw her friends together; which she did, and marcht with all expedition.

When the newes was knowen that Lord James and the Earle of Argyll had deserted [the] Queen Regent, and joynd themselves to the Congregation, the people were so much encouradged that they flockt in multitudes. Then a declaration was put out, by which it was declared, That the cause of there ryfing in arms was for defence of the cause of God, there religion, and libertie, and lyves, that were all in eminent danger, by the false dealing of [the] Queen Regent; whom neither Bands, religion, nor solemne oaths could bind: That she was a breaker of truce and faith: That she was a stranger, that had no respect to the well of Scotland. These words being declared to the people by John Knox, they grew so exasperatt, that they were reddie to attempt any thing. They run in confusion to the toune of Craill, and fell upon the Church, which they ranfackt and spoyled. From thence to St Androes, and heer they spoyled all; and not content with the spoyle of the whole Churches and Monasteries, they pulled doune the verie walls of the Gray and Black Friars Monasteries, goodlie things and of great antiquitie; and chafed the archbishop himselfe out of the toune!

Now the Queen's forces were onlie two thousand French, commanded by Monsieur de Ofell, and one thousand Scots under Duke Hammiltoun's command. With these she marcht for Couper, where she had apoynted the cuntrie men, that adhered to her, to rendezvous. But the Congregation, having intelligence of [the] Queen Regent's desygne, possessed themselves of this place the night before the Queen's apoyntment; where all the friends of the Congregation, that inhabited Angus, came from Dundie, and joynd with them, who were numbred one thousand men; and the next morning they march out. And when both the armies are in fight, they draw up, a little rivelet running out betwixt, with some space of plain ground on either fyd. Duke Hammiltoun sent out fyve hundred hors to view the enemies, and face them; who made report, at there returne, that they exceeded themselves far in number, and that they

were reddie to fight. Wherupon they go to a counfel of warr, whoe, becaus of the inequalitie of the number, together with an unwillingnes was found amongft themselves, Duke Hammiltoune fent to Falkland to [the] Queen Regent (whither she had reteared her perfone), and advyfed her once again to try if busines can be compofed. Wherupon [the] Queen Regent fent thrie noblemen to treat with them again; whoe fynds the Congregation fo high, that, it feemed, no place was left for agriement. Onlie eight dayes truce was condescended unto; in which fpace [the] Queen Regent might fend to S<sup>t</sup> Androes, and treat with the whole Lords of the Congregation, whoe were there alltogither. In the mean tyme Lord James Stewart and the Earle of Argyle adds to the propositions which were given to [the] Queen Regent, to advyfe and anfwer that the Queen's garrifone might be taken of Perth, and the tounne fuffred to enjoy there Reformed Relligion. This proposition was added on purpofe to breake of Treatie; becaus they knew it wold not be granted. So, this being refused, the Congregation marches dire@lie to Perth, and befeiges the tounne; which was rendred within few dayes. Then the Laird of Kilfauns (whom [the] Queen Regent had made provost) was difplaced, and the Lord Ruthven was again admitted. Then they fend a ftrong pairtie over to Scone, whoe ranfackt and defaced the Churches, broake doune the altars, and images, and diftroyd the whole ornaments and antient monuments, and fo reteared. Upon the other hand, Lord James and the Earle of Argyle marcht to Stirling, and ferved the Churches there with the lyke fair; and rafes the Monafterie of Black Friers to the ground. The next day they remove to Edinburgh, and in there way they vifitt the Churches of Lithgou, which they altogether fpoyled and ruined.

They were willinglie receaved in Edinburgh by the magiftrats, where they were no fooner entred, but they fell upon the Churches, which they ranfackt and ruined with admirable fpeed. They begun at the great Church of S<sup>t</sup> Gyles, and from it to the Colledge Kirk; both which they fpoyled of all there ornaments. From thence to the Black Friers Monafterie, which they overturned to the foundation. They lykewayes pulled doune the Monafterie and Church of Gray Friers, and our Lady

Kirk in the Fields (called Maria de Campis), and made them leuell with the ground. Thus, having defaced all the Churches in Edinburgh, and pulled doune those they pleased, they planted Reformed preachers in those they had reserved, and disposed of the government of the towne, as they thought fitt. Then they seased upon the Queen's pallace of Halli-roodhous, with all the rich furnitor; which they possessed, and kept for there owen use.

These things were done with so great speed, that there was no tyme to prevent; but so soone as [the] Queen Regent could make reddie, she marches toward Edinburgh; and in the way, Duke Hammiltoune and the Earle of Mortoune mett her with all there friends: by whose mediation a truce was agried upon, from the fourteenth day of July, untill the tenth of January heerafter. The Articles agried upon were these: That in this mean tyme, libertie in matters of conscience shall be frie to all: That no garrifone shall be kept in Edinburgh: That no man shall impede priests or churchmen, to intromett with there tends, and rents, &c. &c.: That no man shall truble either Church, Monasterie, or other Relligious places: That the next day the coyning hous, and coyning irons, shall be delyvred to [the] Queen Regent, and the Queen's pallace of Halli-roodhous, with all the furnitour.

It was about this tyme that Herrie King of France died by a stroake in his eye of a splinter of a lance, which he receaved from the Earle of Mongomerie at tilt; and our Queen's husband Francis the second succeeded; whoe, hearing of all these tumults and misfarradges in Scotland, sent over letters to Lord James, by which he taxt him mightilie for his misfariage, and commanded him to desist and abandon that societie in tymes coming, upon his alledgeance. Lord James returns answer, That he had committed no misfariage, nor taken any wrong course: That he had done nothing against his alledgeance: That what he did and does was lawfull, for maintainance of the liberties of the cuntrie and propagation of the Gospell, which was no more lawfull for him to abandon then to deny Jesus Chryft, &c.

Neer about this tyme James Earle of Arran came home from France.

He was the Duke's eldest sone; a yong man of a factious spirit, whoe presentlie joyned himselfe with the Congregation. [The] Queen Regent had acquainted the King of France with all the proceedings in Scotland, and had earnestlie desired assistance, in men, which about this tyme arryved at Leth; wheroff one thousand were commanded by Monsieur Octavian, which arryved first, and a little after Monsieur La Bros landed with two thousand more. This Monsieur was Knight of the order of the Cockle, and a gentelman of good estimation in France. He brought with him the Bishop of Amiens, and thrie Doctors of Sorbone. These were a great encouragment for [the] Queen Regent. They presentlie fortifie Leth, and prepares to make warr. Yet La Bros and the Bishop addrest themselves to the Lords of the Congregation. They produced there commission, and declared that he was sent to compose these distractions (if possible) in a peaceable way; and that in matters of religion, the Bishop of Amiens and these Doctors were sent to give disput, and satisfie the doubtfull. The Lords of the Congregation answered by wryte, in a long letter, that they wold not receave any religion by stroake of sword, and they would be reddie to answer them in the fields, if they intended warr: but if they wold dismissh there foldyers and send them back, they wold treat with them upon indifferent terms. They wrote lykwayes to [the] Queen Regent; by which they said, they wondred she wold dishonor herselfe and oppress the cuntrie with forrain foldyers, and force them to imploy the assistance of the kingdome to expell forrainers.

In the mean tyme of all this, the Congregation were seeking aid from the Queen of England, wherof [the] Queen Regent was not ignorant; and the Earle of Arran had besturred himself much, since he came over. He had not onlie drawn many more to follow him, but he had corrupted his father the old Duke, who was now joyned with the Congregation also. [The] Queen Regent sent Robert Forman, King at Arms, to the Congregation, with answer to their letters. She said, That it seemed by there demands, or rather commands, that they have assumed more power and authoritie to themselves than befits subjects, knowing well none had the lawfull authoritie but herselfe, under the King and the Queen her daughter. This she commanded the Herault to speake by word. She

commanded him also to enquire the Duke, if he remembred the promefes of fidelitie and obedience which he made, both to herfelfe, her dawghter, his naturall foverain, and to the King her husband, by word and wrytt, not onlie for himfelfe, but for his fone the Earle of Arran? She willed him to fay to the Congregation, alfo, that ſhe was both reddie and willing to doe any thing for peace to the cuntrie, that [might] ſtand with the glorie of God and the libertie of the croune: That ſhe had never intention to ſubdew the cuntrie, but to maintaine that to her dawghter and fone in law which belonged unto them by inheritance: Neither did ſhe ever intend warr, fortifie Leth, or bring in foldyers, untill they, in open Convention, renounced there alledgeance to her authoritie; and till firſt they rafed men, and went to the fields againſt her whoe represented the royal authoritie, tooke in towns, fortified them at there pleaſure, and are now making up a League with the Engliſh, the antient enemy of the land, and ſeeking there aſſiſtance: How was it lawful for them to keep up an armie in Edinburgh, and not lawful for her to doe the lyke in Leth? That whatſomever colour they put upon there actions, yet it is notar that the quiet of the commonwealth is the leaſt of there aims: That if they will yet ſhew a probable way for the peace of the cuntrie, and preſervation of the Royal Maieſtie, ſhe ſhall diſmiſſe the French foldyers out of the kingdome. In the mean tyme, ſhe commanded the Herault to charge the Duke and the reſt of theſe Lords to depairt home and leave that ſocietie, under pain of treaſone; and if they refuſed, to denounce them rebells.

Upon the twenty third day of October, they returned anſwer by the ſame Herault: That they ſaw her obſtinacie againſt the true Kirk of God, and the Reformed Relligion, &c. &c. which they wold defend: They diſcharged her perſone in tyme to come to meddle any more with the government, upon any pretext whatſomever of power from the King and Queen; for as ſhe does not accompt them lawfull ſubjects, they do not accompt her Regent nor a lawfull Maieſtrate: That they were born counſellors, and it belonged to their charge to looke to the government, under the King and Queen; in whoſe name they diſcharged her: That they wold leave nothing undone, with there lyves and eſtates, to baniſh the French and recover Leth: That if any was there (in Leth) as ambaſſa-



dors, they command them to avoid the kingdome within twenty four hours; and that she dismis all hyred foldyers, and transport herselfe within the same space: They lykwayes inhibitt all ambassadors from the King and Queen to make any adres to her; and discharged her to middle in any thing untill the next parliament, to be indyted by them, and sitt where they think fitt: They command all Scotfinen to come out of Leth within twenty four hours, under pain to be esteemed perturbers of the commonwealth.

After this, there was open hostilitie betwixt them (the Congregation lying at Edinburgh, and [the] Queen Regent at Leth), and the tyme was spent in skirmishing and other actions of warr, untill jelousies arose amongst the Lords in Edinburgh. Dyvers of there number left the cause and abandoned them. The Duke began to waver, and the foldyers to mutinie for want of pay, and [the] Queen Regent had so good intelligence in there camp, that she knew even there secretest counfells. To remeed these things, they apoynt some to keep the Duke streight: They intercept the Queen's intelligence, and fynding no readier way for money to the foldyers, they send to Sir Rauff Sadler and Sir James Crofts, governors of Berwick, and borrowes from them four thousand crounes, which they delyvred to John Cockburne of Ormiston; but the Queen Regent, having notice of this, sent the Earle of Bothwell to intercept the money; which he both did and wounded the Laird of Ormiston in the fight. These things did much trouble the Congregation, but yet they resolve to byd it. Wherupon they make choofe of four of there number, by whose advyse and direction all things shall be governed. These were Duke Hammiltoun and his sone the Earle of Arran, Archbald Earle of Angus, and the Earle of Glencairne. There were added affessors, Lord James and Lord Robert Stewarts, both base brothers to the Queen, the Lord Ruthven, the Master of Marshall, and the Laird of Glenurchie. They began there redification with the Lord Seatoun, who all this tyme was provost of Edinburgh. They misdoubt his integritie, and puts him from his charge, and makes Archbald Douglas of Kilspindie provost; they changed both the bailies and the whole counfell of the toun, and put in men of there owen choosling.

The provost of Dundie was the first that adventured to action from the Congregation. He drawes out his men with some cannon to the Hawk-hill (a place betwixt Halliroadhous and Leth), and playes upon the towne of Leth. Whereupon some hors were sent out of the garrifone, with resolution to guard a strong partie of foote that were to follow; but upon the sight of those hors, that Dundie men fled in confusion, and with the loss of some they recovered the Cannongate.

After this the Lords of the Congregation were much perplexed, for things did not work to their content. There was division amongst the Lords themselves, and the commons were alreddie wried. They were almost at the point of dispair, when William Maitland younger of Lethingtoun, [the] Queen Regent's cheefe Secretarie, betrayes his trust, and joyns himselfe unto them. This man encouraged them to stand, and revealed all [the] Queen Regent's projects; amongst which he acquainted them of a convoy with victuals, that [was] to be brought to Leth upon the fifth day of November next. Upon this discoverie, the Earle of Arran and Lord James the Queen's base brother went out to intercept them; but were beaten back with the loss of twenty five of their men; of which number was one Captain Alexander Haliburtonne, a young zelott.

This little blow discouraged the people in Edinburgh. They loose heart; they grumble, and mutine, nor lay it in the power of the Lords to draw any man again to the fields. The Lords themselves were in confusion, and they were so much possessed with fear, that they think not Edinburgh a securitie. Whereupon the next day they ryse, and with baggage and baggage they march to Sterlin; and here, by the preaching of John Knox, they recovered spirit. They had been now for a long tyme in expectation of the English assistance, which this retreat made them to importune; for which end they dispatch this young Livistounne, as the trustiest man, to Quean Elifabeth of England, with instructions to remonstrate their condition, and what danger was like to fall to them and their cause in hand: That if the French became masters of Scotland, how easie it were for them to infect England, upon every fyde, besyds the ruin of Religion; for which they engaged themselves and all! This



man being dispatched, the Lords divyded there forces. One pairt was sent to Glasgowe, to protect the West and keep it in obedience; for this pairt of the kingdome was much affectionat unto them; the other pairt was sent to Fyffe, where lykwayes they had the affections of the people.

This sudden retreat of the Lords of the Congregation, together with intelligence that English supplies were comming, made the French in Leth resolve to act somthing before the English cam doune. They know, now, that the Lords have abandoned Edinburgh; and they know how they have divyded there forces; wherupon they march out of Leth with most pairt of their forces to Stirlin, and in there way tooke Lithgow, and spoyled some lands belonging to the Hammiltouns. From Stirlin they marehit doune the coast syd to Kinghorne; and heer they encamped three weeks without any action of worth, but that they burnt the Laird of Grange's hous; which he soone revenged, for he watcht an opportunitie with some hors, when as Sebastius, a Savoyard, with a companie of foot was coming out upon a pairtie, he falls upon him, kills himself and fifty of his men, and tooke most pairt of the rest prifoners, and sent them to Dundie.

Yong Lithingtoune made quick haste in his commission; for before November was out, Commisshioners cam to Berwick to make up a Legue with our Scots Congregation; whoe tooke upon them to treat in name of the whole state of Scotland. The conditions agried upon were these: That they shall mutuallie assist other against all strangers that should invade the Ile of Brittain: That the Scots shall warr in England, upon the Queen's pay; the Queen of England shall lykwayes keep in pay all English foldyers within Scotland; and that the spoyle that should be taken from an enemie within Scotland should fall to the English share: That all strengths recovered should be delyvred to the right owner: That the Congregation should give pledges to remain in England, and in case the King of France, or Marie Queen of Scotland should die, the pledges were to stay in England one year thereafter. These Articles were syned upon the twenty seventh day of February 1560.

In this tyme, the Queen of England made reddie her supplies, both by

land and sea. Those by sea came first. They were eight ships, that came up Forth, which being once discovered by the French in Fyffe, they made a sudden retreat, and this made the whole condition of Fyffe to looke with another face. Those of Fyffe whose were of the Congregation, had retreated themselves for fear of those French, did now appear; and all who had submitted or carried themselves obedient to [the] Queen Regent did, upon sight of this English supplie, revolt again, and joyned themselves publickly to the partie of the Congregation.

About this tyme, Monsieur de Martignes, a brave yong noblman of France, arryved at Leth with one thousand foot, and some hors, in two ships; and one Andro Sands, a cittizen of Leth, surpryses those two ships, and goes to sea with his partners. And within a little after this, the Marquis of Elbeufe, [the] Queen Regent's brother, with eight ships loaden with men, horses, and munition, came to the mouth of Forth, but durst not adventur up the river; so he returned to France.

Those of the Congregation growes now strong, and they apoynt a meeting at Perth, where they perswade many of the North to joyne with them. Then a general randevou is apoynted at Lithgow; from whence they march in a bodie to Haddintoune, to meet the English supplie, which consisted of six thousand foot and two thousand hors, commanded by the Lord Gray; and being all joyned, they come back to Prestonpans, where they encamp to refresh there foldyers. In the mean tyme, Leth, knowing to be distressed (for they were sure to be beleaguered by land with this English armie, and by sea they saw some more English ships come up the river and joyn with the fleet, which stopt all hopes of supplie of either men or provisions by sea to the toune), it was thought fitt that [the] Queen Regent should eschew the calamities of a feedge, and retreat to the castle of Edinburgh; which she did, and was received by the Lord Erskin, the Captain, that all this tyme professed for [the] Queen Regent's pairt.

The Lords of the Congregation, upon knowledge of this remove, mett at Dalketh, from whence they sent another letter to [the] Queen Regent again to desyr that there former petition might be granted, otherwayes

to exhonor themselves for whatfomever mischeefe should fall. This letter was drawin rather in way of exhoneration then out of any desyre they had that [the] Queen Regent should accept it. It was dated the forth day of Apryle 1560, and the next day but one, the whole armie advanced from the Pans towards Leth. This, being the sixth day of Apryle, was the first day of the feedge, which continued untill neer the July; in which tyme many things fell out, not worth the relating. The first busines of note happened this first day of the feedge. Monsieur de Martignes drawes out thirteen hundred men to the Hawkhill, which place he resolved to fortifie; but the whole armie of the ennemie, being that day upon there remove from the Pans, sends some Scots forces to beat them from this hill. It was hotlie disputed a long tyme, but at length multitudes prevaled, and Martignes was beaten back to the toune, with los. After this, some dayes were spent in treatie, by the pains of the Bishop of Valencia, in Savoy; whoe, after much toyle and travel taken betwixt the English camp and [the] Queen Regent, could bring matters to no accommodation.

Upon the last of Apryle, a sudden fyre burst out within the garrifone of Leth, which continued almost twenty four hours in great furie; in which tyme the ennemie without did not slip the occasion, but made an assault, and was beaten back with great valour and much blood. Upon the seventh of May the milns of Leth were burnt, and another assault made by skalade; but the ledders proved too short, and they were again beaten back with great los. Thus the tyme was spent away in skirmishes to no great purpose; in which tyme the English armie were much diminished, but to supplie this a recruit is sent doune of two thousand foot. And in the taill of this the Queen of England sends doune her cheefe Secretarie the Lord Cicell, and with him Nicholas Vottan, Dean of York, with commission to treat with the French for a composition. They addresse themselves to Monsieur Monlur and Monsieur Randam, and the matter was brought that length, that a parliament was called by [the] Queen Regent's order and consent, to be in Edinburgh in the end of July. (Although it is written by the English that such things were proposed by

Lord James, the Queen's bafe brother, that Ceeill thought neither meet to be propounded by fubjects, nor by Princes to be granted.\*)

But before that day the courfe of affairs were changed; for [the] Queen Regent, oppreffed with vexation and toyle, fickened and died, in the caſtle of Edinburgh. Her bodie was carried to Leth, and ſhippt for France. She is commended, by her greateſt enemies, for a notable woman and wyfe.

The blaim of the troubles are by all men laid upon her French Councellors, La Broſſe, De Martignes, and the Biſhop of Amiens. The oppreſſion and violence uſed by the French was the greateſt cauſe, and was the occaſion that many of [the] Queen Regent's beſt friends in Scotland joyned with the Congregation, although they differed from them in Religion, yet affiſted for the expulſion of theſe French forces, which they feared in tyme wolde make no difference, if they proved abſolute maſters of the cuntry.

After the death of [the] Queen Regent the two Engliſh commiſſioners renew the Treatie, which in end was brought to a conelution, both parties being wearied. The French was wearied, becauſe the tounce was drawn to great diſtreſ. It is reported that they eat hors and dogs within the garrifone for many dayes; and that they had no hopes of releife by ſea was manifeſt, for the Engliſh fleet commanded the firth. In the Engliſh camp was ſcarcitie of all thyngs, and they being in a cuntry themſelves, wherein they had no great confidence, befyds the hard duetie they were put unto, was the reaſon that they wiſhed buſlines at an end. And the Scots foldyers were but cuntry fellows new taken up; they had fore duetie, ſearſe in vittels, without tents to lye in, and receaved no pay; ſo they wold willinglie lykwayes have an end. The Articles of Agreement were theſe: That the King and Queen of France and Scotland

\* "What is within parenthesis is found in the Original, at the margin, in his own hand, the author's."

shall not use the arms nor title of England and Ireland from henceforth; and that all letters whatfomever, sealed with these conjunct armes, shall be within six months called in: That all French men shall, within twenty dayes, transport themselves out of this kingdome to France, with bag and baggadage: That the Queen of England shall furnish them with shipping, where they want, upon pledges, which shall stay in Englande till the returne of the ships: That Leth shall be rendred to the Scots, and the fortifications demolished: That the fort built at Dumbar by the French shall be rased to the ground: These things being done, the English shall retear out of Scotland: That Francis King of France, and Marie his Queen, shall, by act of oblivion, forgett all things interpryed in Scotland, by any whomfomever, since the tenth day of March 1559, untill the beginning of August 1560: That these Articles shall be ratified by the King and Queen: And last, it was agreed that Inchkeith and Dumbar shall be still in the possession of the French, not exceeding thrie score in number, as a fort of possession for the King and Queen.

These things being ended, and the cuntrie fried from all foldyers, there was a Convention called at Edinburgh, upon the fifth day of Agust, without authoritie from King or Queen; wherein little was handled but the propagating and establisshing the Reformed Relligion; and upon the twenty third day of September Sir James Sandilands of Calder (one of the Knights of the Rhods) was sent over with these aëts of this Convention or Parliament, to move the King and Queen to signe them and the Articles of Capitulation. Sir James cam to the Court of France in a most unseasonable tyme, when the King was ingadged in an intricat labyrinth of troubles concerning the King of Navarr, the Prince of Condé, and the Protestant there (as is to be seen in the French historie at length), and the King's sickness and death in end. So he was dispatched without answer. He made his addres to the Duke of Guise and his brothers, to whom he intimatt his commiſſion, and withall put the best face upon things he could, to vindicatt the Scots nobilitie from aspersions, and laid all the occasion of the troubles upon the French. It is said that the Duke answered, that he wondred how the Scots nobilitie could stryve to cover

these foul cryms of treason, rebellion, and heresie, with any vail of obedience or honestie; but he wondred more on him, that he should be an actor in these things, and in special in matters of heresie, now condemned by all Christian nations at the Councel of Trent, he being a Knight of the Rhods, and sworne to protect and defend the Catholick Faith.

So Sir James returned; and the nobilitie meets upon the fifteenth day of January 1561, to receave his answer, which was none at all. He onlie declared the death of the King was certain. At this meeting there were Duke James Hammiltoune and his sons, the Earles of Argyll, Mortoune, Rothes, Crawford, Marshall, Glencairne, Cassils, Sommervell, and the Master of Maxwell, whoe was married to the heretrix of Herreis.

In this Convention, the first act was done judiciallie for altring the Church government; although it was without order or authoritie, either from the Queen or any Commillioner from her. Mr John Knox presented to this Convention a sort of gouernment, in wryte, which he defyred might be establisht in the Church; which principallie concerned Bishops, whose authoritie he defyred might be suppressed, together with the name and dignitie. He defyred that twelve able men might be choosed out to supplie there places, whoe might be called Superintendants: That ech of these might have a thousand merks a year; and after there death, that five hundreth merks might be allotted for there wyves and children, if the wyffe survive: That everie Reader in the Kirk may have six score pounds allowed them out of the Church rents. He presented a Recantation and Renunciation of all the heads of doctrin formerlie taught in the Church, which contained ane adjuration of the Pope, and almost all the Articles of the Catholick Faith; together with a negative Confession of that doctrine which himself maintained. All which he defyred might be confirmed by oath and subseription; and that by authoritie they might be presented to everie man that joyned themselves to the Reformed Religion, and to everie man whom they misdoubted in there profession. All these things were allowed by this Convention, and by many they were instantlie subserierved unto. There Abbacies, Priories, and other Church lands were distributed amongst themselves that were temporall men, &c. &c. In a word, the foundation of this Revolution was heer laid, which I

omitt to wryte, in particular; but all are to be found in Originall, and experience and praetife hes teacht us the same.

These things were but broacht, for there wanted the face of authoritie to confirm them. It was thought therefore fitt that Lord James, the Queen's bafe brother, should be sent over to France; and try if he could move the Queen to give consent unto them, or to perswade the Queen to grant himfelfe commiffion to convene a parliament, whereby fuch things as should be thought for the well of the kingdome might be authorized. This was a confident attempt, first to be the aetor of all these innovations without authoritie, and then to defyre authoritie to confirme them. Well, he adventured and came to the Queen, at Loraine. Heer he gave her information, that all the kingdome was in divifion; how there was nothing to be expected but blood and murder, if things were not prevented by authoritie: That there was none in Scotland now that was cled with commiffion from her Majestie, without which no fetled courfe could be taken. He humbly defyred the Queen to think upon fome that she might trust (still poynting at himfelfe, and certainlie expecting the employment). The Queen confulted with her uncles, the Gwifes; whoe thought it a dangerous thing to trust him with a commiffion for a parliament, whom they vifible faw affected the crowne, and has been the onlie plotter of all these past rebellions; he that had gone on fo farr without authoritie, what wold he doe if he had authoritie? They thought the safest way was for her to goe home to Scotland herfelfe, and take alongft with her men of judgment and wifdome to affift her. They thought that the countenance of there naturall prince wold ftryke a reverence even in the moft wicked fubject. This was, indeed, beyond Lord James his expectation. He strove to divert her courfe, if it were poffible. He faid, it was not good to goe abruptlie amongft a number of people that were not yet fetled: That a little tyme wold pave the way, and make all fmooth: That if she wold trust him with the bufines, he wold prepare things, that she should have little to doe. At laft they conclude to try Lord James, and give him commiffion to convene the nobilitie to treat and prepare bufines, but to conclude nothing.



Lord James takes this distrust highlie, but he receaves the commission, and takes leaves. He comes streight to London, and acquaints Queen Elizabeth with all the procedurs; he shews her that the Queen is to come over in person; and what prejudice her presence will doe anent Religion, in Scotland, was easily seen! The trewth was, he there gave Queen Elizabeth such satisfaction of his intentions, that she gave him assurance of her protection in all things; and even then she resolved to intercept the Queen, either by force or policie, whereby Lord James might have way to work his pretences. A man that is ambitious of a crowne, nothing can satisfie but a crowne! Many supposed it was the crowne that Lord James aimed at from the beginning, as was observed by the course of all his actions. There was but onlie one to enjoy the crowne by birth, and that was a woman, and bred in a strange cuntry. He lookt all this tyme past that either a naturall death, or by misfortune, might have shaken the inheritance of the crowne, and casten all loose. He thought himselfe (though a bastard) in the greatest possibilitie, if the occasion offered. He knew Duke Hamiltoun's tittle by law was nearest; but he, being a man flexible and easie, he thought to put him asyde by some means or other. He studied the favor of the people, and in all these tumults shew himselfe popular. He did not only foment all these by-past distractions, but made himselfe head of the faction; and when the alteration of Religion offered, he presentlie imbraced it; by which means he had all the people of the Reformed Religion to stick to him lyke burrs. And now he has fortified himselfe with Queen Elizabeth's assistance, after this you shall see him cross the Queen in all her designs: You shall see a way laid to intercept her person; but it failed: You shall see him afterwards cross her in her marriage: Then he shall be the cause of division betwixt her and her husband; to evite succession: You shall see him have a hand in David Riccio's slaughter, in the Queen's chamber (when she was great with child), in hope of abortion: You shall see him have a hand in the murder of her husband, the King; in her marriage with Bothwell; and all that followed, till she was banished the kingdome: And what wold have become of her sone King James, if he had lived himselfe, many were doubtfull!



Lord James then returned to Scotland in the beginning of May this year, 1561; and immediatlie he calls a Convention, upon the eighth day of the same month. Heer Monsieur de Noale presented his commission, being Ambassador from the King of France: Which was to defyre that the Antient League might be renewed with France, and the new League with England dissolved: To restore the Catholick Relligion, churchmen, and priests to there estates and dignities, wherof they had been lately spoyled. It was answered, That it was none of their fault, that any irruption was made in that League, but the breach was upon the French pairt, whoe in all these last troubles intended the subdewing of this kingdome to a slavery: That they could not dissolve the League with England, unles they shew themselves most ungratefull to these whome they acknowledged to be there protectors and maintainers, &c. &c.: For the restoring the Catholick Relligion and churchmen, they said they did not acknowledge these priests and friers to have any place in the Church of God; nor had they any use for them in this kingdome! Then they enacted, by authoritie of this Convention, that all Monasteries, Abbayes, and other Relligious houses, should be thrown doune; and there were orders emitted to particular men throughout the kingdome for that effect.

This Convention put things clear of the hinges, that it never lay in the Queen's power to put them again in fraim. The great men gaped after the church estates, and the commoners were fleshed with the spoyles of Abbayes and Relligious houses. There was a general aversion from the Queen, both in Civil and Ecclesiasticall government. So, this was the preparation for her reception. In the mean tyme, the Queen is reddie; but before she take jorney, she sends over to England Monsieur de Ofel to found Queen Elisabeth's affection; whoe promised all the kyndnes that lay in her power: That if Queen Marie wold make use of her, and visitt her by the way, nothing should be omitted to exprefs her affections; and that she wold not take it well if she tooke any other way to Scotland but through England. Nevertheless, she puts out a fleet to sea, under collour to suppress Pirats, with commission to intercept Queen Marie in her course! God disappoynted this project; for she had for-

tune to pass by this fleet in a foggie and mistie day, and landed safe at Leth, upon the nineteenth day of August 1561, with thrie of her uncles, the Duke de Amall, the Marquis de Elbeuf, and the Grand Prior of France. That ship wherein the Earle of Eglintoune was discovered the plott; for having hap to light upon that English fleet, [he] was carried to London prisoner; but, fynding a mistake, was shortly releaved and put to libertie.

THE QUEEN was receaved with great signs of joy by the nobilitie; whereof most part was counterfitt, and was mightillie cryed up by the commons. Her bewtie, youth, and statlie carriage possessed the people with a reverence to her persone at first, and a resolution of obedience; but the affections of the people is lyke a cock upon the top of a steeple, it turnes which way the wind blowes, and is never long fixt; but, in turning, these same people that receaved her now with hosanna, within short tyme were those that crucified her!

We shall take a vew of her entrie to Edinburgh, which she made upon the first day of September, with most part of the Nobilitie of Scotland, excepting Duke Hammiltoune and his sons, whoe were noted absent. She entred at the West-port. The solemnities were trulie statlie, but too long for an abridgment. Some thinges we shall sie of best remark. She was receaved by fifty black-moors, and sixteen cheefe citticens carried a pale under which herselfe rode upon hors; and at first was presented with a rich cupboard of plate. At the head of the Strait-bow there was a pageant richlie adorned, and upon it a number of boys singing musick, and playeng upon instruments; one of which cam doune in a cloud and delyvered the Queen the keyes of the toun, together with a Bible translated in Scots language, and a book of Psalms turned likeways in Scots verse, which were signified by a speech made by the boy to be emblems of her defending the Reformed Relligion. This was scarce favorie to her at the first entrie! But she went on. At the Parliament hous a double pageant, one above another, was presented with many de-

vyces and musick. From thence at the Crofs an other, which run wyne of all forts. But at the Trone there was a pageant that seemed to many ridiculous, but to the French it seemed contemptible. Upon the top of this pageant, there was a speech made tending to abolishing of the mafs, and in token that it was alreddie banished the kingdome, there was the shape of a priest in his ornaments reddie to fay mafs, made of wode, which was brought forth, in sight of all, and presentlie throwen in a fyre made upon the scaffold and burnt. This was diverslie constructed, according to men's humours, either to derision, contempt, or presumption; and everie man thought it needles. The Queen herselfe was not well pleased, and this made the rest les acceptable. From this she went under an other Arch at the Nether-bow, and so to Halliroom-hous.

The Catholick Relligion, by this last Convention, had got such a blow that it was not now in the Queen's power to sett it again in that posture that the Queen defyred; wherupon she was perswaded to give way to the suppression. She had reserved to herselfe and household the privat exercise of her Relligion in her Chappell, which was not long without truble neither; for within few dayes, as the wax candles and some other ornaments of the alter were carried by a servant, a fellow pulled them from the bearer, and trode them in the myre. This tooke great impression in the Queen, for she knew this durst not have been done without the protection of great men. Lord James tooke upon him to pacifie the tumult, which he did to the Queen's disadvantage. After this two of the Queen's uncles tooke leave; but the Marquis of Elbeufie stayed longer.

The Queen was now to send an Ambassador to Queen Elifabeth of England, whereby correspondence might be kept, and amitie intertained. The nobilitie seemed to take great care to pick out one for this employment fitting. Wherupon they recommend unto the Queen yong Lithington, as the most able man. This is he that deserted [the] Queen Regent and joyned with the Congregation, and divulged her projects; one whome these factious nobilitie intended now to make use of to kindle that flame of dissention and jealousie betwixt these two princes, which never was quenched but by the blood of Queen Marie; wherof Lord James and his privat complices were the onlie actors.

The Queen's commission was but generall; to salute the Queen of England; to render her thanks for past courtesies; to desire a continuance of friendship, and a true correspondence betwixt them. But he had other letters apart, direct from Lord James and the rest of the nobilitie, whom she had assisted in these late troubles. These letters were nothing but general neither; giving her thanks for her past favors; but they had relation to somewhat that the bearer had in charge to deliver by word; wherunto they desired the Queen to give trust. Having received his instructions, he made no delay, and was publickly received by Queen Elizabeth, and had audience two or thre tymes; in which tymes long conferences were past betwixt the Queen and him, which are at length set downe in my originall, and heer for brevity omitted. But the substance was: That he had a commission from the Lords to render her majesty many thanks for her by past favors; with offers of there service, if she had need: That now there only desire was, that good correspondence might be kept in tymes to come: That they saw not a way to knitt up a true friendship but one, which was to declare our Queen Marie lawfull and next heir to the crowne of England, and her next successor, in case of want of succession: That Queen Elizabeth must pardon them for this care that they had for there Queen's good, for it was her honor and stabilitie that they had now only care on. The Queen of England heard this speech with great impatience, and answered in many words. She said, she lookt for an other message from his mistress the Queen of Scots: She expected the performance and confirming that League made at Leth, which had been oft promised: In end she said, that she could not nor wold not deny the interest that she had with Queen Marie: That she never did, nor intends to doe, any thing in prejudice of her right to the crowne of England; but to declare her successor so long as herselfe lived, she said, was against all reason of state or securitie of her persone! She said it was to carrie her winding sheet before her eyes, or to make her grave before she died!

At every audience this subject was much pressed by Lithingtoun, and as much answered with disdain by the Queen. The more he urged the matter, the Queen was the more enraged; at length he takes leave, and desires to know if any further answer was to be given. The Queen

answered, No ; and thought that till the Queen his mistres had confirmed that League made at Leth, she was not bound to shew any further courtesie. Lithingtoune will sturr the coals yet more ! He sayes, that that League, if it should not be confirmed, yet it is not on that consequence to feclude his mistres the Queen of Scotland from the succession to the crowne of England ; and although it had been confirmed in obedience to her husband, yet now, she had all the reafone in the wordle [world] to seeke by all means to breake it ! He humbly defyred the Queen not to take these things from him by way of commission, for what he had said was onlie from himselfe, directed by some of the nobilitie, who wold gladly keep a good understanding betwixt their majesties, and wold lyke wayes stryve in what they could, to advance the honor of there owen Queen.

These things were moved truely to engender hatred and division betwixt these two Queens ; which again was never reallie reconciled. In end, promys was made to send doune Commissioners to treat about a peace and performance of League made at Leth ; and so he returned.

It was now the beginning of October, untill which tyme the Queen had the use of the exercise of her Religion without any great stop, which was thought too long, and too much that she was suffred to have mas in her chappell ; which the Earle of Arran did frielie speake. Wherupon they project a beginning of a tumult to bring the Queen in contempt. Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie was again elected provost of Edinburgh for this year, whoe by open proclamation banished from the toune all adulterers, fornicators, drunkards, mass-mongers, and obstinat papists. This was taken by the Queen in contempt and disdain, that he should thrust in papists amongst these vicious people. She thought this was done for none end but to affront her and the religion she professed ; wherupon she sends the provost prisoner to the castle, and commands to toune to depose these magistrates, and elect others in there places ; and then puts out a proclamation, by which libertie was granted to all true subjects to come and goe at there pleasure.

This was the occasion of a new quarrell. The Queen is challanged for having mas solemnlie sung upon St Androes day, the last of November. They say, she exceeds her libertie granted : That she had

onlie libertie of privat exercise, and not publick finging. All the pulpits cryes out upon this, as superstition and publick idolatrie not to be suffred; and defys the nobilitie to take notice of it. Upon this a meeting is apoynted betwixt the nobilitie and the ministrie, wherin the debate was, whither the supream magistrate might be compelled by force to keep within the bounds of law; and it was carried by voyce that princes may be forced to obey the law. The historie sayes that the whole voyces of the ministrie were clear in this, but some of the noblemen dissented.

The Queen knew all these things followed from Lord James, whose projects she saw daily more clear; for she fied him popular above all measure, and he is seen by everie one to crosse her upon everie occasion. Whereupon she resolves to try if she can win him by honors and preferments, and at least to seem to be governed by him in all her actions. Upon this she creates him Lieutenant of Scotland, and then sends him to the Border to execute justice upon those Border theeves and rogues; which he did handfomlie and with great reputation, for he hanged twenty eight and tooke band of many more.

Yet the affections of those of the Reformed Religion (which was now by much the greater part of the commons of the kingdome) was so averse from the Queen, that everie thing she did was constructed in the worse sense. If any thing was done that was not in favor of that partie, it was esteemed tirannie; that which was done to honor or satisfie them, it was called dissimulation. This honor of Lieutenant of the kingdome, which the Queen conferred upon Lord James (whoe was head of this partie) was by his owen procurment, yet was misconstrued by the people; for they said that the Queen had laid that charge upon him, not out of affection, but to hazard his lyffe amongst these Border broken men.

Upon his returne from the Border, the Queen elected to herself a Counsell, wherein were eleven Temporal Lords and but one Bishop. These were, James Duke of Chatterault and Hammiltoune, the Earle of Huntlie, chancellor, the Earles of Argyle, Atholl, Marshall, Glencairne, Erroll, Mortoune, and Montros, Mr Henrie Sincklar Bishop of Ros, the Lord Erskin, and Lord James Prior of St Androes, and Great Leuten-



ant of Scotland. Then the Queen, fearing tumults, required this Counsell to provide a guard to her person; which Lord James opposed, publickly, as the beginning of tyrannie over the people. Nevertheless of all this, the Queen created him Earle of Marr; and shortly afterward he married the Lady Agnes Keith, daughter to the Earle of Marshall.

This year 1562, upon the seventeenth day of March, the tradesmen of Edinburgh founded the new Tolbooth, at the west end of St Gyles' Church.

The beginning of this year, lykwayes, the Clergie of the Roman profession (whoe were not yet, by a confirmed law, divested of there estates) bestowed by gift upon the Queen the third of all the Church lands in Scotland; for they thought better to give it by consent to the Queen, then loose it themselves without consent; which they visibly saw would fall out. Little of this came to the Queen's use, for alreddie most part of the Church lands was in possession of temporall men, which she could not bring back; and most part of that which rested she was constrained to give it out for maintenance to the preachers of the Reformed Religion, from whome she reapt no thanks; for they openly said it was given against her will. The rests of all she bestowed upon her own servants in pensions.

The Lord Erskin tooke verie ill that the title of Marr was conferred upon Lord James; for he pretended the same as kindlie to his familie. Whereupon Lord James renounced the title, and in exchange had the title of Murray; and this did much more offend the Earle of Huntlie, and was the cause of grounded malice that Huntlie tooke against him, and accused him publickly to the Queen of treason for affecting the crowne.

The historie reports that about this tyme James Earle of Bothwell (a seditious man, and one whoe resolved to mudd the waters) dealt seriously with the Earle of Murray to ruin the Duke, and the whole name of Hamiltoun; wherein he offered his assistance. He laid many reasons before Murray for this project to move him to give ear, and ever glanced at them in there pretensions to the crowne, and there power to cross him in

his actions. But the Earle of Murray, being a man of a deep reach in witt, neither lykt the project, nor had great confidence in Bothwell. He waved all his propositions, and refused to enter in any such actions. Wherupon Bothwell turned himself to the other fyd, and informed the Duke that the Earle of Murray was onlie he that eclipfed the greatnes of his hous, that it was easie to cut him off, being now with the Queen at Falkland; which being done, the Queen might be feased upon, and then be absolotlie in there power. This was long in consult amongst the pryme men of that name, in which many things were propofed and projected, together with the reasons, which are too long to infer. But, in end, it was combined by them all and agreed unto, and the day and way of action, and the persons apoynted. The Earle of Arran, the Duk's eldest sone, whoe was partner of all these counfells, tooke another course; for he presentlie acquainted the Earle of Murray, by his letters, of every thing. Murray by the same messenger returned him many thanks. Which letters and messenger, both either out of mishap or sett purpose, were intercepted and brought to the Duke; whoe, upon this discoverie, challenges and blames his sone, and shutts him up in cloffe prisone. But Arran, by some means, made an escape and fled streight to Falkland, where he declared all the circumstances himself; and in this mean tyme (whither by a naturall infirmitie or otherwise) he fell distracted on a fudden, which gave many occasion to say that many of these informations proceeded from his owen conceptions in his distraction. But howfomever, untill things were better cleared, the Earle of Bothwell was sent prisoner to the castle of Edenburgh, from whence he made an escape not long after, and went to France. Gawen Hammiltoun (the Duk's sone), whoe should have been the actor, was sent to the castle of Stirling; the Earle of Arran himself (becaus he was not in his witts) was sent to St Androes; and the castle of Dumbartain was taken from the Duke. The historie relates further, that Huntley, whose sone was married to the Duk's daughter, thought himself more engadged now against Murray, and attempted twyce against his lyffe, but in vain.

Much of the summer was spent in ambassadges betwixt Scotland and England, about an interview betwixt the two Queens; which was so far



advanced that the place was agreed upon to be at York; but before the day prefixt, jealousies and heats were kindled betwixt them, which was so cunninglie fomented that the meeting was dissolved. The stop of this interview was laid much upon the Duke of Elbewfe (the Queen's uncle), in France, who broake up some letters of the English Ambassadors, in Paris, wherein it was supposed some secret contrivings were decerned.

After the Queen had been some tyme at St Androes she removed to Edinburgh, and caused carrie the Earle of Arran alongft and put him in the castle; and soon after this the Earle of Murray went again to the Borders to suppress the insolencies. He held court at Hawick, whereof fiftie of these Border men were arraigned; whereof some were execute, and the rest lett upon band.

By this tyme the Earl of Murray grew daylie more in the favour of the people, in so much that his [name] was terrible to the Queen; for being assisted (in everie thing) and countenanced by the Reformed Relligion, he was greater in power then the Queen herselfe. Duke Hammiltoun and the Earle of Huntlie envies his greatnes, and it was said that by the advyses of the Guyfes in France, and the Catholick partie, there was a way preseryved to the Queen, and advyse given from France to remove him out of the way, which letters (the storie sayes) were shewen to himself by the Queen. Whither this was done from policie, or womanish levitie, it was much doubted.

It was observed, all this tyme pass, that the Earle of Huntlie did much agitate, again, the restitution of the Catholick relligion; and for that kept much correpondance with [the] Queen's uncles and Catholicks beyond sea, and was still busie with the Queen upon all occasions. But things tooke never effect; for it was seen, in all his projects, his owen greatnes and particular revengments were his cheefe aims. Thes visibilities made the Queen the les to trust his undertakings, and she cared not much although she was fried of him and Murray both. These were observations then.

In the midft of these agitations the Queen tooke progres to the north; in which journey (it was said) the Earle of Murray's death was contrived,

and should have been execute by the Earle of Huntlie's means; and yet he was the stop, becaufe he could not dryve the Queen to his owen particular ends. The storie runs thus: That when the Queen came to Aberdeen, the Earle of Huntlie caufed his Lady deall with her, and try her mynd (for she was a wittie woman, and could dyve to the bottome of the Queen's refolutions). She therefore urged the execution of the plott, together with her fou's pardone, John Lord Finlator, whoe had latlie broak prifone from Stirlin caſtle. And heer the buſines ſtuck; for Huntlie's intention was, that the Lord Finlator (his ſone) ſhould be the aſtor, and then marrie the Queen, whereof he had ſome ſhaddow of hope. Upon the other pairt, the Queen urged that the Lord Finlator might enter himſelfe again in prifone, to ſatiffie her in poynt of obedience; and promeſed again to releve him, within ſewe dayes. But the Earle of Huntlie and his Lady were both jealous of this, to hazard there ſone in that place, over which the Earle of Murray had ſo great power; for the Lord Erſkin (now Earle of Marr) was Captain, whome Huntlie eſteemed his particular enemie, and befyds was the Earle of Murray's uncle. In the mean tyme the Queen holds on her progres, and was reſolved to be at Strabogie, the Earle of Huntlie's hous. In the way, the Earle is very urgent with the Queen for his ſon's pardone; wherein the Queen was reſolute, and wold not yeeld without the obedience which ſhe demanded. In the debate ſome words eſcaped Huntlie that incenſed the Queen ſo far, that, being almoſt in fight of Strabogie, ſhe turned an other way to Ennernes.

Upon this, the Earle of Huntlie leaves the Queen, and conſults with his ſone and friends; where it was reſolved to uſe force, and make the Queen doe what they pleaſe; for having her once in there power (which they thought eaſie to doe in that cuntrie), they thought it poſſible both to carrie buſines as they pleaſed, and move her to marrie his ſone, the Lord Finlator, wherof (as is ſaid) they had conceived ſome fooliſh hopes aſſar. The plott was this, that when the Queen ſhould come to Ennernes, the Captain of the caſtle, whoe was Huntlie's ſervant, and put there by him, ſhould reſuſe her entrie; and then, being compelled to lodge in the open toune, the ſurpryſe might be eaſie. The firſt pairt ſucceeded, as was

contrived, for the Queen's entrie to the castle was refused, and she constrained to lodge in the towne. Whereupon the Queen grew jealous, and that night kept strong guards in the towne; and in case of extremitie she had ships reddie to secure her persone; but before the next night, it was known that the Earle of Huntlie and his sone were both upon the fields, with a great power of men. But Highlandsmen's affections to the Queen was such, that when they understood the enterpryse was against her, they refused to march; and the next day after they came in to the Queen and submitted. After this the Queen's forces soon increased, and the Earl's slipt home and left him. Then the Queen beleagued the castle, and in few days forced it to render. She hanged the captain, and pardoned the rest; and returned to Aberdeen, well attended by the whole nobilitie of the cuntrie.

Huntlie, in mean tyme, will not give over, but resolves to prosecute his purpose. By the intelligence of the Earle of Sutherland, his cousigne, whoe attended the Queen amongst the rest of the nobilitie, he knew what passed at court; and resolute, upon advantage, to fall in [on] the towne of Aberdeen (which was open), and doe what he intended, he, with a considerable number, lay privatlie in a pairt of strength which was farr out of ordinarie wayes. In the mean tyme, letters were intercepted from the Earle of Sutherland and one John Leslie, of intelligence to the Earle of Huntley. These letters discovered all. Whereupon the Earle of Sutherland shifted himselfe away; but John Leslie was taken, whoe confessed all, and was pardoned. Some alledged that this Leslie gave privat notice of these letters, and caused them to be taken; but however it was, some matters were thus discovered. The Earle of Murray thought it high tyme for him to stir and look to himselfe; for he knew the cheefe designe was against him. There were but few men now with the Queen. Men for the most pairt were gone home; yet he thought them men that were flayed, for Huntlie did not exceed three hundreth, and all these foot. So the Earle Murray got notice where he was, and marched out. James Earle of Mortoune, his trustie friend, and the Lord Lindsay, were with him, with one hundreth hors and some eight hundreth foote, most pairt cuntrie people. At night he sett the passes with the hors, and in the

morning marcht the streight way where Huntlie was. Huntlie fynding himselfe surprysed, resolved to fight, and was the first that charged; whoe with these few that he had, came with such resolution that he beat Murray back with some slaughter of his men; but being too hote in the chafe, ingadged himselfe so farr that before he was aware he was environed and oppressed with number, and totalie routed. One hundreth and twentie were killed, and two hundreth taken alyve, amongst whome were Huntlie's two sons, John Lord Finlator and Adam. Huntlie himselfe was taken by one Andro Rippeth, one of the Queen's guard; but being a corpulen man, he died upon horfback, in the throng. This was upon the twenty-eighth day of October, 1562.

This victorie made Murray feared of all men. The Queen herself, although she was not ill pleased at the overthrow of the Earle of Huntlie, yet was a little danted at the high carriage of her bafe brother, whoe was exalted in his owen conceit, and extolled by the people. He takes upon him now to dispose upon the rest; and what he thought fitt was allowed by the Queen. Within two dayes the Lord Finlator (Huntlie's sone) was execute by a butcherlie fellow that strooke his head off with many blowes—a gallant youth, and much lamented; for whome the Queen herselfe lett tears fall from her eyes, whither for civill pittie, or that the very offer of love leaves a tinckture of respect more then ordinarie in that sex, although differing in qualitie of persone! Adam Gordone, his brother, was reprieved, becaus of his youth. The eldest brother, who was married to the Duk's daughter (although not upon the field), fled to Hammiltoun till the storme should blow over. The rest of Huntlie's friends were punished, either by banishment or fynes. Then James Earle of Mortoun was made Chancellor, and the Earle of Bothwell, who had made his escape out of the castle of Edinburgh, was summoned to appear, and for contumacie declared rebell.

These things being done, the Queen returned from Aberdeen; and in her way to Perth the Duke meets her, and makes great sute for his sone in law, Huntlie's eldest sone. The Queen seemed willing to inclyne to mercie, but the Earle Murray must be pleased, to whome she remitted

the Duke. Upon this George Gordone, Huntlie's sone, was rendred prisoner, and sent to Dumbar; from whence he was brought to Edinburgh, was convicted of treason in January next, and sent again to Dumbar.

In the beginning of the next year 1563, proclamation was made commanding all men to abstaine from flesh in Lent, under a pecunial pain; which was expressed not to be for cause of religion, but to save the young fowls and beasts.

In the last Parliament some acts were made against sayers and hearers of mafs. Now, in the beginning of this May, the archbishop of St. Androes, and the bishop of Dunkeld, were both convented before the Counsell, and accused for both sayeng and hearing of mafs. They were accused by the Superintendents and ministers; and at length submitted themselves in the Queen's will. They were sent prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh, and the prior of Whithorne (that was lykewayes accused) was sent to the castle of Dumbartain. This was the first punishment inflicted upon priests, that we read on, in this kingdom.

A Parliament was upon the twenty eighth of May, where the Queen was in person. Heer George Gordone Earle of Huntlie, and George Gordone Earle of Sutherland, were both defaulted. Dyvers acts were made in favour of the Reformed doctrine. These favorable acts, and the punishing of bishops, but most of all the protection that the Reformed Religion had from the Earle of Murray, made the ministers goe further on. They came doune to Halliroadhous, accompanied with dyvers other professors (the Queen being at Craigmiller), broake up the wardrobe doers, and searched the Queens trunks to fynd masscloths, Church stuff, and such lyke things. Wherupon, at her returne, she transported her coffers to Stirling; which was all the satisfaction she could have.

Upon the eleventh of September, the French garrison in Inchkeeth was dismissed; the munition was carried to the castle of Edinburgh, and the ile delivred to the Lord of Glams. And a fortnight before this, upon the twentieth of August, John prior of Coldinghame, the Queen's bafe brother, died.

It was about this tyme, that Mathew Earle of Lennox returned to Scotland, whoe for many years had been banished and lived in England (as is seen by the historie), and in January next he was restored to all his lands by act of Parliament. A little after this lykewayes, his sone HENRIE LORD DARNLEY came to Scotland, upon a pass from the Queen of England, for thrie months stay. Our Queen was desyrous to see this yong gentlman, whoe had been secretlie proposed unto her for a husband. He was her owen cousigne in the third degree, by his mother, who was dawghter to the Earle of Angus begotten upon the Queen, whoe was mother to King James the Fift, and grandmother to the Queen herselfe. It was soone seen that she tooke a lyking unto him; which by many means was indirec[t]lie crossed by the Earle of Murray. There had been propositions of mariadage laid doune heretofore to the Queen concerning this same gentlman, which were known to be put [aside] by the underhand working of the Earle of Murray; wherof the Queen was not ignorant. But now the many dislyks she had conceived against him made her resolve to take a husband, that by the happines of succession a sattisfment might be expected to the crowne and estate of the kingdome. Yet the crowne being the mark wherat Murray aimed, his greatest studie was to keep the Queen from marriage, which at this tyme he could not doe handfomlie himselfe. So now (as formerlie) he had recourse to Queen Elifabeth of England, whoe was soone perswaded to throw stumbling blocks in the way. It was thought that besyds reasons of state, and the assisting of Murray in his pretentions, the Queen of England had a secret avernes and antipathie to our Queen, one of her owen sex, whome she knew to be her nearest successor; but now, to have the comfort of a husband, and the happines of childrene, blessings that she knew herselfe not capable of, were things that she could not think upon but with envye.

But before Queen Elifabeth did shew herselfe in the busines, the Earle of Murray used what indirec[t] means he could to cross the Queen's resolutions. Religion was his cheefe objection, wherein he had the ministrie to follow him with open mouth. They said, that it could not stand with



the honor of God, nor the Reformed Relligion, that the Queen should take any to husband whoe had any tincture of poperie, nor before a visible assurance might be had for the preservation of the Relligion now established. These were publick propositions. But the Earle of Murray fynding them not take the wished effect, he laid open challenge to one David Rizius, an Italian, whoe had served the Queen for many years, and whoe from a Musician became the Secretarie of State—an active politick man, whose counsell the Queen made use of in her greatest affairs. Upon this man he laid aspersions that the Queen was misled by his advyse; that he was a stranger, and one baselie borne; and that for his cause, she misreguarded the advyse of her nobilitie. These things were cryed out by that partie. They went yet further; there were whispering means used to divert the Lord Darnleyes affection from the Queen, and tales were sometymes minced out, as though David Rizius was many tymes too intimatt with the Queen, more then was fitting.

The Queen observed all these proceedings, and knew from whome they came. But she was resolved to marrie; which she suspected was the thing in the wordle (world) that wold most vex the Earle of Murray; and to strengthen his owen faction, she called home the Earle of Bothwell from France, the Earle of Sutherland from Flanders, and tooke George Gordone, the Earle of Huntlie's eldest sone, out of prisone, gave them all Remissions, and restored them to there estats and honors. Afterward, the Earle of Murray accused Bothwell for some new attempt against him; wherein the Queen did shew herself his friend, against Murray's perfute; but what followed upon it I find no [thing] recorded certain.

These proceedings made the Earle of Murray resolve to leave court and retear, and profess himselfe a malcontent; and the Queen, being now at Perth, sends for him to returne; but he refused, and went to Lochlevin, where his mother lived, and gave it out that he durst not come to court, becaus conspiracies were laid to take his lyffe by the Queen, the Lord Darnley, and David Rizius, whome the common people called Signior Davie. Upon the other part, it was said that Murray reteared himselfe to Lochlevin for no end but to plott against the Queen, and stop her marriage; which was groundd upon the frequent

meetings that were kept there by the Earle with his friends. But however it was, these reports tooke impressiō in the Queen; for she removed from Perth to Edinburgh, suddēlie, and in great fear.

Now the Queen being come to Edinburgh, she hastēd her marriage; and yet, to satisfie the wordle (world) that nothing was done rashlie, she called a Convention of the nobilitie at Stirling, where this marriage was presented to them; unto which they did all willinglie consent, excepting onlie Andro Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, whoe protested that he wold never consent that a Papist shold gouerne over the kingdome. The Earle of Murray did not appear, and refused to assent, for he maintained that the Queen should marrie none but that husband whome the nobilitie shold make choofe of, and not herselfe.

This year 1564, in May, Ambassadors cam from Denmark to demand libertie to levie three hundred hors and men; which was granted. And in June William Douglas of Whittinghame was sent to Denmark to procure a discharge of a custome of the hundreth pennie payed formerlie by Scots merchants at Danskyn; which was granted also.

The Queen of England sees now that by no means which the Earle of Murray can work, this marriage can be stopt; nor by no privat working of her owen: She sends therefore, in July, an Ambassador, whoe declared that the Queen of England thought strange that this great busines should be agitate and done without her privitie, whoe was the Queen's cousing and nearest kinswoman; and was earnest that the Queen wold be pleased a little to delay the matter, which wold not fail to prove a benefitt for both the kingdomes. And immediatlie thereafter Sir Nicholas Throckmourtoun and other Ambassadors comes doune with an order to command the Earle of Lennox and his sone the Lord Darnley to returne to England (the time limitt by the Queen being alreddie past) under the pain of being banished, and there lands and goods confiscatt.

These things did not divert the busines; for the Queen was resolved. And to meet Queen Elifabeth in that proscription, she creats the Lord Darnley Duke of Rothfay and Earle of Ros; and upon the twenty eighth day of July, betymis in the morning, she marries him to her husband, in the Chappel Royal of Halliroadhous, at mafs, Mr John Sincklare, per-



fone of Restelrigg, was preift. And upon the morrow they were proclaimed, folemnlie, at the mercat crofs of Edinburgh, KING and QUEEN of Scotland.

This verie first action was a ground to the people to repyne, as though it infringed there liberties, to proclame a King without there confents. The difcontented noblemen did incense the people, and fomented there brains with factious motions. Then the Duke, the Earles of Argyle, Murray, Glencairne and Rothes, with fome others, professed themselves difcontent, and goes all to Argyle, there to confult and plott the courfe they prefentlie followed. Wherupon the Queen fends a herault, and commands them to compeer; but they not onlie difobeyed the charge, but marches incontinent to Cliddefdaill, and thofe Weft cuntries, takis up men, and flies to armes.

Upon intelligence of thefe Lords taking arms, proclamation was made that all men in Lothian, betwixt fixty and fixteen years of age, fhall randeruoz at Edinburgh with fifteen dayes provision to attend the King and Queen; and in the mean tyme Archbald Dowglas of Kilspindie was depofed from the place of provoft of Edinburgh, and Simon Preftone of Cragmiller was put in. Then four thoufand of the ableft men were pickt out and modled in an armie, with which the King and Queen marched upon the twenty fixth of Auguft toward Glasgou. The difcontented Lords were lyeng at Paisley, and were upon confultation what courfe to follow. It is faid that the Duke's opinion was to profecute the warr, and never leave untill the King and Queen were both cutt off; for (fays he) fo long as they fhall live, we fhall never have a fatled peace. The Earle of Murray did not lyke this counfell, fo freilie given; for though he wifhed there ruins no les than the Duke, yet he loved better to work his ends by pollitick wayes. His devyfe was to try if a treatie might be procured; for, fays he, "We fhall leave the fword for our laft remeid!" For he knew there were many about the King and Queen that favored ther difcontents, and wold not fail to affift there ends; and he fupposed, becaus they were both yong, they might be tractable. This advyfe prevailed. Nor were they in a pofture to fight; for upon the King and Queen's approach, the cuntrie people flipt from them, and left them but weaklie

accompanied. So they ryfe from Pasley and goes to Hammiltoune, and from thence to Edinburgh, onlie with a number of hors, without foote. They thought to fynd Edinburgh (the armie being gone) at there disposing. Here they resolved to sitt and consult upon there affairs. But Alexander Erkin, Captain of the castle, so infested the streets with cannon that they were glade, at midnight, to remove; and at the desyr of the Lord Herreis they marcht directlie to Dumfries.

The King and Queen hearing that the Confederat Lords were gone toward the Border, they certainlie expected they were gone to bring in English forces. Wherupon they marcht from Glasgow to Stirlin, and leaves the Earle of Lennox behind, with a sufficient force to keep the cuntrie in order. From Stirlin they march into Fyffe, and make the noblemen sweare to give there fathful assistance, in case of any English invasion. Then inquisition was made for all the pertakers and friends of the Confederats; many wherof they punished either with banishment or fyns, and these who were gone with them there goods were confiscatt. Courts were lykwayes apoynted through the kingdome to fynd out the rest.

After they had fett things thus in order in Fyffe, the King and the Queen returns both back to Edinburgh, and raises thirty thousand merks of money from the toun; wherof ten thousand merks was giving upon interestment in the superioritie of Leth, and the other twenty thousand was frielie given for an exemption of the tounsmen from these sudden marches. Then upon the ninth day of October, they both fett forward with an armie to Dumfries, which did much amaze the Confederatt Lords; whoe, upon notice of there approach, sent out the Lord Herreis, to meet them upon the way. They made choofe of this man as one most indifferent; for although he affected the Confederat partie, yet he had not hitherto been in action against the King or Queen. Yet whither he was sent reallie to treat an accommodation, or was it to drift tyme, and pump their intentions, it is uncertain. The treweth was, that he made his owen peace and returned back to Dumfries, and plainlie advysed the Lords to slip over to England, and attend a fitter tyme; for he could not fynd any hopes of favor at the present. The Confederatt Lords em-

braced this advyse, and gave place to the King and Queen, whoe committed the charge of the cuntrie to Lord Herreis, and returned to Edinburgh. About the end of the month, after there returne, the castle of Tamtallon was taken from the Earle of Mortoune, whoe was knowne to be a favorer of the Confederat Lords, and was given to John Earle of Atholl. Then by open proclamation, these Lords whoe were now in England, were fommoned to answer at the next Parliament to be kept upon the twelfth day of March next, to hear themselves forfaulted as traitors.

Things were in quiet all this winter. Upon the tenth day of February the next year, 1565, the King received the order of St Michaell from a French Ambassador, Monsieur Rambeveult. He was invested in the Chappel Royal of Halliroomdous. About this tyme one John Johnstone was accused for carrying intelligence to the banished Lords, in England; and confessed that the English resident, Mr Randell, caused him to deliver unto them four thousand crowns. Whereupon Mr Randell was discharged court, and commanded to returne.

Much about this tyme it was, that the first seeds of division and heart-burnings began to appear betwixt the King and Queen; which, although they were not on great grounds, yet they were anuff to raise discord, being wittilie fomented as they were. The King had done som things, and signed papers without knowledge of the Queen; wherwith the Queen was acquainted, as though he had done these things in misregard of her frome whome the power flowed, which she tooke not well. She thought although she had made her husband partner in the government, she had not given the power absolutie in his hands: She thought all the honour and majestie he had came from her: That she had made choose of him for her husband by her owen affection onlie, and against the will of many of the nobilitie: For these and many more respects, she thought nothing should be done by him, in relation to affairs of state, without her concurrence and knowledge. These diversions in affection were no sooner in budd but [they] were presentlie laid hold on by the Earle of Mortoune (whoe was kept out of the publick Confederation on purpose to observe the

motions at court, that no opportunities were not neglected), and the rest of the friends of the banished Lords. They knew the Queen's spiritt wold not quitt any of her authoritie, so they addrest themselves to the King, whome they knew was flexible and easie to receave there infusions. They said it was not fitting for him to be a ward to his wyffe, although it was trew she had married him, far below her in birth! Yet, now he is her husband, whoe, by the law of God and man, commands above the women: That the marriage was done with consent of the nobilitie, whoe thought him worthie of the place: That the whole kingdome had there eyes upon him; they wold follow and ferve him upon the fields, where it was a shame a woman should command. These conceats being continuallie buzzed in the yong man's head (although naturallie well inclyned) made him foar sighe. Now, when the Queen perceaved once these suggestions, she was the more resolute to keep the power in her owen hands. She deferred the Coronation. She put her owen name first in all letters and dispatches, as MARIE and HENRIE, &c. &c., which formerlie were put out in the names of HENRIE and MARIE, &c. &c. And then, least the King should be perswaded to pafs guifts or any such thing privatlie, by himselfe, she apoynted all things in that kynd should be sealed with a seall, which she gave her Secretarie, David Rizius, in keeping, with exprefs order not to put the seall to any paper unles it be first signed with her owen hand. Then she rased a guard of Italiens to wate upon her persone. The taking of these Italiens in pay was presentlie taken hold on by these feditious Lords, whoe complained that the Queen had now a certain resolution to tirannize over the cuntrie; for what could be more grievous than to mistrust her owen subjects, and committ her persone to the guard of Italiens, strangers, and Papists! They argued that all this was by Signior Davie's policie, whoe was secretarie to the Queen, one whome the Queen gave greater trust unto then her owen husband, one without whose counsell the Queen did nothing. He was an Italian himselfe, and wold make these Italiens doe what he pleased! These (they said) were things to be lookt unto with a narrow eye, and indeed they were sufficient grounds for the people.

The King was lykwayes stuffed with misconstructions of the Queen's

actions, and at last retreated from the Queen's company, and spent the winter in Peebles and thereabout, where, it was constantly said, he suffered wants. This retreat of the King's was diversly constructed. The Queen, and her fynd, put it upon himself and his wilfulness; that he left her in anger because his power was restrained, and that she had deferred his Coronation. The other party seemed to make it appear that the Queen forced him to retreat; that she daily eschewed his company more than other, and professed an open dislike of his person; that she raised every day Signior David higher in her favor, and used him with greater familiarity than was fitt. No! It was openly said that she took more pleasure in his company than in the King's, her husband's; that she made him sitt at table with her, and had free access to her bed-chamber, at all hours. These discourses were thought by the indifferent to be calumnies, to draw dishonour and disgrace upon the Queen, that her enemies might have the fairer gloss in these actions. Her friends again excused the favors she shewed to David, and said that she was necessitate to take herselfe to be advysed by some one in these tymes, when she could not tell which of her subjects to trust unto; that she made use of him, a stranger, whoe had no interest in either party, whome she found witty and faithful; and that it was nothing liklie she wold fancy his person, that was neither handsome nor well faced. Whatsoever was the truth of these things, they were by her enemies cryed out with open mouth, to disclaim her and incense her husband, whoe, indeed, was brought to trust there information in the foulest way.

You see, now, the projects of these turbulent Lords well advanced. The breach of affection betwixt the King and Queen is now finished. They studie next to foment this rent, and ruin both! There were the Earle of Mortoune, the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, whoe were continually agents. They informed the King that unless this David be cut off he can not repair his honour. And fynding the King pliable, they advyse him to doe things with deliberation, and take advyse of those whoe will make things good after the action. They lykwayes draw in the King's father, the Earle of Lennox, upon their counsell; and then

advyses the King to draw home the banished Lords, before the day apoynted for there forfaitrie. And when the King had consented to all, a paper was signed which included thrie things—To bring home the banished Lords: To establish the Reformed Relligion: And to cutt off Signior Davie by some means or other. This paper was subscryved by the King also.

This is no sooner ended but a poast is sent to England to call home these Lords; and then they consult how to kill David. This was undertaken by the Lord Ruthven, and was acted upon the ninth day of March. Thus it was: The Lord Ruthven had been two months in a posture to dye, so sick as he was not able to come out of his chamber, and yet undertakes this bloodie action. He comes at night, accompanied with two hundred gentlemen, to the Abbay clofs, either when the Queen was at supper or before she rose from table. The Laird of Traquare, Captain of the Guard, being privie to the designe, was out of the way, and the Guard both. Mortoune, and Lindfay, and his owen sone, the Master of Ruthven, were in companie; but Ruthven yet tooke the action in hand, entred the Queen's chamber; where they found in her companie the Countess of Argyle, Robert Bishop of Orkney, the Queen's bafe brother, this Signior Davie, and some others. Those that entred with Ruthven were Patrick Murray of Tullibardin, Andro Ker of Fawdonfyd, Patrick Bannatyne of Stainhous, George Dowglas, bastard sone of the Earle of Angus, James Scott, Shireff-deput of Perth, and one Henrie Yare, a revolted priest. The Queen was mightilie terrified at the sight of these men, with naked swords; and when she saw Ruthven the leader, she was strangellie amazed. "What strange sight (says she) is this, my Lord, I see in you? Are you madd?" Sayes he, "We have been too long madd!" And with these words he pulled Signior Davie from beyond the Queen (for he was extremelie terrified, and slipt himselfe behind for refuge), and he by the way clapt his armes about the Queen's middle. The Queen tooke lykewaves hold of him, spoke some words of authoritie, and wold not let goe her hold untill Andro Ker of Fawdonfyd held a pistoll to her breast, which refused to give fyr, and then by violence pulled him away. Then he was hurried to the next rouse, where the rest were. The Earle of

Mortoune gave him the first stroke, and he was killed with thrie and fiftie wounds. It is written, that in the tyme of this tumult, where tables, candles, and everie thing was overthrowen, the King came in, and some pluckt his dagger out of the sheeth and thrust it in the dead corps, to be seen by all, that the world might beleve that the King himselfe was the actor!

Heer the Queen, with many tears, askt him the cause of this cruell murther? The King answered little, but that no harme was intended to her. Then the Queen, in her rage, laid before him his contempt and ingratitude to her, who from a privat noblman had rased him to a King, and her husband! So the King avoyded the rounge. The originall sayes, that one of her maids came running in and told that the man was killed. The Queen askt her how she knew? And the maid replied, that she saw him dead! Then the Queen wypt her eyes and said, "No more tears!—I will now think upon revenge!"

After the King was reteared and the murther done, the Lord Ruthven and Faudonfyd came back to the Queen's chamber, where the Lord Ruthven satt doune and called for a drinke; which the Queen tooke as a great indignitie and presumption. She askt him how he durst presume to committ that unreverence? But he tooke little notice. Well (says she) my Lord, it is within my bellie that one day will revenge these cruelties and affronts! This was trulie devynd, as was afterwards seen.

In the tyme of this tumult, the Lords had feased upon the kyes of the gates, and the Earles of Huntlie, Bothwell, and Atholl, who were sitting at supper in a rounge of the pallace, attempted to make escape by a back way, but were intercepted and carried back with a guard to there chambers. It is said, that after all was a little settled, the King came back to the Queen's chamber, where, with many expreffions, she made him sensible of his too much credulitie, and made him visiblie see that it was not his particular honour that was pretended, but even the ruin of him and her both. And (it was said) that heer they concluded to make a secret escape. Then, after the King was again gone to his chamber, guards were apoynted both for him and the Queen, a pairt. This terrified them both, and trubled the King much in his thoughts. But that which aug-



mented his fear was, the next morning he sent his servant, Sir William Stanley, an Englishman, to comfort the Queen, but could not have passed through the guards, without an order from the Lords.

The next day after this was the twelfth of March, unto which day the banished Lords were summoned. That morning they were come to the town very early, and at the ordinary hour they made their appearance in the Parliament House, according to their citation; but finding none there, either to accuse them or to receive their appearance, they took instruments of their obedience, and so returned to their lodgings. In the afternoon the Queen sent for the Earle of Murray, whom she desired to get off the guards and put her at liberty; but he excused himself, as though that power was not in him. By this she evidently saw his affection. Whereupon she sent for Sir William Stanley, by whose advice and diligence, an hour was appointed with the King, and horses were made ready for an escape. At midnight they took horses. The King took only Sir William Stanley. The Queen rode behind Sir Arthur Erskin, her Master of the Stables. The Captain of the guard took one of the Queen's maids behind him; and one Sebastian Broune rode single. These were all the train. The Lord Seatoun was attending them at Seatoun, with two hundred horses. From Seatoun they went to Dunbar, and were received in the Castle by Simon Preston, the Laird of Cragmillar, Captain; where they did not stay long, for upon the nineteenth day of the same month they returned to Edinburgh, with great attendance of the whole country. Whereupon, then, she resolved to be revenged for the death of her servant. Patrick Bannatyne of Stainhouse, and the revolted priest, Henrie Yare, were both unhappy; for they were taken, arraigned, hanged, and quartered. The rest of the actors fled to England and were proscribed; amongst whom was the Lord Ruthven, who died at Newcastle the May following. Others were suspected of, some were executed as being privy to it, and others again less guiltily banished. Then a proclamation was put out, discharging all men, under pain of treason, to say that the King was guilty of David Rizzius' death. The Queen took the great seal from the Earle of Mortoun, and gave it to the Earle of Huntly. Mr James McGill was Clerk Register; she



deposed him and gave the place to Mr James Balfour. The Earles of Argyle and Murray were receaved in favor, and the Earle of Arran (now four years a prifoner) was fett at libertie, and thefe two Earles of Argyle and Murray were cation for his confynment within thrie myls of Hammiltoun, under a pain of twenty thoufand pounds.

After this, fometyne, the kingdome and court was at quiet; in which tyme the Queen, growing great with child, and draweng near her tyme, fhe reteared from Halliroadhous unto the caftle of Edenburgh, where, upon the nineteenth day of Junij, fhe brought forth a fone, betwixt nine and ten a clock in the morning. This which followes is worth obferving. About two a clock in the afternoone, the King came to vifitt the Queen, and was defyrous to fee the chyld. "My Lord (fayes the Queen), God hes given you and me a fone, begotten by none but you!" At which words the King blufht, and kift the chyld. Then fhe tooke the chyld in her arms, and, difcovering his face, faid, "My Lord, heer I proteft to God, and as I fhall anſwer to him at the great day of judgment, this is your fone, and no other man's fone! And I am defyrous that all heer, both ladies and others, bear witnes; for he is fo much your owen fone, that I fear it be the worfe for him heerafter!" Then fhe fpoke to Sir William Stainley. "This (fayes fhe) is the fone whome, I hope, fhall firft unitt the two kingdoms of Scotland and England!" Sir William answered, "Why, Madam? Shall he fucceed before your majeftie and his father?" "Becaufe (fayes fhe) his father hes broken to me." The King was by and heard all. Sayes he, "Sweet Madam, is this your promeis that you made to forgive and forgett all?" The Queen answered, "I have forgiven all, but will never forgett! What if Fawdonfyd's piſtoll had fhott, what wold have become of him and me both? Or what eftate wold you have been in? God onlie knows; but we may fufpect!" "Madam (answered the King), thefe things are all paſt." "Then, fayes the Queen, let them goe!"

WE have now brought this yong Prince to the wordle (world), whoe

shall not be suffred to breath much air, before he shall be made a cloake to rebellion; by which his mother shall first be banished, and then persecuted to death! His baptisme was deferred untill September; in which interim was hatched much mischeefe and destruction, and the Queen was traduced as actor of all. Some things, possible, might be trew, but that the Queen was actor of all those horrid cruelties and blood, it was not to be beleved; nor is it fitt to give trust to Buchannan, in his relation of the actions of this Queen, whoe was knowne to have written from spleene against her, whom he makes to act things past all modestie or moral honestie.

The birth of this yong Prince put the Earle of Murray clear by his ordor: He must draw the curtain for a new scene, and with his confederats enter in new resolutions. They suppose that the birth of this yong sone may, possible, be an occasion that the King and Queen shall agree better heerafter. So the first thing they intend is to devyde them by some means irrecoverable; which was easie to doe. They observed the Earle Bothwell did much insinuat himselfe in the Queen's attendance. This man they resolve to make the groundstone of there mischeefe. He was a man high in his owen conceat, proude, vicious, and vainglorious above measure; one who wold attempt any thing out of ambition! The Queen did alreddie look upon him with favor, which they have observed, and fostered the Queen in this favor; for upon everie occasion they make him appear to the Queen a man fitt for these broken tymes, and to be employed in busines of state; and when the Queen had once conferred upon him particular favors, they then acquaint the King that the Queen was more familiar with Bothwell then was fitting! The King, with these continuall infusions, observed more narrowlie both her actions and words. In the mean tyme the Queen was acquainted, on the other hand, that her husband was jealous, and tooke strict notice of her actions! They leave it not heer. They infuse stranger things yet in the King's head. They desyre him to take heed to himselfe, for he can not be sure of his lyffe; for they tell him the Queen hes plotted his death! Upon the other fyd, they acquaint the Queen with her husband's jealousy; which she soone perceived by his carriage, for he was much more reteared then usuallie.

These insinuations tare there affections asunder; and the Queen, the highest mynded of the two, gave greatestt expreffion of her displeasure. In the mean tyme, Bothwell was much at court, and in the Queen's companie; and it was certain that she used him with more familiaritie than stood with her dignitie. Severall instances are given of her publick misregard to her husband, and too much respect to Bothwell. One wherof was, that the Queen was on her jorney, in persone, to Jedburgh to execute justice there, upon the Borders. The Earle Bothwell, being either Warden or Leutenant, went into Liddisdail to take theeves, and was unhappilie hurt by a shott of a pistoll from one of these that were persewed, and was carried into the castle of Hermitadge. So soone as the Queen gote notice, being at Borthwick Castle, she presentlie tooke hors and went to Melros, from thence to Jedburgh, and so to Hermitadge; and after she had given ordor for his transport to Jedburgh, she returned to Jedburgh herself, where she fell dangerousslie sick. Heer (they say) the King came to visitt her, and was not well lookt upon by the Queen. Wherupon he reteared again to Stirling. When the Queen recovered she went to Kelfo, and Bothwell in her companie; from thence to Coldinghame and back to Cragmiller, where the King repeared to her again, and was again commanded to return to Stirling. From thence he went to Glasgou to visitt his father, and by the way was taken with a grievous sicknes, which kept him long in danger of his lyffe. The Queen's unfriends gave out that he was poyfend, for his hair fell off, and some other fymptoms that were observed. Yet at length he recovered, but not untill after his sone was baptized.

Now approached the seventeenth day of December, apoynted for the baptisme of the Prince; unto which came ambassador from France, the Count de Brittain; from Elifabeth Queen of England, the Earle of Bedford; and the Duke of Savoy sent Mounfieur Lacroke, but he came a little too short. He was baptized in the Chappell Royall of Stirling, with all the Catholick ceremonies, by John Hammiltoune Archbishop of St. Androes, and was called James Charles, or Charles James. All solemnities being ended, the Ambassadors were dispatched, and the Queen went to Edinburgh, and carried her yong sone alongst with her.

We shall now shorthlie sie the tragicall end of the King; which is altogether laid upon the Queen by Buchanan, with a series of malicious actions upon her part such as can not be beleved could come from the wickedest woman in the worlde [world]; but those whoe have written since, in a more moderat stile, although they doe not altogether frie her from some tincture of lasciviousnes, yet they altogether clear her from having any knowledge of her husband's death, and layes it absolutlie upon Murray, Mortoune, and there complices, who contrived it, caused Bothwell execute it, and then made the imputation ly upon the Queen!

You see what cunning wayes were used to divyde the King and Queen's affections, and brought to pass. But yet it was thought by Murray that those breaches betwixt man and wyffe, though greater, might at length be sewed up. He visiblie saw, lykwayes, that as long as the King and Queen lived, he had no hopes to obtain the government of the chyld, which was that that all his other hopes depended on. It was therefore resolved to cutt away the King, and if this could be done at this tyme, when the Queen's affection was alienat from him, and her honor alreddie tainted with Bothwell (who shall be the actor), they resolved to lay the imputation upon the Queen, and make it good by the sword; for they were sure of the Queen of England's assistance in the quarrell.

The Earles of Murray and Mortoune, then, were the onlie plotters. They sie Bothwell alreddie in the Queen's favor, which they seem to allow. They wate upon him, and courts him, and feeds him in his ambition. They shew him, in severall discourfes, that they fynd the kingdome burthened and trubled with these divisions betwixt the King and Queen; that the King was but a simple man, and it were good for the kingdome that he were dead, that the Queen might either command absolute, or els were again married to some one of a higher spirit! After many ambages and circumstances they offred, that if he wold be the man to disburthen the subjects, and take this block out of the way, they engagedged themselves to make the Queen to marrie him, and procure the consent of most part of the nobilitie. For the wyffe he had (they said) a divorce should be procured; and that greater things than that hes been done for the well of kingdomes. These jump right with Bothwell's vainglorious humor.

He thinks himselfe alreddie King! He undertakes it, and runs headlong to the action. In the mean tyme, there was a paper drawn up upon the conditions, which was signed by them all; and now they wate but for an occasion, which soone fell out.

The King, we heard, had been sick at Glasgow a long tyme, and now having a little recovered his health, the Queen brought him to Edinburgh in the beginning of February, and was lodged in the hous of Kirk in the Field (everie man in Edinburgh knowes where it stood), a place reteared, and fitt for the recovering of his health. Many circumstances are sett doune by Buchannan to make the Queen accessorie to the murther, which was done in this hous, which are all condemned as forged, or maliciouslie applied, by other wryters of calmer temper; but that which is sett doune by others is thus: When the Queen went to Glasgow to fetch her husband, Bothwell stayed behind, to plott, and had tyme sufficient to meet with Murray and Mortoune and contrive the busines, for it was alreddie known where the King wold recide for a tyme. So all things being prepared, upon the tenth day of February 1566 (-7), being Sunday, the busines was concluded to be acted. The Earle of Murray, upon Sunday morning, as he was going to church, a letter was delyvred him upon the street, by which he said he was sent for to his wyffe at St. Androes, whoe was dangerouslie sick of a chylde. Wherupon he turned from the church, and caused saddle his horses. The Queen (when he tooke leave) was mightilie earnest that he might put off the journey till tomorrow, for (sayes she) your lady will either be well before you can come there, or at least your journey will not haue the birth! But for no means wold he stay. Those whoe lay the imputation upon Murray, setts doune this as an evidence that this journey was but made to plead his innocence. The Queen lay at Hallihoodhous, and that day had a fervant, one Sebastian, a musician, married. She visited the King in the afternoon, and went back to honour the marriage. Bothwell did lykewayes lay in Hallihoodhous, and after all were gone to there chambers, and the guard sett, he shifted his cloths and put on a coat of malze, and past through the guards (for he had passadge at any hour, being a counsellor), and went streight to the Kirk of Field, up Robloch's wynd, where he mett with William Parris

and John Hammiltoune (a fervant to the Archbifchop of St. Androes), whoe had flollen the kyes of the gates. They entred foftlie the King's chamber, and found him afleep, where they both ftrangled him and his man, William Tayleor, that lay by him on a pallet-bed. Thofe affaffinats that are named to be with Bothwell, and aētors, were thofe two above named, Parris and Hammiltoune, John Hay of Fala, John Hepburne of Boltoune, Georg Dagleifh, and one Pierrie, Bothwell's men all; James Ormiftoune of that ilk, called Black Ormiftoune, Hob Ormiftoune, and Patrick Wilfone. After they had ftrangled the King and his man dead, they carried them both out at a back gate of the toune wall, which opened at the back of the hous, and laid them both doune carelefle one from another, and then fyred fome barrells of powder, which they had put in the rounge below the King's chamber; which, with a great noyfe, blew up the hous. They imagined the people would conceave the hous to be blown up by accident, and the corps of the King and his man to be blown over the wall by the force of the powder. But neither were there fhirts finged, nor there cloths burnt (which were lykwayes laid by them), nor there fkins any thing toucht with fyre; which gave eafie fatiffaction to all that lookt upon them.

The blaft was fearfull to all about. Many rofe from there beds at the noyfe, and came in multitudes to looke upon the dead corps, without knowing the caufe. The Magiftrats of Edinburgh rofe from there beds, when they were informed of the matter, and made prefent fearch through the toune for any fufpicious people. They found onlie one Captain William Blackature, whoe had been drinking wyne in William Henderfon's hous at the Trone, whoe, at the noyfe of the crack, run out and left the wyne undrunk. Him they tooke, and [he] was afterward hanged, although no clear prooffe was brought againft him. Bothwell himfelfe went by a back way to his chamber in the pallace, and difmiffed his men.

The noyfe of the powder awakt the court, and the Queen, amazed, fent for the noblmen neareft hand, whoe advyfed her to fend up to the toune to try what the bufines was. Bothwell would needs undertake this fearch, whoe, upon his returne, made relation to the Queen of the bufines, with horreur. The Queen was fuddenlie taken with griefe; and in this mean



tyme the King's bare bodie was brought doune by four men, upon a boord, to the Abbay churchyard of Hallihoodhous, and was presentlie buried that same night.

This bred a terrible fear, at first, to all men; but within a little men recollected there spiritts, and the actors and contryvers were soone suspected. Wherupon rumors and newes flies quicklie, both to the court of France and England, that Bothwell was the actor, and Murray and Mortoune the contryvers of this horrible massacre. The Earle of Murray tooke much pains, both by letters and messingers, to clear himselfe at the court of England, and laye the cryme upon the Queen. The Queen of England herselfe was soone satisfied, although the court and generallie could hardlie be perswaded otherwayes.

The Queen tooke this misfortune with great sorrow, and did sequester herselfe many dayes from companie, untill, by perswasion of her freinds, she went to Seatoune, some thrie weeks afterward; where Monsieur de Crock, a French ambassador, came to her, with whome she returned again to Edinburgh; and then there was a sort of examination made upon some mean people that lived nearest the hous where the murther was committed. Some of the King's owen servants were lykwayes examined; but all to small purpose, although the streets were strowed full of libells and pamphlets, that divulged the contryvers and actors, with all the circumstances.

In the mean tyme, the Queen thought neither herselfe nor her sone in safteie. Wherupon she resolved to live in the Castle herselfe, and deliver her sone to the custodie of the Earle of Marr, as her friends advyfed her, there to be kept in the castle of Stirling; for the Earle of Marr was esteemed a trustie man, whose predecessors had oft been trusted with the tuition of the kings, in there infancie.

Bothwell hes acted his pairt, and expects now performance from the rest. He desired the Earles of Murray and Mortoune to keep condition, and procure the Queen's consent to marrie him; and this he urges with importunitie, becaufe he evidentlie saw all the wordle [world] laid the murther upon him, which he could not tell how to clear. This was a



hard task ; but they were compelled unto it for ther owen exhoneration. So they consult, with great advyfe; and resolves that if this can be brought to pass, thrie stroks shall be given with one stone! It shall wype the aspersion from themselves; it shall absolutlie disfaime the Queen to the whole wordle [world]; and they shall make it occasion to ruin Bothwell, in whose power it was to discover the secrets of all! But they must begin in order; and they think it fitt that before the marriage be proposed (at least to the wordle [world]) that Bothwell be cleared of the murder. The continual cries of the old Earle of Lennox, the King's father, gave them good occasion for this. This man never ceased by expositions and petitions to cry for justice against the Earle Bothwell, as the undoubted murderer of his sone. He petitioned, in the mean tyme, that he might be committed prisoner, untill he were put to a tryall at law, wherby himselfe, the King's father, might with safte of his lyffe compeer and accuse him; for it was evidentlie seen that Bothwell kept so strong guards of his friends, that no man durst speake the trewth.

At length, after the way was laid doune, Bothwell was summoned to appear upon the twelfth day of Apryle to underly the law. In the mean tyme things were put in that order for Bothwell's advantage, that undoubtedlie he should be cleared. First, the old Earle of Lennox is summoned as partie to persue. He had but ten drie dayes included in the summons, wheras the law provyds fortie; and he was commanded to come to Edinburgh with onlie his domestick servants in train; for they were certain that neither he could make reddie in so short space, nor durst he come to Edinburgh, so meanlie accompanied. The Earle of Argyle satt Justice General. The accusers were onlie the Queen's two Advocats, whoe durst not present any accusation but that which was framed and given them. The Queen herselfe was perswaded to stay within, as not being fitt for her dignitie to compeer in persone. When the Court was sett, Robert Cuningham, procurator for the Earle of Lennox, compeered, and protested that nothing might be prejudiciall to the Earle of Lennox that was done this day; because the procedure of the Court was disorderlie, and against the lawes and practise of the kingdome, because the partie accused was suffred to come in with such multitudes of

friends and forces of men that neither the accusor durst perfew, nor was the Justice Generall able to doe justice. This was repelled, and the Court went on. The fyfers were these: The Earles of Cathnes (chancellor of the assyse) Caffils, and Rothies; the Lords, John Lord Hammiltoun, Oliphant, Herreis, Ros, Boyd, Semple, and the Master of Forbes; the Lairds of Lochinvarr, Barnbugall, Boyn, Langtoun, and Cambuethen. Most of them all were Bothwell's particular friends. The sentence of the assyse was pronounced by the chancellor, that he saw no cause to condemne the Earle Bothwell, according to the dittay given in; but protested, that if any heerafter should accuse him conforme to law, that they might be frie from all dammage and interest. It was generallie thought that this judgment was right; nor could they doe otherways, according to the dittay: for he was accused for murthuring the King upon the nynth day, and it was not committed untill the tenth.

The Earle Bothwell is now absolved be law (though not before God nor the wordle [world])! He fetts up a challenge upon the cros, that if any man (his equall) will say that he is guiltie of the King's murther, he was reddie to clear himselfe by his sword. It was answered by a gentleman (who durst not sett to his name), that if a convenient place were apoynted, wher he might shew himself with securitie, he wold prove it upon him.

Now the Earles of Murray and Mortoun resolved to prosecute the busines; for they have done with the greatest difficulty. They think that it will be but easie to move the Queen to the marriage, whome all this tyme past [was seen] to carrie a favor to Bothwell. They shew her then, that in this tempest of troubles it was not possible for her to governe things by herselfe, whoe was a woman without a husband. They advysed her, for the well of the kingdome, that she wold think upon some one that was active and powerfull; one of her owen subjects, of greatest friendship, that wold be able to suppres those factious spiritts that troubled both her highnes and the commonwealth in generall. In end, after long conference, they presented unto her the Earle of Bothwell, as fittest both for couradge and friends. The Queen gave them thanks for there care, and tooke it to her consideration.

Few dayes passed over untill the Earle of Bothwell invites the Earles of Murray and Mortoune, and all the rest of that faction (whoe were in the toune), to a supper; where he put them so much to it that there consents were drawn up in a paper, unto which they put there hands. In which paper they oblidged themselves to procure the Queen's consent also. The next day this paper was shewen to the Queen, and she was desyred to ratifie and consent to that which the Lords had thought fittest for the well of the kingdome; and if she refused, they said, they wold leave her to herselfe. In end, they made the Queen subscryve to a ratification, in a paper by it selfe, wherin was expressed, that what they had done was by her speciall order and command. They perswaded the Catholick bishops to consent and subscryve, upon faithfull assurance that [they] should move the Queen to annull acts that had been formerlie made in favor of the Reformed Relligion, and establishe again the Catholick. This they performed within a few dayes; and moved the Queen to call a Convention of the nobilitie, wherin the bishops had satisfaction, as it was agreed. Which they did for there owen advantadge; for they knew it wold make the Queen hatefull to all the Reformed partie. It wold procure there assistance, in generall, against the Queen in the rest of there projects, and ruin the Catholick partie, which was alreddie the weakest!

After this the Queen went to Stirling to visit her sone; but Bothwell, fearing her inconstancie that she might repent what was done, he convened his friends, and with six hundred hors went out to meet her by the way, as she was coming back. He staid at the Bridge of Amond till she came up, and then he carried her to Dumbar castle; where he detained her untill she granted both to accomplish the marriage, and grant remission of this ravishment; wherin was included, expresse, all other treasonable acts and filthie facts done in tymes past; in hopes that in this generall clause the King's murther wold be understood [to be] comprehended, if things should heerafter be challenged again.

There was yet the greatest impediment of all. Bothwell had a wyff living, Lady Jane Gordone, sister to the Earle of Huntlie. Nothing can cure this but a divorce, which the lady is to follow herselfe. The Com-

missiary Court is the court competent for matters of divorce, which formerly was a court Ecclesiasticall belonging to bishops and their officials; but these years past this power was taken from the bishops, and temporal men were authorized Commissiars, by the Lords of the Reformed Religion, &c. &c. Bothwell was summoned to appear at this court before the Commissiars, and was accused by his lady for adulterie. Some wryte that the archbishop of St. Androes officials satt heer to cognosce upon the case, although (sayes my author) there authoritie was taken away by law; but howsoever it was, the process was hastened and soon discussed, for within ten dayes the sentence of divorce was pronounced by the Commissiars. Then, upon the seventh day of May the Earle of Bothwell, with all his friends, carried the Queen back to Edinburgh; and lest it might be construed heereafter that this was done by force of arms, he caused all his men lay by their spears. And thus was the Queen both taken away, and brought back, which indeed everie man thought was done by her owen consent. So soon as she cam to Edinburgh, she declared herselfe publickly, in the Parliament House, a free woman, and at her libertie. Then the Earle Bothwell was created Duke of Orkney, and upon the fifteenth day of May, was married to the Queen by John Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, with great haste and anticipation; for it is written in the historie that the banes were proclaimed three tymes in one day.

This marriage, being thus huddled up in an unorderly way, gave the people of all sorts occasion to cry out; and these Lords whose were the first contrivers and consenters, and whose (in a manner) forced the Queen's consent at first, sieng all busines goe as they wisht, and now past excuse, were those that exclaimed most! They both cryed out themselves, and raised the people against both the Queen and Bothwell, and then to notifie their repentment to the whole worldle (world), they tooke horse and retreated themselves from court.

The Queen observed all this, when there was no remedie. She observed the people's execrations instead of blessings. She saw the whole nobilitie (except some of Bothwell's particular friends) misliked the marriage; and the French Ambassador, Monsieur Crock, refused to be present; by which she was assured things would receive the worst construe-

tion abroad. Wherupon her cheefe and first care was to satisfie the court of France, and her friends there; and then she resolved to make her partie as strong as she could within this kingdome. William, bishop of Dumblain, was sent Ambassador to France, with large instructions and long letters, whereby the Queen excused herselfe to her friends there that they were not made acquainted with her hastie marriage; wherein her special reason was grounded upon the combination amongst the nobilitie of Scotland, whoe, unknownen to her, had oblided themselves, under there hands, not onlie to give there owen consents to Bothwell's marriage with her, but oblided themselves to assist him with there lyves and fortouns in the prosecution, and to use there best means and force to put by any crosse or impediment that might fall in the busines. Then, with a long summing up of all his deservings and good services done to herselfe, and the politick wayes he tooke with the assistance of the nobilitie, untill he constrained her to his ends, she desyred all her friends in France to esteem of the Earle of Bothwell, now Duke of Orkney and her husband, and looke upon him as her husband, &c. &c.

Her next care was to make her partie strong at home, to oppose and curb intestin troubles, which she saw alreddie to appear. Bothwell thought this was easie. He thought himselfe assured of the greatest whoe were participant in the King's murther. He thought many of the rest of the nobilitie wold follow there affection and alledgiance to the Queen; and for those whoe were least considerable, he thought they might be easilie drawn to follow the multitude. Wherupon there was a Mutual Band drawn up, wherunto most part of the nobilitie subscribed; but for dyvers respects and ends. The tenor of the Band was—That they were bound to defend and assist the Queen and her husband, the Duke of Orkney, in all there interpryses; and that the Queen and her husband was bound to protect and maintain them.

The Earle of Murray was onlie absent of the great men. The Queen sent for him to Seatoune, where she was then. He obeyed, but by no means could he be moved to put his hand to that Band. He protested, to give all the assistance that lay in his power for the Queen and her husband, but refused to enter in any Band of Confederacie. At length

Bothwell endeavored, in a privat conference, to move him to joyne; but fynding him still resolut, he told him publieklic that he expected his concurrence as much as any; and withall said, that what he had done or committed was not upon his owen privat interest onlie, but was done by advyse and consult of himselfe.

Dyvers dayes were spent in this purpose; which Murray did not spend idlie; for heer he tooke occasion to meet with his friends, and consult upon that which was to follow. And even heer they concluded to ryse in arms; for which there quarrell was pretended to be, to persecute the murderers of the late King, and to take upon them the protection of the Prince, whome, they said, Bothwell had a mynd to cease upon, and by appearance had a mynd to cutt him off by some secret way; whereby his owen children might succeed to the crowne, if any shold be procreat with the Queen.

The Earle of Murray (in the mean tyme) followed his project, and pretended busines in France, as out of discontent. He procured a pass from the Queen to goe, either through England or any other way he pleased. This course was concluded amongst them, that he, not being ingadged in the troubles to follow, might be reserved frie; and so being neutrall, he might be fittest for the government of the kingdome: And lykwayes, in the mean tyme, if they should be put to need assistance from England, he might be frie to agitate there affairs. Wherupon he taks leave, and leaves the Earle of Mortoune head to the faction, whoe knew well anuff how to manadge the busines, for he was Murray's second selfe.

Wherupon a new Band of Confederacie was drawn up amongst themselves, into which at first subfryved the Earles of Argyle, Mortoune, Marr, Atholl and Glencairne, Patriek Lord Lyndsay and the Lord Boyd. But Argyle, the next day, revealed all; and Boyd was afterward drawn to the Queen's fynd! This being detected, the Queen and Bothwell sent to the North, to acquent there friends there, and desyre them to come to Lothian with what power they could make; and in the mean tyme Bothwell resolves to goe to the Border, and make a road amongst these Border men whoe were broke loose. The Queen went with him to Borthwick castle, where they staid some dayes, treating with the Lord Home and



some other great men upon the Border, whoe refused obedience to Bothwell. The Confederat Lords, in the mean tyme, thinks to take the advantage; and upon a sudden they invest the castle of Borthwick with two thousand men, where both the Queen and her husband were in person, for they heard of forces comming to the Queen's assistance from the North, which upon some occasion made halt at Stirling.

When Bothwell saw his intentions prevented, and that his enemies were already upon the field, himselfe and the Queen both inclosed in a house, he resolved to make escape if he could, before his enemy grew strong in foot; for then he knew they would invest the house so close that no means would be left to get out. Whereupon he disguised himselfe in a woman's habit, and the Queen in a man's; and in the night they deceived the guards, and went streight to Dumbar castle. The Earle of Huntly and Mr John Hammiltoun, Archbishop of St Andros, and divers others, the Queen's friends, were come to Edinburgh; whoe, not daring to byd in the house for the number of their unfriends that daylie increased, they slipped themselves into the castle, which was then commanded by Sir James Balfour. He willingly received them. But in this very tyme he was treating with the Confederat Lords for a revolt; and as soone as ever he had closed his conditions, he put them and the rest of the Queen's friends that were within out at a posterne gate safe; and then declared himselfe for the Confederats!

The Queen and her husband were no sooner knowne to have made escape, and that they were at Dumbar castle, but there friends came presently to them in troupes. The Lords Seatoun, Zester, Borthwick, the Laids of Waightoun, Bas, Ormiston, Cockburne, Wetherburne, Blackater, and Langtoun, all men of good following; and by these examples numbers of country people willingly offered their service. There were two hundred hired soldiers, and some feild peaces of ordinance. The noblemen and gentlemen put their men in the best order they could; and with these forces the Queen resolved to march to Leth. Their first remove was to Haddintoun; from whence, upon the fourteenth day of Junij 1567, she came to Seatoun, where the army was



quartered in towns about. The Confederat Lords, in this tyme, were at Edinburgh not in a verie strong posture; for there careles fulfilling the Queen and her husband to escape from Borthwick castle, had discouraged the common people; and there fyrie furie being cooled a little, they slunged away everie man home to his hous: And it is noted in the historie, that if the Queen had but spun out a little more tyme, she might without great trouble have been master of the fields within few dayes; for peeples came in daylie to her assistance; and upon the other syd, the partie of the Confederats still decreased, and the Lords themselves were beginning to think upon dissolving. But getting fudden intelligence in the night of the Queen's approach, and that she was advanced alreddie to Seatoun, they were forced to take courage, and presently beat up drums. The forces (as is said) was not many, but because they had the affections of the town of Edinburgh, they appeared in the morning a considerable number. With these they marcht out betymes in the morning, and lay doune at Musselburgh. They made the greater haste that they might be master of the town and bridge, which was a strong pass; and then sent out parties to view the countenance of the Queen's armie. In the mean tyme they refreshed there men.

Then, upon notice that the Queen was marching, they drew out of Musselburgh and ranged there armie in two battells. The first was led by the Earle of Mortoun and the Lord Home; and the other by the Earles of Glencairne, Atholl, and Marr. The Queen's armie by this was advanced to Carberrie-hill, and there stood in order. And heer Monsieur de Croek, the French Ambassador, procures leave from the Queen to treat, if possible, an accommodation might be made. Whereupon, he went over to the Confederat armie, where he declared by an interpreter, his busines was to see if there was a possibilitie to pack up things without blood, for both there goods; that it was lamentable that the Queen and her subjects should be at such distance, that nothing could satisfie there displeasures but blood and slaughter; and whosomever should get the better, yet the loss fell to the cuntry. He shew them that the Queen was inclined to peace; that she wold willinglie grant to an oblivion, and take it upon oath, that no man should ever be called in

question for what was done, in opposing her authoritie. The Earle of Mortoune answers, that he had not taken arms against the Queen, but against the murtherer of the King; and if the Queen wold either deliever him up to justice or put him out of her companie, it should soone be seen that they wold submitt, as dutifull subjects; for (says he) “We are not come heer to beg pardone”—and Glencairne adds—“but rather to give pardone!”

Monfieur de Crook found by this that he could not prevale, so he returned; and after he had delivered his answer, he tooke leave of the Queen and went to Edinburgh. In this mean tyme, the armies are both incamped; and the historie sayes that Bothwell appeared single betwixt the two camps, and offered combatt to any of his qualitie. It is lykways said, that first James Murray, and then his eldest brother, Sir William Murray of Tullibardin, accepted; and after that, Patrick Lord Lindsay. The first two were refused as not in equal qualitie, and the last was discharged by the Queen’s authoritie. It was thought fitt, in the Queen’s armie, to defer the fight untill tomorrow, that the Earle of Huntlie and the Hammiltouns might come in with there supplies; who they knew were coming with five hundred hors, and expected them the next morning. And in this mean tyme, a new Treatie was propofed. Wherupon Sir William Kirkadie of Grange was sent from the Confederats to treat with the Queen, with an offer, that if she will put away her husband, and come in herselfe to there armie, they were all reddie to do her duetifull obedience. He had a seeret commission, underhand, and a token from the Earle of Mortoune to Bothwell, to advyse him to retear himself from the furie of the people to some pairt out of the kingdome, for a small tyme, untill he wrought busines in a right posture; but that the people are now so hote, that if he doe stay, it was not possible to keep them from destruction on both fyds; and gave assurance, that if he wold slip himselfe asyde, he may go frielie whither he pleased in securitie, for none shall be suffred to follow. Bothwell gave trust to these conditions, and reteared privatlie out of the armie, with onlie two men, and went to Dumbar castle. The other partie said he reteared by command from the Queen. But however it was, he left the field without truble or danger. Then the Queen,

upon the conditions offred, refolved to go over to the Confederat armie, with a few in her companie; and first came to that quarter where the Earle of Mortoune commanded, and was receaved with great shew of respect. But when she offred to return, they wold not suffer her. Then she was desyred to goe to Edinburgh, and afterward commanded in high words. In her passing through the armie, they used her with great contempt! They had the King's picture, as he was murdered, painted upon ther ensigns, and in one of the corners the yong Prince drawen, new borne, crying to Heaven for vengeance against the murtherers of his father! These ensigns, at all the corners of the camp, were spred abroad as she went through; and the foldyers, in a barbarous manner, cryed out, "Burn the Whore!" The Queen was mightilie overtaken with grieve and anger at these contemptible words and spectacle. She could not contain herself from tears! But that was not regarded; for she was carried a prisoner to Edenburgh; nor would they suffer her to change apparell, that she might enter the toune (although a prisoner) yet in comlie habit, but in a coate little fyder then the knee (which was made for the fields), all spoyled with clay and durt. She was carried, in a confused and disgracefull manner, to the common lodging, and guards put upon her; where she was used in the most opprobrious way they could imagin! Within a little, she was observed to look out at a window upon the street, and the people flockt to see—many pittieng her sudden calamitie. But presentlie the ensigne (spoken of) was brought out and spred before her eyes! She was kept heer two dayes, and upon the third, being the seventeenth day of Junij, she was carried prisoner to Lochleven.

Bothwell, the Queen's husband, at this tyme was in Dumbar; from whence he sent a messinger to Sir James Balfour, Captain of the castle of Edinburgh (a man whoe was put in by the Queen and Bothwell after the marriage, whome you heard had revolted to the Confederat Lords, before the Queen was taken), for a silver box, which was the Queen's, and that he had left for him to keep. The box he delyvered to the

messinger, but underhand acquainted the Confederats of the busines. The box was intercepted. Within was papers, which the Confederats averred contained clear instructions that the Queen was author of her husband's murder, under her owen hand, by letters to Bothwell. But the Queen and her pairtie maintained the contrarie, and said that these were but conterfitted by the Confederat Lords; for in the box were all those letters and papers drawn betwixt Bothwell, Murray, and Mortoune, that discovered them to be the plotters. Which letters Bothwell reserved, for his owen securitie, to keep them to be his friends.

Bothwell feing matters go thus, for, by his expectation, the Queen was carried to Lochleven, and his box taken wherin the letters that past betwixt Murray and him was intercepted, which he still reserved for his secret and surest protection, as was said, he lost couradge and put himself to sea, with some few of those that durst not stay in Scotland, and failed to Orkney and Shetland, wher they say he turned piratt. From thence he went to Denmark, where he was known by some Scots merchants, that acquainted the Earle of Murray at there returne, when he was Regent. Wherupon he sends to the King of Denmark an information against him, and defyred to put him to death, for an example to all that shall attempt against there Prince's lyffe. It is recorded that the King of Denmark caused cast him in a lothsome prisone, where none had access unto him, but onlie those who carried him such seurvie meat and drink as was allowed, which was given in at a little window. Heer he was kept ten years, till, being overgrown with hare and filth, he went madd and died—a just punishment for his wickednes!

This hard usage of the Queen, whoe was taken captive and committed prisoner by her owen subjects, under trust (as was said), mollified the hearts of the people to commiseration, and gave a ground to all of her faction to fear the worst. They reteared themselves to Hammiltoune, whither many came and joyned with them; where they remained a good tyme, in expectation onlie, without acting any thing. Upon the other pairt, the Confederat Lords convened at Edinburgh, and consulted upon what they resolved to doe; and mustered there men upon the sands of

Leth, so soon as they knew of this meeting at Hammiltoun. They take upon them the authorative power, and wryte to them, desyring them earnestlie to repair [to] Edinburgh to them, that they may consult together what was fitting to be done for the good of the commonwealth. The ministers wrote there letters a pairt; exhorting them, severallie, to give there concurrence to the good cause, in these tymes of danger, for the Relligion, and the commonwealth. Nothing followed but knitting of factions upon both fyds, looking more to there owen interest and advancements nor any respect to the common good; and at length dissolved. But before they left Edinburgh, the Earle of Glencairne, with his domestick servants onlie in his companie, went to the Chappell of Halliroodhous, and with great noyse broake doune the altar, and defaced everie thing that pertained to the ornaments therof; which was much commended by the ministrie, for an act of pietie and zeale; but the nobilitie did not approve it, for they reprehended him for acting without a publick order.

The Queen, in this tyme, was straitlie kept at Lochleven, no man having access to her, but by order. Then the Confederat Lords causes deall with her to renounce her crowne to her sone, and threttens her with death if she refuse; and fynding her to stand stiff to herselfe, they use her still more hardlie; till at length, terrified and overcome with fear, they extort her hand to a Renunciation of the Crowne in her son's name, with a Procurorie and Commission to crowne him. Unto all which she put her hand, without ever reading the thing, or hearing it red; wherin were nominatt to be conjunct Governors, James Duke of Chastelerault, Mathew Earle of Lennox, Archbald Earle of Argyle, John Earle of Atholl, James Earle of Mortoun, Alexandre Earle of Glencairne, and John Earle of Marr.

Thus, having wrung the government from the Queen, poasts flies to France to acquaint the Earle of Murray, and to desyr him to returne with speed, that he may take the government upon him. These newes were joyfullie received, for he was in great misregard at that court; and if he

had not made quick haiste, he had been stopt at Deip, for he was scarce-  
lie gone, when James Beatone, archbishop of Glasgou, and Ambassador  
for the Queen there, receaved intelligence of all that had past in Scot-  
land. Wherupon he maks addres to the King of France, and informs  
him of all, and how the Earle of Murray was the occasion of these sturrs  
and hard usage of the Queen. And upon this information the King sends  
poast to Deip to have stopt his passage, and brought himselfe to Paris;  
but (as is said) he made haiste, and was gone before the order came  
doun.

# HISTORIE

## OF THE

### REIGNE OF KING JAMES THE SIXTH.

THE Confederat Lords having obtained this Renunciation, which was the thing they most defyred, convene at Sterlin, and upon the twenty-first day of July they crowne [the] yong Prince KING, by the name of JAMES THE SIXTH; verie few noblmen being present. Mr John Knox made the fermon, and the Earle of Mortoune and the Lord Home sware, in the King's name, to maintaine the Relligion then preacht in Scotland. The King was but a chyld of one year old, one month, and odd dayes.

The Earle of Murray came first to London, and saluted the Queen of England; where he was lookt upon with a great deall more honor than at the court of France. From thence he came to Scotland, and was receaved by the Confederat Lords (whom now we call the King's partie), with much joy, and was in a manner adored. They offred him the sole government of the kingdome, which (although it was the thing he long expected) he wold not undertake, for some dayes; craving respyte to advyse. In which tyme, he directed letters to severall noblmen of the Queen's faction, but in particular to the Earle of Argyle, his kinsman, and old friend, shewing the desyre of the people was to burthen him with the charge of the sole government, in the King's minoritie; that it was a place he was not worthie of; but becaufe of the miseries of the tyme, and troubles of the cuntrie, it was fitt that the absolut power were conferred



upon some one. He desired they might convene and make choose of any, whom they should think fittest, by a generall consent. In the mean tyme, a parliament was proclaimed in the yong King's name, and the Earle of Murray was admitted Governor, upon the twenty-second day of August, which was thrie dayes before the parliament, by these few whoe were present, for none at all of the Queen's partie were there.

The twenty-fifth day of August was the day apoynted for the Parliament; where little was done but confirming the Earle of Murray in the Regencie, and a vote passed for the Queen's imprisonment. Heer many voted her death for being guiltie of her husband's murther, upon none other testimony but these letters, which were said to be found in the box; which the Queen and all her partie (as is said) averred to be counterfeit. That which fortified many in the opinion of the falshood of these letters was, that, considering the iniquitie of the tyme, and the hatred that was carried to the Queen by the Confederat Lords, if the letters had been trew of themselves, they wold have execute and put her to death, without doubt.

Either this same parliament was adjourned, or another indited against the fifteenth day of December next. In the mean tyme, the keeping of the castle of Edinburgh was taken from Sir William [James] Balfour, and upon the fifth day of September was given to Sir William Kirkadie of Grange. In this parliament the Regent's authoritie was again ratified; the Pope's authoritie abolished, and the Reformed Relligion confirmed.

After this, the Regent applies himselfe to execute justice through the land; and first he goes to Glasgowe, where he kept a Justice-air upon the tenth day of Apryll 1568, which did not end untill the twelfth day of May. In this Court he was so severe, and execute justice so rigorously, that many repented themselves of what was done, and wished again for the Queen. This was the cheefe cause that changed the affection of the people from the Regent, and made them incline to pittie the Queen's condition, whome they saw with there eyes, worse used than an ordinarie prisoner, and forced to renounce her crowne and dignitie. The Hammiltouns were those that took the busines to greatest repentment, and studied

the Queen's releefe. The Earle of Argyle, whoe was the Duk's sifter-  
sone, and the Earle of Huntley, who was married to his daughter (two of  
the greatest men in the North or Highlands of Scotland), joynd with  
them. Mr William Maitland, Sir James Balfour, and Sir William  
Murray of Tullibardin, men violentlie fett formerlie against the Queen,  
did now lykwayes recent her condition, and turnt to her faction, in ap-  
pearance, by there words, although they kept still with the Regent in  
companie.

The Queen herselfe (an active lady) was the principal instrument of  
her owen releafe. She perswaded George Dowglas, the Regent's  
yongest brother, by his mother, to work her escape. We must under-  
stand that the Lady Lochleven was the Regent's owen mother; out of  
which interest, the Queen was kept prisoner there, as a place of greatest  
confidence. She was verie narrowlie lookt unto, and none gote acces with-  
out special order from the Regent's selfe. George (called Prettie  
Geordie), my lady's yongest sone (as is said), undertooke the busines,  
and made none but the Lord Seatoune privie to his devyce.

In the mean tyme, a French Ambassador cam to Scotland, and de-  
fyred acces to the Queen; but the Regent refused, for he said, she was  
imprisoned by adyce of the nobilitie and act of state, and without there  
consent he durst doe nothing; but he offred to convene the nobilitie, and  
if they thought it fitt, he wold give way. The Ambassador seemed fatif-  
fied. But in the midst of this expectation of a Convention, when the  
Regent was yet in Glasgow, George Dowglas acts the busines: for one  
day, when his father and mother were both at dinner, one William Dow-  
glas, called the Foundling (because he was found at the gate in a chylde),  
steals the keyes of the gates and the Queen's chamber from the cup-  
board (where they were alwayes laid in tyme of dinner or supper), brings  
doun the Queen, locks the gates on the outfyd, and carries her to a  
boat which George had reddie. Upon the other fyd of the Loch there  
were horses reddie; and the Lord Seatoune, with a great convention of  
gentlemen, carried her safe to Hammiltoune. This was upon the second  
day of May.



Upon knowledge of this escape, the Queen's friends flockt to Hammiltoun, and many that professit for the King, abandoned the Regent ; amongst whome the Lord Boyd was of greatest note ; whoe is taxt by the historie, and was observed to turn ever to that partie that he thought was strongest ! In few dayes the Queen's forces were esteemed no les then six thousand five hundred men, hors and foote ; with which forces the nobilitie with her resolved to convey herselfe to the castle of Dumbartain ; and then either fight or protract the warr as they should think convenient.

The Regent consults at Glasgou with his partie what was fittest to be done ; whither to stay at Glasgou untill there friends came up, or retear to Stirlin where the yong King's persone was. But those whoe thought best to stay still at Glasgou prevailed ; for within few dayes there were four thousand men in the toune, whereof six hundred were good hors. And with this armie the Regent resolved to fight, before the Queen should gett any more supplies from the North, that were expected with Huntlie. So, upon the thirteenth day of May the Regent, having intelligence that the Queen was upon march, he drawes out his men, and takes the advantage of the ground. He both takes the bridge and toune of Langfyd, through which little toune he knew the enemye wold march, and lynes both the houses, the hedges, and ditches full of muscatiers. There were of noblmen in the Regent's armie, the Earles of Mortoune, Marr, Glencairn, Monteith, and the Master of Grahame ; the Lords Lindfay, Home, Ruthven, Semple, Ochilltrie, and Cathcart ; the Lairds of Bargaenie, Blachan, Drumlangrig, Cefford, Lufs, Buchanan, Tullibardin, Pitcur, Grange, Lochleven, Lithintoune, and Sir James Balfour of Burlie.

Upon the Queen's part appeared the Earle of Argyle, Generall ; the Earles of Cassils, Eglintoune, and Rothes ; the Lord Claud Hammiltoune, the Duk's fourth sone ; the Lords Seatoune, Sommervell, Sanquhir, Maxwell, Herreis, Boyd, Borthwick, Ros, Jester, Livistoune, and Fleming ; the Lairds of Lochinvar, Bafs, Nowghtoune, Dehouse ; the Shirreff of Air, Sir James Hammiltoune of Crawford-Jhone ; the Lairds of Innerweek and Grahame. With these forces the Queen advanced, and re-

solved to beat the Regent by force from the toune and bridge, whereof he was alreddie possesed. But they found the Regent too hard for them; for although he was weakest in hors, yet he soon put the wings of the Queen's armie in disorder, and the bodie being straitned in the pafs of the toune, was so galled with shott from the old houses and dyks on everie hand, that they were easlie forct to recule in disorder also. In end, the Queen's armie was beaten from the field. Onlie three hundred were killed, but many were made prifoners, the cheefe wherof were the Lord Seatoune, the Shirreff of Air, Sir James Hammiltoun of Crawford-Jhon, the Lairds of Innerweek, Traburne, and Balvie, James and John Hammiltounes of Carrouk, David Hammiltoune of Kincovel, James and David Hammiltouns, brothers of Bothwell-haugh, the Laird of Larches, and dyvers others, who were all sent prifoners to the castle of Edinburgh. Upon the Regent's fyd, onlie one man is recorded to be killed; but many were hurt, amongst whome, the Lord Herreis is marked to have cutt Andro Lord Ochilttrie upon the neck, and the Lord Home was hurt in the leg. So the Regent returned to Glasgow.

So soone as the Queen saw the day lost, she was carried from the field by the Lords Herreis, Fleming, and Livistoune. Prettie George Dowglas and William the Fundlin escapt also with the Queen. She rode all night, and did not halt untill she came to the Sanquhir. From thence she went to Terregles, the Lord Herreis hous, where she rested some few dayes, and then, against her friends advyce, she resolved to goe to England, and commit herselfe to the protection of Queen Elifabeth; in hopes, by her assistance, to be repossesed again in her kingdome. So she embarked at a creek neer Dundrennen, in Galloway, and carried the Lord Herreis to attend her with his counsel; and landed at Cockermouth, in Cumberland. Heer she stayed, and sent the Lord Herreis to Londone, in hopes to be receaved with honor. [She wrote letters unto her, with her owen hand; in which she expressed the hard condition her rebellious subjects had put her unto, and sent up with this Lord Herreis letters which Queen Elifabeth had sent unto her sometyne before this, together with a diamond ring which she had lykewyse sent her, in token of a sure friendship, which by her letters she desired her to keep, that if she shold

happen to fall in distres, the fight of that ring should be an infallible tye for Elisabeth to assist her, with all her power].\* But before his returne, the Lord Scroop, whoe was Warden upon the English fynd, and lived at Carleill castle, was commanded to carrie her to the castle of Carleill; where, with a shadow of honor, she was kept under strict guard; from whence she was transported, &c. &c.

HEER is now an end of this Queen's unfortunat reigne, though not of her lyffe, which yet continued eighteen years longer; in all which tyme, she suffred imprisonment, miserie, and affliction above affliction, at last death it selfe, by the losse of her head.

The French Ambassador was witness to this fight, whoe, seeing the Queen's forces totallic routed, and herselfe fled, he went straight to England, and so to France. Upon the Border he was troubled with there ryders, whoe robt him of all that he had; which yet was restored again, by the Laird of Drumlangrig's means. And James Beatoune, Archbishop of Glasgowe, followed the Queen to England; from whence she sent him Ambassador to France, where he staid all the dayes he lived after, employing all his witt and pains in his Queen's service, and for her releefe; which was otherwayes decreed by God, for her chasticement.

Now let us return to the Regent, whoe having sett things in order at Glasgowe, went to Edinburgh upon the eighteenth day of May; and upon the next day but one, he caused arraigne the Shirref of Air, the Laird of Innerweeke, David and James Hammiltouns, brothers of Bothwellhauch, with six other gentlemen, who were all convicted of treason; and sentence being given, they were to be execut the next day. But, the next day, at the sute of John Knox (as some wryte), the Regent pardoned them all.

Then the Regent maks James Earle of Mortoune Chancellor, and indits a parliament for forfaiting the Queen's partie. Many means were

\* "What [is] within parenthesis is at the margin, in the author's handwrite."

made to stop this meeting; but to no purpose. Monsieur Martignes was raising men in France with speed, to have brought thither; but was stayed by the Civil Wars. The Earle of Argyle came downe to Glasgow with six hundred men, and consulted with the Hammiltouns how to impede this parliament; but finding no probable wayes, he retreated. The Earle of Huntley, upon the other fyd, came downe with two thousand six hundred men almost to Perth, resolved to joyne with the rest of the Queen's forces on this fyd of Forth, and to have stopped this parliament. But all the passes of the river Tay were so strongly guarded by the Lord Ruthven and the rest of the Regent's friends, that he was glade to give over and retreat also. Last, letters were procured from Queen Elizabeth of England, whereby she desired the Regent to defer the parliament, and not rashly forfault the Queen's partie, untill he tooke better deliberation. But these letters were written in such a strain, that the Regent knew the desire was but written, and not desired. So the parliament was kept, although not so much done as was expected; for by the advice of William Matland (who was again fallen into the Regent's faction), there were onlie a number found, and the Earle of Rothes was banished for thrie years. All that payed there fynes received Remissions.

Before the Regent came from Glasgow, he suppressed that cuntry, and had taken the castle of Hammiltoun and Driflan. He had now a resolution to goe to the South-west parts of the kingdome, with an armie, to force obedience from these in that cuntry. For which end, he puts out proclamations commanding all men to ryse with fifteen dayes provision. The rendezvous was at Bigger, upon the first of Junij; where the Regent found reddie four thousand hors, and one thousand foote with fyrlocks. He began at the house of Sterling, which he overturned: from thence he marched to the castle of Crawford, which was rendered, without any more harme done, for the Lord Sanquhar had promised obedience. The next nyght the armie lay at a place called Barbacastle: From this part the Regent sent the Laird of Wetherburne to the Laird of Lochinvar to move him to submission; but because he refused, they first marched to St. Jhon's Clachan, and from that to the castle of Kenmoor (the Laird



of Lochinvar's hous), and rased it to the ground. From this he marcht to Dumfries, and in his way, at the river of Urr, severall gentlemen cam in [and] were receaved in favour. At Dumfries many submittit, Maxwells, Johnstouns, Bells and Irvings. The Lord Maxwell's houses were spared, becaufe he cam under terms of submiffion. The Lord Herreis hous of Terreglis, the Regent gave full orders to throw it doune. But the Laird of Drumlangrig, whoe was the Lord Herreis uncle, and much in favour with the Regent, told that the Lord Herreis wold take it for a favour, if he wold ease him of pains, for he was resolved to throw it doune himfelfe, and build it in another place. The Regent sware, he scorned to be a barrowman to his old walls! And so it was safe. Fróm Dumfries the Regent marcht to Annandaill, where Haddom (a hous lykwayes of the Lord Herreis) was rendered upon the third day, and given in keeping to the Laird Drumlangrig, whoe was heer made Warden of the West and Middle marches. The Regent left the camp, and went himfelfe with a pairtie to Annan castle, which was delyvered. From this place he mett with the Lord Scroop, upon the Border, who was Warden upon the English fyd, whoe had the Queen at this fame tyme in his keeping at the castle of Boltone. In his retreat he tooke the castle of Lochmaben by surrender, which he delyvered to the Warden, Drumlangrig. From thence to the Lochwode and Lochhous, both houses belonging to the Laird Johnstone. The houses were rendered, and himfelf submitted. From this he marched to Pebbs, and so to Edinburgh.

All this tyme past, the Queen found her letters to the Queen of England flighted, and herselfe guarded, though under pretence of honor and respect to her persone. She at length defyred Queen Elifabeth either to assist her with arms to recover her kingdome, or take some notice at least of her hard usadage with her subjects, by a tryall of the matter. Queen Elifabeth can hardlie gett this put off or refused. Wherupon she sent to the Regent, and defyred him to send up Commissioners to York, at a day appointed, where some should be from her, to hear the busines. She defyred him to send them sufficientlie instructed, to clear the ground of the cause that made the subjects of Scotland rafe warrs against there



Queen, and at last expel her the kingdome; attempts (she said) not to be overlookt by other Princes, because of the example, which might prove dangerous and of bad consequence unto all Princes in generall.

The Regent, although he knew this to be a matter of great concernment hereafter (if it should be questioned) to submit unto a forrain prince the decision of business of so great importance; yet, the confidence he had in the Queen of England, and the secret emulation that he knew she carried to the Queen of Scots, encouraged him to obey. But because none of the nobility were willing to undertake the employment by themselves, he prepares himselfe to goe, and tooke with him the Earle of Mortoune, the Lord Lindsay, Robert Stewart his owne brother, and Bishop of Orkney, Mr. Robert Pitcairne, abbot of Dumfermlin, Mr. James McGill, Mr. Henrie Balnavis, and Mr. George Buchanan; William Maitland, secretaire, whome he knew to be a factious man, he carried with him alsoe, more for fear of his factious spirit in his absence, then out of any great trust he gave unto his counsellors. Thus, with a hundred horse in train, he came to York upon the fourth day of October. Thomas Duke of Norfolk and Sir Rauff Sadler, deputed from the Queen of England, came thither lykwyse, almost upon the same hour.

Some few dayes after they were come, both the Regent and Advocates from the Queen of Scotland appeared before the Duke. Those who were sent from the Queen of Scotland spoke first, and protested that they came there not as submitting to any judgment, for they acknowledged no superior but God. Then they declared before the Duke these injuries which the Scots subjects had perpetrated against their lawfull Queen, and at last how they had banished her her kingdome. There desyre was, that the Queen of England would interpose her mediation, and perswade them in a peaceable way to receive her again in the kingdome as their lawfull Sovereign; or, if they refuse this in a peacefull way, that the Queen would be pleased to assist her with an armie to recover her owne by force. That it was not onlie the Queen of Scotland's quarrell that she should own in this, but her owne and the generall quarrell of all Kings, whoe would at some tyme or other fynd the fruits of rebellion, if they did not assist to chastise rebellious subjects.

The Regent answered, that nothing was done against the Queen but by equitie and justice, and the practice of the land ; which were done by consent and subscriptions of many of the nobilitie, ratified and allowed by parliament, which he by his privat authoritie could not undoe.

The Duke gave answer, that decrees of parliament made, possible, by the power of faction, were not rules of equitie ; that they were apoynted by the Queen to looke to the cause it selfe, so they desired that the ground of the quarrell might be laid open, whereby they might make a clear report. To which again the Regent replied, that that was the thing in the wordle (world) he had least mynd to divulge, which tended to the dishonor of his Queen and sister : yet he declared that if the Queen of England wold pass her princelie word to take the protection of the yong King and the cause, if he should make it appear that the Queen of Scotland was the author of her husband's murther, or that they wold procure to themselves, whoe were deputed from the Queen, a decisive commission, upon these conditions he would proceede ; and if he did not prove the murther upon his sister, he wold willingly submit himselfe to her punishment.

The English Commissioners wold proceed no further, untill they had acquainted the Queen with what had passed : And the Queen again, by her returne, desired the Regent that some of his number might be sent to Londone to satisfie herselfe. Whereupon the Regent sent up William Maitland (whoe was Secretarie of State), and with him Mr. James McGill, Clerck Register, both to assist and observe the Secretarie's words and actions, whom he employed mearlie for his witt, without any great confidence in his honestie, for he is noted in the historie to keep intelligence with the Queen's partie, which the Regent knew ; and yet he believed he wold not wrong him, becaus his partie being the stronger for the present, he could draw most advantage from thence !

Queen Elifabeth, after she had heard these Commissioners herselfe, could not yet cognosce upon the matter before she heard the Regent. Whereupon she dispatches letters unto him, to desire him to repair to Court, that she might hear things from his owen mouth. The Regent then dismissed most part of his followers, dispatched those noblmen home

to Scotland, and with a privat train went up to Londone himfelfe; where, being convented before the Queen, he again declared that it was much againſt his will to lay open thoſe cryms wherwith he was to accuſe the Queen his ſiſter, which (he ſaid) was but her diſhonor and reproach; but was lotheſt to diſcloſe them before the Counſell-table of England, whoe were ſtrangers to him, and forrainers to his cuntry. Neither the Queen nor the Counſel ſeemed to admitt theſe delayes; but urged him again to declair the courſe. Whereupon then he deſyred that his accuſers might be ſent for, whoſe proper teſtimonies he was to uſe. The Queen's Advocats and Commiſſioners were lykwayes ſent for, whoe answered, that all theſe teſtimonies, depositions, or letters, which the Regent was to produce, were mearlie forgt and counterfitt; but that was not there errant. They ſaid that the Queen there miſtreſ was not to ſubmitt herſelfe to any judge on earth, being herſelfe a frie-born Princes; but that which they deſyred was aſſiſtance from the Queen of England, as her ſiſter and neighbour, againſt her rebellious ſubjects, whoe had unnaturallie expulſed her out of the kingdome; or otherwayes, to let her have frie paſſadge through her kingdome, that as ſhe cam in out of hopes of protection, ſhe might have friedome to goe and ſute releefe for herſelfe.

Theſe words of the Advocats were waved, and the Queen of England afflixt a day to hear thoſe things by the Regent diſcloſed and proved; at which day the Regent produced acts of parliaments, depositions of witneſs of ſome whoe were execute for the murther, and laſt that ſilver box with the papers, which they ſaid proved the fact clearlie. None appeared for the Queen this day, to either anſwer or controll theſe proofs; becauſe (as is ſaid) they both averred thoſe depositions and papers to be forged, and that they would not ſubmitt to a judiciall cenſure, in prejudice of Royall Maieſtie.

Antiquitie does much blaim the Regent in his carriage of theſe buſines. That all his actions appeared to be malice and ambition, the circumſtances themſelves doe declare; and no man doubted but theſe accuſations given in to the Counſell-table of England, and his voluntarie ſubmitting himſelfe to the judgment of the Queen, was an infringing of the liberties of Scotland, and a derogating from the honor of the croune;

which (if he had lived untill the King's majoritie) was lyke to have been interpret treafone. But, howfomever, the Queen of England fendes to the Queen's Advocats, and commands them to answer, both to these accusafions given in by the Regent, and lykwayes to accuse the Regent with what they had to fay againft him. Unto which the Queen's Advocats answered as formerlie, that they could not acknowledge Queen Elifabeth a judge over them nor the aétions of Scotland; that they were onlie to defyre aid and affiftance to there Queen againft her rebellious fubjects, according to commone interest of Kings. The Queen of England (in the mean tyme) deferred to give any judgment for the prefent, or to proceed any further in the matter; not from any affection to the Queen of Scotland, but that fhe flood in fear of both Spain and France, whoe, fhe heard, had alreddie engadged themfelves in her quarrell; but refolved to detain her perfone fecure, for her owen advantadge, in cafe the fhould have to doe with either of thofe Kings.

In the mean tyme, the Queen and her friends, both in Scotland and France, were not idle. Thofe in Scotland made divers ryfings, upon new commiffions from the Queen, although with fmall fucces in end; and in France, they advyfe to fend home the old Duke of Chaufterault (who had now, for a good tyme, reteared himfelfe thither), to take the top of the Queen's partie in Scotland; and, as neareft in kin to the King, to claim the government. The Duke undertooke the bufines, and was well fupplied with money from the King. He cam through England, and, by the way, faluts Queen Elifabeth. Heer, by advyfe of his friends, he acquaints her that he is to goe to Scotland, and that he is to challenge the government of the kingdome, as due to him by the lawes of the land, as neareft kinfman to the King, wherof he brings divers precedents: How that, in the abfence of King James the firft, Robert Duke of Albanie was made Governor, whoe was the King's uncle; and after his death, his fone Duke Murdoch receaved the fame place: How, of late, John Duke of Albanie, grandchylde to King James the fecond, by his fone Alexander, was made Governor of Scotland, in the minoritie of King James the fyfth: How himfelfe had the government of the kingdome in this Queen Marie's minoritie; and that he was not fecluded from the government, at this tyme, by any legal ordor,

although by force and violence the Earle of Murray is preferred, whoe is a bastard, to the dishonor of the lawfull blood. He defyred Queen Elizabeth's assistance, and that she wold interpose her power with the Earle of Murray to dimitt his place of Regent in his favour, that the right and lawfull government might be established; and the Queen reponed without warr or blood.

The Regent at this tyme was returned; and upon this discours the Queen sent immediatlie for the delegats whom he had left, unto whom she declared the Duk's defyre. There answere was in many words, to prove that these whoe were named Governors by the Duke were not made Governors by vertew of nearest of blood, but either through force or fraud: They said, that that first law of succession was worne out in King Kenneth's dayes, whoe both extinguisht the said law, and ordained that in tyme to come, in minoritie of Kings, the ablest and fittest man for the charge should be elected, by consent of the nobilitie; wherof many were produced, for examples, from the death of King Robert Bruce untill our tymes. Many instances were also given where the nearest in blood had many tymes affected the crowne, and either by murther, or some other detestable way, the trew heir perished; whereby the crowne, by inheritance, might fall to themselves, whoe were Governors at that tyme. Examples, both forrain and at home, were produced for this poynt. For himselfe, they confessed he was once Governor, but with such ill success that posteritie will remember; and that at last he sold the place to a French woman, and a stranger, for the Dutchie of Chastelrault, in France. So that he is nothing to be regarded.

The Queen heard both; and then, by advyse of her Counsell, she approved the defences of the Regent's delegats, and rejected Duke Hamilton's defyre as unequitable; and declared withall that she had promised to the King's Ambassadors, that the Duke should be restrained from going to Scotland, before they had ended ther commission, and were first at home, lest he should move the kingdome to insurrection.

A little before this (as is said) Queen Marie used all means to stirr up and encourage her friends in Scotland, and acquainted them, by a letter, how all busines were carried in England; which letter is inserted, *ad*

*longum*, in my Original: Wherin she declared the intent of the Regent to be far otherwayes nor was pretended by him. The letter sayes, that at the Convention, at York, her rebels were confounded; to colour which they dealt with Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners so, that against the Queen's owen promise, they were called up to her presence, together with some agents from her owen Commissioners also; so that the busines was delayed. In the mean tyme, that the Earle of Murray had agreed with the Queen and state of England, that the yong King, her sone, should be delivered to Queen Elizabeth and bred in England: That they shall declare him lawfull successor to the crowne of England, failing heirs of the Queen: That the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling shall be delivered to the English hands, to be maintained upon the Queen's charges: That the castle of Dumbartain shall be taken, either by force or policie, and delivered lykwayes to the English: That these conditions being perfyted, the Queen of England shall assist the Earle of Murray in all his actions and authoritie: And that she shall cause declare him legitimatt, and in capacitie to succeed to the crowne of Scotland, if the yong King shall die without heirs of his bodie: That Murray shall acknowledge the crowne of Scotland to be holden of the Queen of England and her heirs.

The letter makes mention, lykwayes, that a League was drawn up betwixt the Earle of Murray and the Earle of Hartford, who is to marrie one of Secretarie Sicil's daughters (who is the contriver of all these things), to fortifie and maintain ech other in there titles, the one to the crowne of Scotland, and the other to the crowne of England; which must needs turne to the prejudice of the yong King, and ruin of both him and his mother: That they have dealt with herselfe to resigne the crowne by consent, and confirm Murray in the Regencie, by perswasions, promises, and threats; but when they could not prevale, Queen Elizabeth (contrare to her promise) added new Commissioners to the former, and admitted Murray to speak with herselfe, before the Treatie was ended: That at last, her owen Commissioners (sieng no goodnes to be expected) had protested and left the Conference, and were to returne home, &c. &c.

These letters were intercepted and delivered to the Regent, who was not a little astonished to see things of the secretest nature divulged; out

he made his owen use of them, as he did of everie thing. He altogether denyed the contents, and shew the letters to Queen Elizabeth, who seemed much iraged that she was taxt of breach of promise, and made that a cause of her further displeasure. Whereupon she tooke occasion to use Queen Marie with more stricknes.

When the Regent tooke leave of Queen Elizabeth, he was, with great honor and care of his persone, conducted from Shireff to Sheriff with strong guards, till he came to Berwick. From thence, upon the second day of February 1569, he entred Edinburgh, in manner of triumph. And within few dayes a Convention mett at Stirling, where the Regent delivered an accompt of all that was done; which was approved by those that mett.

A little after the Regent, the Duke cam lykwayes home, upon the seventeenth day of the same month. He had gote a new Commission from the Queen for Lieutenant of the kingdome; wherupon he conveyed his friends, proclaimed his Commission, and discharged obedience to be given to the Regent, or to acknowledge any other but himselfe. This proved a summer's tempest! It was soone over; for instantlie the Regent collects money and raises some troupes of hors in pay, and makes a rendezvous at Glasgow. This soone terrified the Duke, whose friends draw back, and the people in general to grumble. Whereupon he was content to treat; and the Regent, glade to breake the faction any way, was content to grant good conditions. So the Duke went to Glasgow, where it was agreed, upon the Duke's part, that he and his friends shall, at a day appointed, take there oaths for the King, acknowledge him there soveraine, and submit to the authoritie. Upon the other syde, the Regent was obliged to restore the Duke, and all his friends comprehended within this Agreement, to their goods, and esteem them faithful subjects. In this Capitulation a latitude was left for any of the Queen's faction that pleased to accept the same conditions. Argyle and Huntly refused, absolutlie, to submit.

The Duke cam to Edinburgh against the day appointed; but being a facile man, he was wrought upon by others whose blamed his sudden resolutions, wherupon he seemed a little to repent; and when he was put to



take oath by the Regent, he defyred a respyte untill the tenth day of May, in which tyme he might advyse with the rest of the Queen's partie, and make them acquainted; and professed plainlie, that what he had yeelded unto was out of terror, and if he could eshew it he wold not stand to it. The Regent, fynding him waver, clapt both him and the Lord Herreis prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh, whom he altogether blamed for putting new thoughts in the Duk's head; and besyds, he carried a great spleen at him for the pains he had taken for the Queen, both in carrieng her over to England, and for agitating with the Queen of England in her favours. This was upon the seventeenth day of Apryle. This done, the Regent thought upon reducing Argyle and Huntlie, whom he summoned to a Convention at St Androes. Argyle appeared, and was easilie receaved in favour, onlie giving his oath, in tyme coming, to act nothing against the King nor his faction, and acknowledging his authoritie. The reasons of these easie conditions were soon seen. Argyle was the Regent's neer kinsman, and had both been bred together youths; and besyds, in the Regent's absence in England, he came doune to Glasgow with fifteen hundred men, but refused to doe any harme or wrong to the lands of the Lennox, which stood for the King, although he was mightilie urged unto it by the Hammiltouns. But the busines with Huntlie bred greater dispute. He had been active in the Regent's absence, and had many friends in the North that tooke part with him. The Earle of Crawford and the Lord Ogilvie had both taken arms under his Commission; which being joyned, they seemed to the Regent a considerable partie. He used all means to make them submit; but he strove to bring them under the hardest conditions. He found many in this Convention that stood for Huntlie; at least to have the conditions easie. They laid before the Regent the trouble it wold not fail to raise in the North, if Huntlie goe to the fields: How a considerable strength wold ryse with him, able once to fight the Regent upon the field: If he should chance to gett the day, it was easilie seen what wold follow, which was the hazard of all; and if he were beaten, yet he had the hills to flie unto, where he could be able to save himselfe untill new troubles were plotted; and possiblie might procure aid and assistance from forrain Kings, and renew the warr.

The Regent, and these on the other syd, reasond in the contrarie, and seemed to sett light by all this power, which they said could not be able to resist the power of the kingdome: That if the King's forces were beaten, they were able to recover quicklie; but if he were beaten and chased to the hills, they could doe much to make everie man that were with him betray other, and possiblie either take or kill himselfe: That, for forrain forces, they feared none; England (that was nearest) they were sure wold not onlie not assist the Queen, but in case of need, wold lend both men and money for the King's use. After much debate, these that favoured Huntlie were over voted; and the Regent decreed that Huntlie should be pardoned, in the general, and what prejudice or harme the King or the Regent's selfe had received, in there proper goods, should be remitted also; but that Huntlie should be bound to make restitution to the cuntrie of what prejudice particular men received by him or his forces. That this was onlie a pardon of lyff for himselfe and domesticks; but these whoe assisted and followed him, either as vassals of his owen or others, should be weighed by themselves, and everie one must make his composition for himselfe: And last, that the Regent was to goe to the North with an armie, in person, to put things to execution, and sattle the cuntrie; which by no means Huntlie nor his friends could gett stopt. These were thought verie hard conditions. So the Convention broake up, with the execution of one fellow called Nick Niven, a notable Witch, who was burnt.

The Regent then prepared for the North, and with onlie two companies of foldyers, but many friends and followers, he marcht to Aberdeen, from thence to Elgin in Murray, and last to Innernes. All the cuntrie were summoned in, and obeyed. They were, for the most part, fyned for money, and some gave pledges. So the Regent returned to St Johnstoune, to a Convention apoynted there: At which tyme one Robert Boyd brought him letters of intelligence from England; by which he was informed, at length, concerning the Duke of Northfolk's intended marriage with the Queen.

The cause of this Convention was upon letters that were come, both

from Queen Elizabeth and Queen Marie. Queen Elizabeth's letters seemed to be in favour of the imprisoned Queen Marie; but in so indifferent a way, that the Regent and the King's faction might easilie see her affection was but verie small. She desired one of three things might be granted. First, That they would restore Queen Marie, absolutlie, to her authoritie. Second, If this could not be granted, that she might be admitted to reign conjunct with her sone; that all letters or dispatches might be given in her name; whom she desired might retaine the name and honor of Queen; but, in the mean tyme, that the Earle of Murray might have the absolut government of all, untill the King were seventeen years of age. Third, But if none of these would be yielded unto, that then they would suffer the Queen to live a privat lyffe amongst them, without meddling in any publick busines. The first two desires were absolutlie refused; but the third was granted, upon condition that the Queen would accept; which they were certain she would never doe.

Queen Marie's letters were next looked into; by which she desired that judges might be appointed to cognosce upon her marriage with Bothwell; and if it should be found unlawfull, that then a divorce might be intended; unto which she would willinglie condescend. These letters were read with scorn and contempt; and because she subscribed Queen, they were voted to be cast by, without any answer. Yet some that favoured the Queen desired the matter might enter in debate; for (say they) it might seem strange, that this desire should be now waved, which the former years was desired with so much vehemencie. That formerlie we onlie desired the Queen to separat her cause from Bothwell's; and now, when she is content to doe so and repents her error, it is opposed with greater vehemencie than it was at that tyme desired; and if any informalitie be in the letters, there might be a procutorie drawn up in what terms should be thought fitt, and sent to the Queen to be subscribed. In the mean tyme, they thought the divorce might goe on.

Upon the other part, many reasons were alledged why they could not prosecute the divorce. They said they were not judges competent; that Bothwell must be summoned upon threescore dayes; and that they could not see how that summons could be lawfull, seeing it was not knownen that

Bothwell had not power of himfelfe to obey, being prifoner in another kingdome; that they wondred why the Queen was fo earneft to have a divorce now, but that poffible ſhe thought to be as looflie married to another as ſhe is to Bothwell; that they may not, by the laws of the cuntrie, have any correſpondence with baniſhed traitors, much les with Bothwell, either by ſummons or otherwayes, whoe was the murtherer of the King; but that the Queen's beſt courſe was to deſyre the King of Denmark, by her letters, to execute juſtice upon Bothwell for the murther of her huſband, and then ſhe was a frie woman. At length they reſolve to acquaint Queen Elizabeth with all.

Mr. Robert Pitcairne, Abbot of Dumferlin, was made chooſe for this purpoſe; a man well thought on by the Regent. His commiſſion was to acquaint the Queen of England with all her proceedings, and to deſyver anſwers to the Queen's owen letters; and the reaſons why they had made chooſe to obey her laſt demand, and rejeſt the two former; which reaſons were ſtrangelie interlaced with the fear of terrible events that might follow Queen Marie's libertie or marriage. Theſe were motioned to exaſperat the Queen of England againſt her, and to haſten the diſtruſtion of the Duke of Northfolk.

After this, the Regent went to Stirling; where he tooke reſolution to draw the Secretarie, William Maitland of Lithington, in queſtion, for he knew him to be factious and never faſt to any ſyd; and in that reſpeſt determined to rid himſelf from theſe fears. Whereupon he was charged (being yet at Perth) to appear before the Regent and his Counſell at Stirling. He obeyed, and in oppen counſell, one Thomas Crawford, a dependor of the Earle of Lennox, accuſed him for being acceſſarie to the murther of the late King. Upon this he is preſentlie removed, and put under arreſt; and a partie ſent out to bring in Sir James Balfour of Burlie, or Monimaill, to anſwer for correſponding with the Queen by ſeditious letters, which were intercepted, which tended to more commotions and ryſings in the kingdome; and for being ſuſpeſt for knowledge of the late King's death. For which cauſes, it was propoſed that both he and the Secretarie might be put to a tryall at law. But for what ſecret reaſons

this propoſition was waved it is not ſett donne; for it was certain that the Regent pardoned Balfour, and onlie ſent the Secretarie to Edinburgh to the Lord Home, to be by him kept under guard untill further order. In the mean tyme the Laird of Grange, Captain of the caſtle of Edinburgh, at ten oclock one night, preſents the Lord Home with an order, under the Regent's hand, to delyver the Secretarie to him; and (although the order was counterfitt) yet the Lord Home tooke it for a trew one, and delyvered the priſoner; whoe was taken to the caſtle by the Captain. The next morning the Captain refuſed to come to the Regent, although he ſent ſeveral tymes for him.

People imagined ſtrangelie, upon theſe publick apparances, as though the Regent had ſome ſecret hand in all thoſe things, for his owen end; for the next morning, he went himſelfe to the caſtle, ſpoke at length with the Captain, and returned without any ſhow of diſcontent. Theſe things, together with rumours that went of the Queen's releafement and her marriage with the Duke of Northfolk, gave ſome incouradgment to her faction; although all was but vain.

Soon after this, the Regent made a road to the Border. He firſt went to the Mers, and was in the Lord Home's hous, whom he found a little altered in his affections: from thence to Tiviotdaill, and ſo through Lid-diſdaill, to Eskdaill and Euſdaill.

It was at this tyme, or a little before, that the Earles of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland had raiſd a commotion in the North of England; but there forces were diſperſed by the Earle of Warwick, Lieutenant for the Queen of England, and were declared rebells and traitours themſelves. Whereupon, having none other ſudden refuge, they came over to the Border of Scotland, to lurke in privat upon the truſt of the Border men. The Earle of Weſtmoreland, being not ſo well acquainted with the Borders, made ſhift another way and avoyded the kingdome of England; but Northumberland ſtayed ſtill and tooke his ſhelter amongſt them; and at this tyme he was betrayed to the Regent by Hector Armſtrong of Harlaw. The Regent, whoe ſtudied nothing ſo much as to pleaſe the Queen of England, cauſed ſeaſe upon him and bring him pri-

soner. This act of treacherie in Hector was so foullie constructed by all the rest of the Border men, that from this tyme all men disdained his companie, even his own nearest kinsmen; and to this day he is spoken of as an example of treafone! For amongst those Border men, there word of protection to any man in distress that comes amongst them is held sacred; and before they breake their faith, in this kynd, they will rather undergoe any hazard whatfomever. But to returne; the Earle of Northumberland was brought to Edinburgh, upon the thirtieth day of December; and within few dayes was sent prisoner to Lochleven, where he was kept untill dyvers years after this that the Earle of Marr was Regent, whoe sent him to the Queen of England, and so to the scaffold. The Lord Home was lykwayes committed prisoner.

And at this tyme Mr. Robert Pitcairne returned from Londone; whoe brought certain intelligence that all that busines betwixt the Queen and the Duke of Northfolk was discovered; that the Duke himselfe was sent prisoner to the Tower of London, and the Queen was restrained of her libertie, and closter to be put in prison; that she was transported to Coventrie, and delyvered to the custodie of the Earles of Shreusburie and Huntingtoun; which was a more secure place, and further within the cuntry. He brought letters of many thanks from the Queen of England to the Regent for his offers of assistance to the Governor of Berwick, in the tyme of the insurrection of Northumberland; but in special, that he had taken the Earle of Northumberland prisoner, which she esteemed such a mark of his affection to her service, that she professed herselfe tyed in honor to remember him, if it were to assist him with her whole forces of England, in his need!

Jelousies were still beaten in the Regent's head against the Laird of Grange, the Captain of the castle; and informations came daylie by letters, as though he was fomenting some plotts against him and the state; but ever as the Regent received these informations, it was known that he sent them in privat to be seen by the Captain himselfe, which made all men wonder what the Regent meant, and made many suspicious that some great secrets was betwixt them, which the Regent wold not have

to be knowen. And to agment people's amafements, that day of law apoynted for the tryall of the Secretarie (whoe was still in the caſtle), which now approached, was continued by the Regent; which, he ſaid, was to eſchew occaſion of tumults, for that he heard the Earles of Argyle and Huntlie, and many more of the Queen's friends, were coming to Edinburgh with troupes of there friends.

Now a period to all the Regent's ambitions drew neer; for about the beginning of January 1570, he went to Dumbartain, in hopes to have that caſtle delyvered by the Lord Fleming, whoe kept it for the Queen; but was forced to returne without ſatiſfaction.

James Hammiltoune of Bothwellhaugh had receaved many diſgraces from the Regent, and amongſt others, had been compelled to renounce a peice of land, to ſave his lyffe. The man recented theſe injuries extremly; and being of a revengfull diſpoſition, he vowed to kill the Regent. Wherupon Duke Hammiltone, his cheefe, promiſed him protection, and a reward for his pains. This James then thought this a convenient tyme, in his returne from Dumbartain. It is ſaid that he attempted both at Glaſgow and Stirling, but found not conveniencie; and now at Lithgow he reſolved to ſatiſfie his revenge. It was in a houſe belonging to the Archbiſhop of St Androes (where was James mother's brother), where he lay in a fore ſtair, that was covered with linnings which were hung out to dry. He lay with a fyrlock chargt with two balls, and leveled ſo juſt at the Regent, as he came ryding faſt alongſt the ſtreets, that he pearced him with one ball under the navell, quitt through, neer the reins; and with the other bullet Georg Douglas, whoe was Abbot of Arbroth (ryding in the other ſyd of the Regent), was ſhott through the knee, and his hors killed! The actor himſelfe ſlipt out a back way, had a hors reddie, ſtanding in the yeard; and heer, becauſe the back doore of the yeard was low, and his hors was large, he was forced to pull doune the wall above the doore head (which he eaſily did, being but dry ſtone wall), before his hors could gett out. He was perſwed ſo neer, that onlie the ſwiftneſs of his hors made his eſcape. This hors (they ſaid) was given



him by John Hammiltone, whoe had been formerlie Abbot of Arbroth, the Duk's fourth sone. The Regent, fynding himself wounded, leapt from his hors, and walked to his lodging on foote. At first the surgeoons thought the wound curable, but afterward they found he was mortallie hurt. So, setting his affairs in forie order, he gave up the ghost that same night, about twelve a clock, being Monday the twenty second day of January 1570, by the accompt now used; although the year did not change then before the twenty fifth day of March.

It is recorded that he had notice of this conspiracie long before; and that he was particularlie informed, this morning, that his lyffe wold be in hazard in this toun; but, whither by fatalitie or God's judgment, he seemed to disregarde thes informations, and thought to eschew the danger by ryding quicklie through the toun, being guarded with multitudes, that they should hardlie singe him out amongst the rest. He was buried in St Gyles' Church in Edinburgh, within the little doore upon the fourth syd of the church; and a tomb was built to his memorie, which to this day bears the name of the Earle of Murray.

This blow bred great alteration in the state. The Lairds of Bucklewgh and Fernihurst broake into England, drove many goods, and spoyled the cuntrie; and the Counsell, being mett at Edinburgh, releasfed Secretarie Maitland, upon furtie to enter upon citation. Sir William Kirkadie, the captain, was cation. Then they went about election of some of those whoe were nominatt by the Queen, in her Commiffion at Lochleven; which they thought to be the most warrantable way. But by the perswasion of Secretarie Maitland, the election was put off untill a general Convention of the nobilitie was mett.

Thomas Randulf was heer, agent for the Queen of England, when the Regent was killed, and had delyvered his commiffion to the Regent at Stirling; whoe had promifed his dispatch when he returned to Edinburgh. But this mischance fell out, so that he was forced to returne to England without any answer, and shew the Queen [Elizabeth] the disastrous fall of the Regent.

He was now returned against this next Convention at Edinburgh, with a new commiffion, which he delyvered heer; by which he firft declared the Queen of England's good affections to this kingdome, that ſhe was moſt forie for the miſhap of the Regent, and offered that her reſpects ſhould ſtill continue for the well and unite of both the kingdoms. Then he reflected upon thoſe incurſions made by Bucklewch and Fernihurft, which the Queen (he ſaid) beleevved, verilie, were acted without the knowledge of the ſtate; but if the cuntrie was yet unfettled, that they were not in a poſture to repair theſe wrongs, the Queen offered her aſſiſtance that ſhe would, if they pleaſed, raſe a convenient power, and either force them to ſatiſfaction, or baniſh them the land. In the mean tyme, ſhe ſhould ingadge, that if her forces ſhould com into Scotland, upon there deſyre, that nothing ſhould be done irregularlie; that the cuntrie ſhould not be wronged; and that nothing ſhould be taken from the cuntrie without reddie money. Then he concluded with many exhortations; but above all, to have a care to preſerve the Relligion, and ſuppreſ poperie, &c. &c. But becauſe there was no Regent elected, the anſwer was delayed untill the firſt of May next.

The Regent's two brothers, William and Robert Douglaſs, preſented a bill unto the Lords whoe were mett at this tyme, to deſyre juſtice, for the ſlaughter of there brother; about which there aroſe much debate amongſt them, which way they ſhould perſew and try thoſe whoe had any hand into it. Many advyſed to call in queſtion everie man that was ſuſpected to have any hand in the matter, not by citation, but to ceaſe upon there perſons ſuddenlie, and bring them to a tryall. Some advyſed lykwayes to uſe rigorous courſes againſt all theſe whoe had been forfeaulted or cenſured for taking arms againſt the King, whom they would have puniſht without favor, according to the acts. The Earle of Mortoune, the Chancellor, and the Earle of Atholl's opinions were, not to confound the Regent's ſlaughter with the general buſineſs, leaſt it might breed a civil warr. In end, all was continued untill the Convention in May.

In the mean tyme, the Duk's ſons, and thoſe of that partie, expected a ſtorme, and made ſome preparations for defence. They tooke up men,

and were upon guard, and had there owen meetings. It was generallie aganst all there myndes that the Convention shold be kept at Edinburgh, where they durst not venture to appear; wherupon the Earle of Argyle and the Lord Boyd mett at Glasgow, and sent to the Chancellor and the Secretarie both, to vindicatt themselves from any guilt of the Regent's death, and lykwayes to defyre that the Convention might be apoynted either at Lithgow, Faukirk, or Stirlin, where they wold willinglie assist with there opinions amongst the rest; and shew plainlie that they durst not come to Edinburgh. But they receaved no satisfactorie answer.

Now it was thought fitt, to prepare way for the Convention, that a meeting should be kept amongst some of the greatest of the nobilitie; wherupon there mett in Edinburgh, upon the third day of March, the Earle of Mortoume, the Chancellor, the Earles of Huntlie, Atholl, Crawford, Mar, and Glencairne, and the Lord Ogilbie, with dyvers more. The Earle of Argyle, John Hammiltoune, Archbishop of St Androes, and the Lord Boyd, stayed at Lithgow, with there whole friends and followers. The Earle of Huntlie used all means he could to bring them to Edinburgh; but could not prevale. In the mean tyme, those in Edinburgh fell to debate by what authoritie they could proceed to the election of a new Regent. Some argued, that the Queen's Commission, wherein eight were nominatt Governors, was now voyd by the death of the Regent. Others thought, that that Commission was the ground they walked first upon, by which they might proceed yet to a new election, with the same power of \* of those nominatt in the Commission of the Queen. There were many that advyfed the Chancellor to lay asyd the election untill a full parliament should be indited and mett. Secretarie Litlingtonne was said to be the author of this opinion; but it was not much regarded, for it was thought he did this to confound busines, and truble the state. The last opinion was, that the Queen's Resignation or Commission was not to be lookt unto at all, but as a thing unnecessary; that those whoe were the authors of the King's Coronation should now stand to it, and proceed to an election, for (say they) the

\* A blank is here left in the MS.

troubles of the cuntrie will suffer no delay. In end, this meeting diffolved without any conclusion ; and everie man went home.

Much about this tyme, one Monfieur de Verat arryved at Dumbartaine. He was one of the King of France's domestick fervants, and was sent from the King to encouradge these of the Queen's partie heer ; whoe raised there hearts, and stuffed them with all manner of hopes. Whereupon they apoynted a meeting amongst themselves in the beginning of Apryle, at Lithgow. There mett together, at this tyme, the Earles of Huntlie, Atholl, Argyle, the Lord Boyd, and the cheefe men of the name of Hammiltoun, with many followers. They entered in deliberation upon the estate of the Queen's affairs, which they concluded was meerlie crossed by the Queen of England's power ; which they thought they might oppose with the assistance they expected from France. Whereupon they thought upon wars with England ; but fynding this too weightie a busines for themselves, they resolved to remove to Edinburgh, where they intended to have a more frequent meeting ; which they apoynted upon the nineteenth day of Apryle, that there conclusions might be done with the greater glorie. But they mett heer with unexpected difficulties ; for the towne of Edinburgh refused them entrie, and the Captain of the castle, upon whose favour they builded the hopes of there protection, and was at this tyme provost, carried himself indifferent ; which was all one as if he had opposed them directly. The Earle of Mortoun, Chancellor, and many of the King's partie, were solicited to be of this meeting, with whom the Earle of Atholl tooke much pains ; but he could neither move the Earle of Mortoun to come himselfe, nor suffer any that he could stop to countenance the busines ; and besyds, it was the Earle of Mortoun that both perswaded the Captain of the castle and the town's people to refuse them entrie, or allow of any meeting before the first of May.

In the mean tyme, the King's partie, fearing the Queen's faction should move trouble, had solicited the Queen of England to send downe an armie for their assistance, which might come to the Border, under collour to take satisfaction on these whoe had made incursions within the

English Border. Which armie they resolved to make use of, if they stood in need; for they thought the verie countenance of that armie wold breake there enemies in peeces. The Queen of England, there trustie friend, has all things in preparation, and sent doune an armie towards Berwick, against the day apoynted. It was led by the Earle of Suffex, and consisted of eight thousand men. The Lord Scroop was lykewayes reddie upon the West Bordor. Then, that nothing shold be done without the Queen of England's knowledge and direction, the Chancellor, in name of the rest, sent up to the Queen, to desyre to know whom she wold command to be elected Regent. She answered, subtilly, that positively to command, wold be derogatorie to the libertie of Scotland, and so be an occasion and ground of further truble; but that she advyfed them to make choos of Matthew Earle of Lennox, the King's grandfather, whoe was now in England, and comming doune with this armie.

These things were in secret agitation with the Queen of England; which, together with some expectation of assistance, gave the Chancellor and the rest of the King's partie couradge to stand to themselves, and dryve out tyme till the first of May. About which tyme, sudden newes are spread that an English armie appeared upon the Border, which did much confuse the Queen's partie. The Queen's partie were mett alreddie at Lithgow, when they heard of this armie. Presentlie they consulted, and resolves to disperse, and everie man goe home to his owen. In the mean tyme, those prisoners in the castle were suffered to escape; which were the old Duke, the Lords Herreis and Home, the Sheriff's sons of Air and Lithgow, with divers more of the Queen's partie. Yet they resolved to stay together untill the beginning of May was spent; in which tyme they sent a messenger with letters to the Queen of England, and another to the Earle of Suffex. They sent them both to the Earle of Suffex; and by the letters direct to himselfe, they desired that he wold suffer that other messenger to pass, and grant truce in the mean tyme, untill he returned with an answer to there desires. The Earle of Suffex did not onlie refuse to suffer him to pass, but tooke his letters from him which were directed to the Queen, sent him back, and broake open the letters and sent copies of them to [the] King's partie in Scotland.

About this tyme, the Queen's partie received new letters from France, by a gentelman whoe had been Monsieur Lawfell's servant, and now in credit at the court of France. These letters revived there spirits a little, and encouraged both them that were at Lithgow to byd together, and those whoe were in Edinburgh to joyne with them and draw out of the toune; for they were sure the King's partie wold come strong aganst the first of May. Thus, being all joyned at Lithgow, they resolved to stop the wayes and interrupt the Convention. They had intelligence of the Earle of Marr's approach, whoe was upon the way with a thousand hors. Him they intend to stop, and drawes out there forces to the bridge of Even; but the Earle had knowledge of this trap, and crossed the water two myls above, and they joyned with the Earle of Mortoune, whoe had another thousand hors and five hundred foote; and so went safe to Edinburgh.

After this, a Treatie was propofed by those of the Queen's partie at Lithgow; and some there was that tooke pains to travell betwixt them and the King's partie at Edinburgh; but all to no purpose; for the King's partie, knowing that the Earle of Lennox was at Berwick, reddie to come to Glasgou with a strong convoy, which Sir William Drurie commanded, they both refused to treat, and proclaimed a parliament to be kept at Lithgow upon the third day of Agust next.

In the mean tyme, the Earle of Suffex advanced with his whole armie, and ranges up through Tiviodaill and the Mers. In his way he overthrowes dyvers houses pertaining to the Kers and Scots, and spoyled there lands. He laid seedge to the castle of Home; wher, being almost wearie and reddie to give over, letters were intercepted from the Lord Home to the Captain of the castle, commanding him, that if he were drawn to an extremitie, to be ruled and advysed by Sir William Drurie, one whome he trusted to be his friend. These letters were quicklie made use on, and the castle was delyvered; which they first spoyled of what belonged to the garrifone, and then thrust in a garrifone of there owen. The house of Mochtour, the village of Trawling, the castles of Fernihurst and Braunxholme, were all sackt. So he returned to Berwick.

The Lord Home, fynding that his friends had for the most pairt left him and fyded with the King's partie, as the most secure, he, with onlie two or thrie fervants, thrust himselfe into the castle of Edinburgh, resolved to take share with Sir William Kirkadie in his fortunes.

Upon the West, the Lord Scroop, with an armie, came into Annandail, and pearced up the cuntrie even to Dumfries—but to little purpose—for the Laird of Johnstoune in Annandail, and the Lord Herreis in Galloway and Nithsdaill, were upon the fields with all the hors they could raise; and the cuntrie people were commanded to dryve all there goods to the moors, and themselves to goe out of the way. So, fearing distres in his armie, he retreated to Carleill, with los of many of his armie, whoe were cutt off by parties. [In his retreat, he throw down the castle of Dumfries (a hous of the Lord Maxwell); he blew up with powder the castle of Hoddum, belonging to the Lord Herreis; and the castle of Annan belonging to the Queen, but in the custodie of Lord Herreis.]\*

The Duke and the rest of the Queen's partie at Lithgow, hearing that the Earle of Lennox was everie day expected, they marcht to Glasgow, and resolved upon a sudden to surpryse the castle, which was kept by a garrifone for the King. Least the Earle of Lennox should make use [of it], they intended to raise it to the ground. There were onlie twenty-four men within, whoe behaved themselves so gallant that they killed and wounded many of the besedgers, and kept out the hous untill these without had notice that the Earle of Marr was alreddie at Stirling, with a power of men, in his march from Edinburgh for there releefe; and that the Earle of Lennox, with a convoy of a thousand foot and seven hundred hors, was alreddie come to Edinburgh; and that both there forces were to joyne to come against them. Wherupon they rose upon a sudden, and disperfed there men. The Duke himself, and the Earle of Argyle, and the Earle of Huntlie, went through the Highlands to the North; and the cuntrie gentlemen made shift for themselves.

The Earle of Lennox and the English convoy stayed two dayes in

\* "In the MS. at the mergent, what's here within parenthesis, but in the author's owen hand-write."



Edinburgh, and tooke the oaths of the magistrats; whoe declared themselves for the King. Then they march to Glasgow. In there way they fackt and spoyled the houses and lands that belonged either to the Hammiltouns or any of the Queen's partie; they laid feedge to the castle of Hammiltoune, that was maintained with a garrifone for the Queen, and sent to the castle of Stirling for cannon to batter it. In this tyme a mutine fell amongst the foldyers for want of pay, but thereafter money was borrowed and the foldyers satisfiied. They kept on a feedge untill the castle rendered, upon sight of the cannon; wherupon the hous was plundered, and the rich furnitor, that had belonged to King James the Fifth, was made a prey to the foldyers. The castle was ruined, the toune was burnt, and the Duk's pallace was by the furie of the foldyers made levell with the ground. It is commended for a princelie edifice. This done, they return to Edinburgh.

The garrifone of the castle had conditions to march out with armes. They were fiftie strong, and Andro Hammiltoune of Merrintoune was captain; whoe the verie night after that he rendred, surprysed and tooke the Lord Semple prisoner and delyvered him to the Duke, whoe kept him a year in prisone heerafter.

Mr Robert Pitcairne had been in this tyme sent up again to the Queen of England, whoe returned a little after this. He brought letters from the Queen, direct to the Chancellor and the rest of the King's friends; wherby she declared that she was much solicted by the Ambassadors of France and Spain in Queen Marie's favours; that she had harkned to a Treatie, in which tyme she had promised hostilitie should cease; she therefore desyred them that a cession might be for a tyme from all acts of warr, and that they wold suspend the election of a Regent a little, untill she saw what might be the issue of the Treatie; which continuation (she said) might possible redound to the common good of the kingdome.

This letter did a little stumble them; but they durst not disobey. Wherupon they continued the election; but in the mean tyme they made the Earle of Lennox Lieutenant, or Interegent, upon the nineteenth day of Junij; which was fearlie done when other letters come again from the

Queen, willing them to proceed, and choose the Earle of Lennox for the absolnt Regent; which they did in a frequent meeting, which they had called for the purpose upon the seventeenth day of July.

The Queen's partie hes been this long tyme in a visiblie deelyning, and they saw that by that Commission of Leutenancie which there was given to the Duke, little good succces followed. For which cause, they advyse now to cause the Queen to fend doune the lyke Commission to the Earle of Huntlie, which was done; and upon this Commission the Earle proclaimed a parliament, in the Queen's name, to be kept upon the twenty-first day of September, at Lithgow; unto which he summons all those of the King's partie to answer upon this proclamation.

The new Regent commands all betwixt sixty and sixteen years of age to randevouz upon the second day of Agust, and in the mean tyme, he summons a parliament, in the King's name, to be kept at Ediuburgh upon the tenth day of Otober. Then he commanded the Captain of the castle of Edinburgh to delyver to him the crowne, the sword, and the scepter, to be kept by him for the King's use; and that he wold give him some munition for his armie. The Captain gave fair words, but gave out nothing; excusing himselfe that the delyvering of these things might possiblie be occasion of more blood, which he strove to eveit. After this, he tooke the place of Secretarie from Lithingtoune, and prefers Mr Robert Pitcairne unto it. Then he sent Sir John Bellenden of Auchinnow, Justice Clerck, and Mr Archbald Dowglas, unto the Earle of Suffex, then Lieutenant for the Queen of England in Northumberland, to treat upon matters of slate; and procure safe conduet for the Earle of Mortoune to goe Ambassador to the Queen of England from the King.

Now the randevouz was made, and he modeld an armie of five thousand men, with which he marcht directlie to Lithgow to stop that parliament which was indited to be holden there for the Queen; and came there upon the twentieth day of September. But heer fynding no man to appear, he resolved to march to Brichen, with expedition, where he heard the Earle of Huntlie had put a hundred and sixty men in garrifone. He commanded the Lord Lindsay, the Lord Ruthven, and James Halibur-

toune, provost of Dundie, to march before with those foote of Dundie and Perth, hoping to surpryse the Earle of Crawford, the Lord Ogilvie, and Sir James Balfour, whose he heard were there. The Earle of Mortoun was lykwayes sent before with eight hundred hors; whose being commanded a bout-way, it was the day after before they came up. In the mean tyme the foote, for expedition's cause, were mounted upon cuntry hors, and march all night with great speed; but the newes of there march was before themselves; and the Lord Ogilvie and Sir James Balfour were both in the toune when the intelligence came. Whereupon they put twentie men in the steeple, and the rest in a hous which belonged to the Earle of Marr, exhorted them to courage, and promised them releefe within thrie dayes, if they wold byd it out; and then tooke hors themselves and went to there friends.

The Regent's armie, in his march, increased to seven thousand men, with which he came up upon the third day after, and laid close seedge both to the steeple and hous. The steeple soone yielded, and had good quarter granted; but the hous held out longer and killed many, yet was forced to rander at last, upon mercie. The Regent caused hang thirty whose had formerlie served for the King, and dismissed the rest frielie.

In the tyme of the Regent's absence, the Duke, the Lord Herreis, the Lairds of Lochinvar and Fernihurst, convyned to surpryse the toune of Edinburgh. They acquainted the Earle of Huntly with the designe, but his returne by letters was, by mishap, intercepted, which discovered the project; whereupon the baliffs and counsell of the toune mett. They tooke the trust of the toune to themselves (for the Captain of the castle, whose was provost, was under suspicion), apoynted guards and watches, and, having secured the toune, sent in post to acquaint the Regent. And this was occasion of his more speedie returne. In the mean tyme, at the election of new magistrats, the Captain was put out, and Mr James McGill of Rankilor (Clerck Register) was made provost.

Upon the tenth day of October the parliament convened, but little was done; for letters were sent from the Queen of England, by which she desired a new Cessation, and that nothing should be done aganst the Queen's faction, at this tyme; and that the Cessation might be untill the

first of Apryle next. These letters stopt the Regent's feveritie, and nothing was done now, but a confirming of the Regent's authoritie, and a Convention apoynted upon the twenty-second day of January next; and the parliament was adjourned untill May.

In this tyme of truce, Claud Hammiltounne, one of the Duk's sons, surprysed the hous of Pasley (which was not garison'd), thrust out the Lord Sempel's servants, and placed there John Hammiltounne, Laird of Coughall, and some men to maintain it in arms. Upon notice of this the Regent tooke a competent number with him and marcht against it, and drew the garrifone to distres, by cutting off there water. Then he made proclamation that those whoe were within, and had never born arms for the King, should have friedome and lyffe, if they wold submitt and rander. This presentlie made a mutine; for the greater number were of those whoe forced the Captain and the rest to rander at mercie. The Captain and ten more were hanged, and the rest had pardone.

A little before this, in the beginning of February 1571 (according to the new accompt), the Earle of Mortounne went up Ambassador to London. Mr Robert Pitcairne, the Secretarie, and Mr James McGill, the Clerck Register, went assessors.

After the reduction of Pasley, the Regent went to Air to force obedience from the Earles of Cassils and Eglintounne, and the Lord Boyd; whoe, upon the first approach, sent in pledges, and shortly thereafter came to Stirling and submitted in person. The Earle of Cassils was frielie pardoned, but the Earle of Eglintounne and the Lord Boyd were confined to several places for a tyme.

Before the Regent came from Glasgow, he resolved to make an attempt upon the castle of Dumbartain. He was encouraged in this interpryse by a foldyer whoe had been of the castle, whose wyffe was newlie whipt for theft, and were both put out of the garrifone. The attempt was difficult, and appeared to be full of danger; but by the demonstrations which this fellow gave, and his couradge, the Regent gave eare unto him. Captain Thomas Crawford and Captain Home undertooke the

exployt with onlie a hundred foote. The castle was kept by the Lord Fleming, in the Queen's name. One Monsieur Verack was heer, sent from the King of France to assist the Lord Fleming; but at this tyme they seemed to be in securitie, and were careles, far from fear of any surpryse; because the truce was not yet expyred, and the Regent himself was sick of the gout at Glasgowe, and lay fore bruised of a fall from his hors.

This attempt was contrived to be upon the second day of Apryle, in the daweng, which was the morrow after the expyryng of the truce, which they thought wold be least suspicious. Wherupon ladders were prepared, and things being put in order, these two Captains marcht out after midnight, and made halt at a place called Dumbuck, a myle on this fynd of the castle. Captain Cunningham was sent before with some hors. At Dumbuck the foldyers were acquainted with the project and encouraged; and the betrayer himself was to lead the way. So they marcht directlie to the castle without any stop or difficultie, and came to the foote of the rock in the dawning of the day, which (by luck) was all covered over with a thick fogg and mist, that the sentries above could not see what was below. They had thrie several pairs to scale with these ladders, which, with great difficultie, they overcame; and before they were discovered, Alexander Ramsay, an ensigne, and two foldyers were over the inmost wall, whoe killed the sentries, and instantlie the rest of the partie was over, and called out "a Darnley!" which was the word. These within were greatly astonished at the sudden surpryse; but there was no remedie. Everie man run to save himselfe! The Lord Fleming escaped by a back-gate, and got a boat with which he fled to Argyle. All the rest submitted to mercie. Heer were taken John Hammiltoun, Archbishop of St Andrews, John Fleming of Boghall, and John Hall, an Englishman, whoe was sent to London and there hanged. Monsieur Verack, the French gentelman, was lykeways prisoner. The Lady Fleming, and one Alexander Livistoun were taken also.

The next day the Regent came to the castle in person, and gave the foldyers thanks with great commendation; which, truelie, they deserved! He used the Lady Fleming with all civilitie, and suffered her to pass free

with all her baggadg; and befyds, affinged her to fome rents of her husband's eftate, that had been forefaulted before. All the fpoyle was given to the foldyers. Monfieur Verack was kept prifoner fome tyme, but was afterwards difmiffed. But the Archbifhop of St Androes was fent prifoner to Stirling. Upon the morrow, the Regent made Captain John Cunninghame of Drumwhafill Captain of the caſtle, and gave him men and proviſion of everie thing to maintain it, and ſo returned.

This John Hammiltoune, the Archbifhop, was the Duk's bafe ſone, and a man of great action in all his lyffe; whoe, indeed, ſpent but the leaſt part of his tyme in ſpiritual contemplations. He willinglie tooke part with his friends and kinred in all there ingadgments; for which cauſe, joyned with his place of profeſſion, he was more hated by the King's partie then moſt of all the reſt. The murder of the King, and flaughter of the Regent, were both laid to his charge; whereof they alledged him airt and part. For the laſt, we ſie no prooffe at all brought in againſt him; for the other, one Thomas Robſone, whoe had been a prieſt, but now revolted, and turned ſchoolmaſter in Paſley, declared that John Hammiltoune of Cumnock, whoe was one of the actors of the murder, being tormented in conſcience for the cryme, ſome tyme before he died, confeſſed the fact to him, and the circumſtances wherin the Archbifhop was partner. The particular words are not ſett doune by my author. Howſomever, the Regent, with all haſte poſſible (leaſt any delay might have been procured, by the Queen of England's mediation, or ſome other ſtop have intervened), poaſted him to death. It is ſaid, in the originall, this revolted prieſt (whoe was hangd himſelfe within fifteen months after) was confronted with the Archbifhop, and he publickly declared the confeſſion of John Hammiltoune. So, without any further ſentence or jurie but that which paſt long before in parliament, by which he was declared traitor and forfaulted, he was drawn to the gallows, and hanged at Stirling, upon the ſeventh day of Apryle 1571, and his bodie quartered.

In this tyme that the Regent was in the Weſt, Sir William Kirkadie, Captain of the caſtle of Edinburgh, declared himſelfe publickly for the

Queen; wherupon proclamation was made at the Crofs of Edinburgh, commanding all men within the caſtle to lay doune armes, and whoe did ſo ſhould be frielie pardoned; diſcharging lykwayes any man, under pain of death, either to joyne with him in tyme comming, or give him any ſupplie or aſſiſtance whatſomever. Nevertheleſs, the Captain tooke up more men, victualed the caſtle ſufficientlie, fortified the great ſteeple of St Gyl's Church, manned it, and mounted cannon upon it, made a garrifone of Haliroodhous, which he provyded with everie thing, and then reſolved to byd the worſt extremitie. But as the Regent was reddie to march out of Stirlin, and make warr upon the caſtle of Edinburgh, the Earle of Mortoune returns from England with his two comforts, and coms to the Regent; and at Stirlin gives him accompt of his ambaffadge, which is long and tediouſſie ſett doune in my author. The ſumm of all was, that they endeavoured to ſatiſſie Queen Elizabeth that all there former aſtions were lawfull, and according to the lawes of the cuntrie; to ſatiſſie her, and make it clear that Queen Marie was the author of her huſband's murther; and that it was the law and praſtize of Scotland to baniſh, correct, or execute Princes. All which being with long circumſtances and examples declared and maintained, yet the Queen profeſſed herſelfe unſatiſſied. So, after many conferences with the Counſell, and ſome tymes with herſelfe, they were at length deſyred by the Queen to leave theſe juſtifications of there aſtions, and think upon ſome way of reconciliation, wherein ſhe offerd to give her aſſiſtance. This was totallie rejected by Mortoune, as derogative to the King, whoſe authoritie they did ſtryve to maintain, and that it did exceed the order of there commiſſion. In end, they were diſmiſſed, to conſult at home with the next parliament in Edinburgh, which was alreddie proclaimed, upon ſome propoſitions of agriment. It was neither love to there aſtions, nor care of the publick weall of Scotland, that made Queen Elizabeth countenance the King's faction, but her antipathie to the Romiſh Relligion, and Queen Marie's perſone. All theſe far-fetcht praſtizies, anent the power of the ſubject over the Prince to correct, chaſtiſe, baniſh, or execute, if the people thought they governed unjuſtlie, were unſavorie arguments and expreſſions, that Queen Elizabeth heard with diſdain. She was reſolved



to assist the King and his faction, and suppress the Queen, whom now she had in her own power, and never intended to set free. Yet that this was done by the power of the subject, or by the law or practice of the kingdom, she could not endure to hear, as being the general interest of all Kings.

To return to the business of Edinburgh. The Captain of the castle, with the assistance of the Queen's faction, were not idle, for they prepared for open war. They fortified themselves in Edinburgh, and put all things in a posture of resistance against the first of May to stop the parliament which was then to begin. The first action fell out upon the twentieth day of April. The Earle of Mortoun sent from Dalkeith two hundred foot and twenty horse, to make proclamation at Leith, and discharge all men, under pain of death, to assist those in Edinburgh. Those in their return came by Leith-wyne, and marched out at Pleasance; and in the way hurt some men of Edinburgh at the Nether-bow. The party was commanded by Captain Home and Captain Ramfay. Sir William Kirkcaldie drew presently out some foot and twelve horse, who were commanded by the Earle of Huntly and the Lord Home, who overtook and engaged his party at the Borrow-moor; and here was a hot skirmish, but soon done; for the Queen's party was beaten back with loss. It was called the Lousie-law-field, because the place where they fought was so called.

After this, upon the fourth of May, Duke Hamilton came to Edinburgh with three hundred horse and one hundred foot. There were in the town, already, the Earle of Huntly, the Lords Herries, Maxwell, Home, and Seatone; the Lairds of Lochinvar, Leithgown, and his brother, Mr John Maitland, Prior of Coldingham, Sir James Balfour of Burley, Gawen, Abbot of Kilwinning, and the Duke's sons. Soon afterward came also the Earle of Argyll, John Hamilton, Abbot of Arbroath, another of the Duke's sons, and the Lord Boyd. John Knox, the Minister, thought it time to begone. He conveyed himself out of the town, and fled to the King's party.

Now the Regent, finding himself barred out of Edinburgh, and that

there was no possibilitie to keep the parliament at the place apoynted, he resolved upon a second, which was to keep it at the head of the Canogate, in William Cockie's hous, within the liberties of Edinburgh. This was thought the next remed, and lawfull anuff, sieng they could not have entrie in Edinburgh. So, upon the first of May, there mett heer with the Regent the Earles of Marr, Crawford, Glencairne, Mortoune, Monteith, and Buchan, the Master of Marfhall, the Lords Lindfay and Ruthven, with some commissioners of borrowghs. Heer, bieng stronglie guarded, they satt but one day, where they onlie fenced the parliament, and pronounced forfaultrie against John Archbishop of St Androes, latlie executed, William Maitland of Lithingtoune, some tyme Secretarie, Mr John and Mr Thomas his brothers, Gawen Hammiltoune, Abbot of Kilwinning, and William Hammiltoune, base sone to the Archbishop. Then they adjourned the parliament to the twenty-fifth day of Agust at Stirlin : and so reteared to Leth, and from thence the Regent went to Stirlin.

These within the toune kept the parliament at the place apoynted, which they onlie fenced, and continued untill Agust to be kept in the same place. But, to revenge that affront of the Loufielaw, the Lord Claud Hammiltoune and the Lord Home drew out two hundred and twenty fyrmes, and one hundred hors, and with these they march to Dalketh. The Earle of Mortoune sent lykwayes out what forces he had, which was equal in foot to his ennemie, but fewer in horses. Heer they disputed the busines a long tyme, verie hote, untill the Queen's partie reteared with some disadvantage; yet they reteared in order, as far as Cragmillar, where they mett with a fresh partie of their owen hors from Edinburgh, which gave them couradge to turne; and with the help of these new men they beated and routed there ennemie. About a dozen were killed, and twenty-six taken prisoners. The Queen's partie lost none in the fight but one or two; but a barrell of powder that tooke fyre by misfortune, spoyled many; whom of some died, of which number was Captain James Melvil, who commanded the foot. His brother David was put in his place.

These in the toune had intelligence that one Captain Weems was newlie come from Denmark with four score old foldyers, who were landed at Dundie; and were to be transported to Lothian, and carried to Dal-

keth. Wherupon Captain Cullen and a brother of Sir William Kirkadie were commanded to imbarke one hundred and sixty men, and intercept them in there passadge by sea. These put to sea upon the third of Junii, and light upon one of there boats, wherin they tooke twenty-five of there men; but the rest landed safe at Aberladie, ten myls to the West from Edinburgh, and were carried to Dalketh without truble. The Earle of Mortoune made what hast possible to have receaved these foldyers at Leth; but you sie they went an other way; but being at Leth, he was taken with a collick, and was forced to ly there some dayes. In which tyme Sir William Drurie, being come from Sterlin, came to Leth in his way to England, and the Earle of Mortoune (being recovered) drew out his forces, resolved to doe him that honour to put him a little in his way. Those of Edinburgh had notice of this, and drew out both hors and foot; so, being both in fight, they drew up and faces other. Sir William Drurie takes great pains to agitate a Truce, which was agried unto by both; but, in poynt of honour, they could not agrie whoe should first draw off! In end, they come to fight a verie sherp skirmish; where these of the Queen's partie were routed and beaten back with great confusion, and with great los recovered the toune. Gawen Hammiltoune, Abbot of Kilwinning, was killed and fifty more. The Lord Home was hurt and taken in [the] chafe. Captain Cullen, and Captain David Melvill, and his Ensigne, Alexander Boyde, and a hundreth more, were all sent prisoners doune to Leth; and Cullen was soon after hanged. This was upon the seventeenth day of Junii.

At Glasgow, one John Hammiltoune of Crochnech, with his two brothers, were prisoners in the castle, which held for the King, one day fynding advantadge, they shut out the keepers and made good the gates. Wherupon the Laird of Minto (being provost) rased the toune, forcet the hous, and carried all the thrie brothers to merkat place, where he strook the head from John, whoe was eldest.

The next day after the skirmish, the Regent cam to Leth, where he staid some weeks; and from this tyme, untill the beginning of Agult, little was done upon the fields worth the relating. But within the toune of

Edinburgh they changed the magistrates and counsell, and made Thomas Ker of Fernihurst provost. Then they planted some peices of ordinance in several corners of the towne to annoy the enemies, but in speciall the Abbay of Halliroadhous, that was kept for the King. David Spencer of Wormestoun, a Captain upon the Queen's partie, one day drew out a partie of hors, and encountred with the Lairds Drumlanrig and Apilgarth, wherein Apilgarth was hurt and the other taken prisoner. Then, by open proclamation, all that were knowen to affect the King's partie were commanded to avoyd the towne of Edinburgh. Many went out, and carried there families alongst, and two hundred put themselves under colours, made Adam Fullertoun there Captain, and enrolled them selves in the Regent's service. In the mean tyme the Regent lay at Leth, he displaced Robert Richartfone of Smetoun from being Treasurer, and conferred the place on Lord Ruthven.

Much about this tyme, a French ship arryved at Bruntiland loaden with powder and munition. She carried three hundred calivers, two hundred head-peeces, five hundred collars, six thousand pounds in gold. John Chifolme had the charge of her, for the use of the Queen's partie. He being discovered, carried out the tronk and the money to a small creeck, and there lay in a little boat in hope to save it; but he was tain by the Abbot of Inchcolmb and brought to Leth. The Regent disposed upon the money, and caused unlead the arms and munition, and put them in an other vessell to be carried up the river to Stirling. This vessell lay careles at the Queenferrie some dayes, without fear; which being knowen to the Captain of the castle of Edinburgh, he sent out David Spencer with a partie of twenty-five hors, whoe surpryfed the vessell by small boats. So much armes as they were able to carrie they brought alongst with them, and threw the rest into the sea. An other French ship was surpryfed, after this, with many letters. At the end of July, the Lord Home was exchanged for the Laird of Drumlanrig; and after thirteen months' imprisonment, the Lord Semple gave band for a sum of money, and was lykwayes releved, in the beginning of August.

The Queen's faction in Edinburgh began now to waver and breake;

and the Earle of Argyle and the Lord Boyd were the first whoe went secrete to Stirling, and made there conditions with the Regent. This (although knowen to the nobilitie) yet it was suppressed from the people; and dyvers townsmen whoe had stayed till now, were stollen out of the towne and submitted to the Regent. For which they were denounced rebels, and there goods confiscat.

At this tyme, those within the towne kept there apoynted parliament, wherin Duke Hammiltoun preceded. Nothing was done of any note, but some forfaultries pronounced; amongst whome were the Lords Glams and Ochilttrie.

At Stirling, the Regent convened his parliament also upon the twenty fifth day of August. There were heer, with the Regent, the Erles of Angus, Crawford, Mortoun, Marr, Glencairne, Buchan, and Sutherland; the Lords Ruthven, Glaims, Semple, Ochilttrie, Methven, and St Johne. There were many that represented the Bishops and Abbots, together also with many Commissioners from towns. The King was brought heer in person with crowne, scepter, and sword; whoe, but a chylde, was sett in his throne, and taught to speake some words; which were enlarged by the Regent, tending to the settling of affairs in general, but to breaking of the adverse partie. They began, with enacting dyvers profitable lawes for the commonwealth, and then pronounced the forfaultries, which was the end for which this parliament was called. These were both denounced traitors and forfaulted, the Duke Hammiltoun, the Earle of Huntlie, Sir William Kirkadie, Captain of the castle of Edinburgh, Sir James Balfour of Burlic, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Ros, Galloway, and Murray, Mr William Maitland of Lethingtoun, sometyme Secretarie, the Lairds of Bucleuch and Farnihurst, and many more, to the number in all of thirty four. The pallace of Hammiltoun was given in keeping to the Lord Semple.

The Queen's partie in Edinburgh attempted upon Leth, at this tyme, when the parliament was at Stirling. They drew out most pairt of all these forces; wherof they sent a convenient partie toward Leth, the rest

in small parties were sent by obscure wayes, in hopes to enter Leth when the garrifone should ish out against that partie that came directlie against them. But the Lord Lindfay (whoe was left Governor when the Regent went to Stirlin), fearing no les, left strong guards within, and drew out the rest, yet not so far as his ennemie could have any advantadge at ther backs. Little was done but skirmishing with small parties, wherin some were killed and some taken on both fyds; amongst whom, Sir James Haliburtoune, collonel of the foot in Leth, had the fortune to be taken prisoner and carried to Edinburgh.

The greater attempt followed. Seven dayes the parliament at Stirlin continued. Upon the last of these the Queen's partie in Edinburgh resolved to surpryse the Regent and all within Stirlin. They draw out two hundred hors, the choyfist amongst them, they draw out three hundred foot, which they mount upon cuntrie hors, for speed. These that commanded were the Earle of Huntly, Claud Hammiltoune, Abbot of Pasley, the Lairds of Buckleuch and Fernihurst, David Spence, Laird of Wormistoune, Captain Calder, and one George Bell, an old Captain of foot abroad, and a verie bold man; by whose onlie conduct and advyse this interpryse was both attempted and execute. They knew those in Stirlin were above five thousand men, but neither foldyers nor men in disciplin. They knew they lay secure and careles, without fear of surpryse. They resolved, if there attempt succeeded, at this one blow, to be master of the whole kingdome; wherin they failed but verie little, for the victorie was once in their hands! With this partie, then, they marcht out in a convenient tyme, upon Monday the last of Agust, that they might reach Stirlin before it was day upon Twesday. All which was punctuallie done by the conduct of Georg Bell; and before any notice was given, they were within the toune, had set guards convenientlie in everie street, and devyded the rest of there number in small parties; whom they sent, severallie, to noblmen's lodgings. In an instant all was acted, and most part of the cheefe noblmen were either taken or in taking. The Earle of Mortoune trubled them most; whoe wold not submitt before the hous was broake up and some killed; yet at last he

rendered himfelfe to Buckleuch. The Regent lykwayes kept his hous long, untill they threatened to blow it up. Then, being perfwaded by fome that there was powder in the low fellers, he yeelded himfelfe prifoner to David Spence of Wormftoune.

In the mean tyme, the Border men, whoe were with Buckleuch and Fernihurft, thinking all was alreddie ended, abandoned there poaffts, fell to riffling of houfes and taking horfs out of ftables, which was foon perfaved by thofe in the caſtle, whoe preſentlie iſhed out. Thofe whoe before were kept in by the guards, in everie ſtreet, had tyme now to come out, and joyne with thofe of the caſtle, which they inſtantlie did; and fynding nothing but confuſion amongſt there ennemies, they fell on there backs lyke a clap of thunder; which did ſo aſtoniſh them upon a ſudden, that all that were upon horſback fled out of the toune. Then followed an uncouth change! Thofe that were even now prifoners, made prifoners of thofe that took them. Mortoune tooke Buckleuch, and the Regent tooke Wormftoune; Claud Hammiltoune eſcaped amongſt .

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Borders, 11, 12, 14; Queen Regent proposes a tax for establishing a permanent guard and garrisons for resisting English invasions, 29; commons resist and scheme abandoned, 30; Percy and Bowers' raid, 33; Northumberland's raid, *ib.*; retaliations, *ib.*, 34; Lord James does justice on the thieves, 60; again, 63; Lord Herries gets charge of the Border country, 73; Bothwell's projected raid, 91; Regent Murray gets submission of Barons after Langside, 105, 106; he has another raid, 118.

Borough-muir, Edinburgh, 135.

Borthwick, Castle of, Mary Queen of Scots there, 81; hears of Bothwell's being wounded and goes to Hermitage, *ib.*; orders him to be carried to Jedburgh, &c., *ib.*; after the marriage they stay there when on his projected Border-raid, 91; they are invested by Prince's friends, and escape in disguise to Dunbar, 92; —Lord, joins Queen and Bothwell previous to their defeat at Carberrie-hill, 92; at Langside in Mary's army, 102.

Bothwell, Earl of (James), returns from banishment, 6; proposes marriage to Queen Dowager, *ib.*; is opposed by Lennox, *ib.*; as Warden of Scots Marches enters England and retaliates, 33; Sir Harry Percy is routed, *ib.*; prisoners taken, *ib.*; takes 4000 crowns sent from England for Lords of Congregation, 45; intrigues with Murray to ruin the Hamiltouns, 61; imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, 62; escapes to France, *ib.*; recalled from France by Mary before her marriage with Darnley, 69; and is restored to his estates and honors, *ib.*; is accused by Murray of a new attempt against him, *ib.*; tries to escape after murder of Riccio, but is intercepted, 77; ingratiates himself with Mary, 80; Murray's alleged plots, *ib.*; Darnley's jealousy, *ib.*, 81; is hurt and carried to Hermitage Castle, *ib.*; Queen rides thither and visits him, *ib.*; she is taken ill, *ib.*; recovers and goes to Kelso, &c. with him, *ib.*; Bothwell accused as the origin of Darnley's murder, 82, 83; the murder perpetrated, 84, 85; he urges fulfilment

of his condition to marry Mary, *ib.*; Lennox demands justice, 86; his mock trial, 87; the marriage hurried on, *ib.*; Murray, &c. sign a bond to maintain Bothwell, 88; it is ratified and signed by the Queen, *ib.*; he carries off the Queen, *ib.*; divorces his own wife, 89; carries back the Queen to Edinburgh, *ib.*; he is created Duke of Orkney, *ib.*; the marriage celebrated, *ib.*; execrations of the people, *ib.*; a bond is signed by nobility to defend the Queen and her new husband, 90; makes a Border-raid, 91; stays at Borthwick Castle with the Queen, and treating with Lord Home, *ib.*; Confederate Lords invest the castle, 92; they escape in disguise to Dunbar, *ib.*; takes the field against Prince's friends, *ib.*; after the affair of Carberrie-hill he is induced to leave the Queen, 94; she is sent prisoner to Lochleven Castle, 95; silver box or casket delivered by Balfour to Bothwell's messenger, but seized, *ib.*, 96; its contents, *ib.*; flies to Orkney and Shetland, and commits piracy, 96; dies in Denmark after a miserable captivity of ten years, "till, being overgrown with hare and filth, he went madd and died," *ib.*; projected divorce to enable Mary to be married to Duke of Norfolk, 116 to 119;—Countess of, Lady Jane Gordon, sister to Earl of Huntly, submits to be divorced from Bothwell on account of his adultery, 89; he marries Mary Queen of Scots, *ib.*

Boulogne, two of, ships accompanying Queen Mary to France, wrecked there, 32.

Bow of Edinburgh. See Nether-bow, Strait-bow.

Bowers, Sir George, Marshall of Berwick, invades the Borders with Sir Harry Percy, 33; Sir Robert, arrives with supplies to English in Haddington, 24.

Boyd, Alexander, taken prisoner, 137;—Lord, 10; one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, 87; signs bond to maintain the Prince, 91; but subsequently joins the Queen, *ib.*; espouses the Queen's cause after her escape from Lochleven, 102; is at Langside in Queen's army, *ib.*; meets at Glasgow with Argyle



- after Regent Murray's murder, 123; at Linlithgow with the Hamiltons, *ib.*, 124; submits to Regent Lennox, 131; but is confined in ward, *ib.*; with Queen's party in Edinburgh, 135; is reconciled to Regent, 139;—Robert, returns from England with dispatches for Murray, 115.
- Boyne, Laird of, one of the assizers on Bothwell's trial, 87.
- Braxholme, Castle of, sacked by Earl of Sussex, 126.
- Brechin, Regent Lennox marches thither, 129; progress of this affair, 130.
- Brest, in Brittany, Mary lands there on her way to marry the Dauphin, 24.
- Brittain, Count de, ambassador from France at baptism of King James VI., 81.
- Broomhouse, destroyed by the English, "with man, woman, and beast," 11.
- Bross, Monsieur la, arrives with forces to put down the Congregation, 43; blamed for his counselling Mary of Guyse, 50.
- Brown, Sebastiane (a musician), servant to Mary Queen of Scots, 78; entertainment given by Queen on his marriage, on night preceding Darnley's murder, 83.
- Bruchtie Castle, English fortify it after battle of Pinky, 21; besieged by Arran, 23; is taken by Mons. de Thermes, 25.
- Buccleugh. See Scot.
- Buchan, Earl of, at Regent Lennox's parliament in Canongate, 136; at his parliament in Stirling, 139.
- Buchanan, Mr George, reference to partiality of his history, 80, 82, 83; goes to York with Murray, &c. to the conference with Queen Elizabeth's commissioners as to Mary, 107 to 113;—of that ilk, at Langside against Queen Mary, 102.
- Bulmer, Captain, taken prisoner, 19.
- Burntisland, French ship with gold and supplies for the Queen's party taken, 138; a part of the arms are recaptured at Queensferry, *ib.*; the rest are destroyed, *ib.*

## C

- CAITHNESS, Earl of, George, chancellor of assize at Bothwell's trial, 87.
- Calder, Captain, at the surprise of Stirling, and taking of the Regent and his party, 140; town retaken, &c., 141.
- Cambusnethan, Laird of, one of Bothwell's assize, 87.
- Campbell of Glenurchie, a leader of the Congregation, 45;—John, servant to Regent Lennox, sent to France, 10; made prisoner, *ib.*;—of Loudoun, Hugh, sheriff of Ayr, and Glencairn are sent from Congregation to Queen Regent, 36; was in Mary's army at Langside, 102; taken prisoner, 103; is tried for treason and condemned, 104; pardoned at suit of Knox, *ib.*; his son suffered to escape by Grange before arrival of English army, 125.
- Canongate, English army enter by, 9; Regent Lennox's parliament held in William Cockie's house, 136.
- Capua, Prior of. See Strozzi.
- Cardinal. See Beatoune. Lorrain.
- Carlisle, commissioners meet there for peace with England, 30; recalled and war proclaimed, 31; Lord Scroop retreats to, after his invasion of Annandale, &c. 127.
- Carnegie of Colleschie, Sir Robert, envoy to France to thank King for his supplies, 27.
- Casket, silver, with Queen Mary's love letters to Bothwell, &c. seized, 95; its contents, 96, 100; her imprisonment, *ib.* See Mary.
- Cassilis, Earl of (Gilbert), prisoner in England, 4; goes to France with Queen Dowager, 27; gets Huntly imprisoned and stripped of his rents of Marr, Orkney, &c. 28, 29; one

- of the Commissioners at Mary's marriage in Notre Dame, 32; dies of poison in his return, 33, 52; one of the assize at Bothwell's trial, 87; on Mary's side at Langside, 102; submits to Regent Lennox, 131; gets a free pardon, *ib.*
- Castlemilk, garrisoned for the English by Lennox, 22.
- Cathcart, Lord, Allan, at Langside against Queen Mary, 102.
- Cecil, Secretary, 49; his negotiations and treaty with Scotland, 50, 51; proposal that Earl of Hartford should marry one of his daughters, &c. 112.
- Cesford, Laird of. See Ker.
- Challenge, Huntley offers to fight Duke of Somerset, or ten against ten, to prevent battle of Pinky, 21; Ralph Ker and Sir William Kirkaldy, 34; Bothwell challenges any one to fight him who will accuse him as guilty of Darnley's murder, 87; but refuses those who offer, *ib.*; Lord Lindsay accepts Bothwell's challenge to fight before King and Queen's armies at Carberrie-hill, 94; Queen refuses permission, *ib.*
- Chancellorship, bestowed by Queen Regent on Mons. Rubie, 29.
- Charteris of Kinfauns, John, made provost of Perth in room of Lord Ruthven, 15; displaced and Ruthven restored, 41.
- Chastellherault, Duke of, Regent Arran created, with a pension of 12,000 francs, &c. 28, 60. See Arran. Hammiltoun.
- Cheviot hills, encounter between the Duke of Norfolk and Sir Andro Ker at the foot of, whose men are routed and he taken prisoner, 31.
- Chisholme, John, French ship with gold, &c. for Queen's party taken, 138; the arms recaptured, *ib.*
- Church lands, one-third of their possessions bestowed by clergy on Mary Queen of Scots, 61.
- Clanrannold fight with Frasers, 13; Huntley imprisoned by Queen Regent for not doing his duty against the Captain of this Clan, 29.
- Claud, Lord. See Hammiltoun.
- Clerc, Sir John, Englishman, invades Orkney, and is killed with nearly all his men, 34.
- Cliddisdail, Nether ward of, 10; Confederate Lords march thither, 71.
- Cockburne of that Ilk, joins Queen and Bothwell before Carberrie-hill, 92;—of Langtoun. See Langtoun;—of Ormistoun, John, 45.
- Cockermouth, in Cumberland, Queen Mary lands there after her flight from Langside, 103.
- Cockie, William, Regent Lennox's parliament held in his house, 136.
- Cockle, French Order of the, 43.
- Coldinghame, taken and garrisoned by English, 11; Arran with 8000 men besieges it, *ib.*; retreats to Dunbar, leaving cannon, &c. *ib.*; they are saved by Angus, *ib.*; retaken by Arran, 13; Queen Mary there, accompanied by Bothwell, 81;—Prior of, Lord John, base brother to Mary Queen of Scots, dies, 67; Mr John Maitland, prior, 135.
- College-Kirk, Edinburgh, destroyed by Reformers, 41.
- Combat, single. See Challenge.
- Condé, Prince of, 51.
- Confederate Lords. See Reformation.
- Confession of Faith, presented to Queen Regent by Congregation in multitudes, but unarmed, 37; to nobility at a convention, 52; subscribed and sworn to, *ib.*
- Congregation, Lords of the. See Reformation.
- Coronation of Mary Queen of Scots, 5; of James VI. 99; Knox preaches the sermon, *ib.*
- Couper, religious houses, &c. destroyed, 38; Queen Regent marches thither with her army against Congregation, 40.
- Coventry, Queen Mary strictly confined there, 119.
- Craigmillar, Mary Queen of Scots there, 67; during her absence Reformers break up her wardrobe in search of mass-cloths, &c. *ib.*; arrives there with Bothwell, 81; skirmishing there between King's and Queen's friends,

- 136; gunpowder explodes, and kills and wounds many of Queen's party, *ib.* See Prestoun.
- Craill, church, &c. destroyed by Reformers, 40.
- Crawford, castle of, taken by Regent Murray, 105;—Earl of, marries natural daughter of Cardinal Beatoun, 15, 52; joins Queen's faction, 114; Murray tries to make him submit, *ib.*; at Convention in Edinburgh after Regent's murder, 123; with Queen's party at Brechin, 130; at Regent Lennox's parliament in Canongate, 136; at his parliament at Stirling, 139;—Thomas, accuses Secretary Maitland as guilty of Darnley's death, 117; is sent to Edinburgh castle, but escapes, 118;—Captain Thomas, his remarkable exploit in taking castle of Dumbarton, 131, 132.
- Croach, Captain, taken prisoner, 19.
- Crochnech, Laird of. See Hammiltoun.
- Crofts, Sir James, Governor of Berwick, 45.
- Cross, fiery, sent round to alarm the country during Hartford's invasion, 19.
- Crown, sword, and sceptre, delivered up by Arran, 28. See Regalia.
- Cullen, Captain, prisoner at Percy's raid, 33; takes some Scots troops returning from Denmark, 137; is taken prisoner by Mortoun, and hanged, *ib.*
- Cunninghame of Drumquhassill, Captain John, made captain of Dumbarton castle, 133;—Robert, procurator for Lennox at Bothwell's trial, 86, 87.
- Cupboard of plate presented to Mary Queen of Scots, 56.

## D

- DALGLEISH, George, an actor at Darnley's murder, 84.
- Dalhousie, Laird of, at Langside, in Mary's army, 102.
- Dalkeith, Cardinal Beaton said to be sent prisoner to, 3; Captain Weems and his men from Denmark arrive at, 137; some of them taken by Queen's party, *ib.* See Mortoun.
- Darnley, Henry Lord. See King Henry.
- Darnley, a, slogan of Regent Lennox, 132.
- DAUPHIN OF FRANCE, Mary offered in marriage to, 22; agreed to by nobility, 23; she embarks for France, *ib.*; her arrival, 24; their marriage at Notre Dame in Paris, 32; demand to deliver crown, sceptre, and sword to him resisted, 33. See France. Francis II. Mary.
- Denmark, ambassadors from, for leave to levy troops, 70; granted, *ib.*; embassy to Denmark for repeal of duties against Scots merchants, *ib.*; Captain Weems returns, 136;—King of, applied to by Murray (then Regent) to put Bothwell to death for Darnley's murder, 96; after ten years' confinement, "being overgrown with hare and filth, he went madd and died," *ib.*; Mary proposes a divorce to enable her to marry Duke of Norfolk, 115 to 119; he is imprisoned, and Mary more closely confined, *ib.*
- D'Esse, Monsieur, arrives with 6000 German and French troops, 23; advances to Haddington to besiege English, *ib.*; retires, 24; returns instantly and nearly surprises town, 25; is recalled, takes Inchkeith, and returns home, *ib.*
- Dieppe, Murray is nearly intercepted there, 98.
- Douglas, George (bastard son to Earl of Angus), returns from banishment, 2; is made captain of Coldinghame, 13; at murder of David Riccio, 76; (Abbot of Arbroath) shot through the knee, and his horse killed by the same discharge which murdered Regent Murray in Linlithgow, 120;—George ("Prettie

- Geordie," the youngest son of Lady Lochleven, and half-brother to Regent Murray), plans Queen Mary's escape from Lochleven, 101; succeeds, 102; escapes with Queen from field of Langside, 103;—of Drumlanrig (Warden of West and Middle Marches), 22, 23; is at Langside against Queen Mary, 102; gets the French ambassador's property, stolen from him on the Borders, restored to him, 104; saves Terregles by a stratagem, 106; gets custody of Hoddon castle, *ib.*; and of Lochmaben, *ib.*; taken prisoner by Laird of Wormestoun, 138; is exchanged for Lord Home, *ib.*;—of Kilspindie, Archl., provost of Edinburgh, 45; again, 59; deposed, and Preston of Craigmillar appointed, 71;—of Lochleven, Sir Robert, at Langside against Queen Mary, 102;—Lady, of Lochleven (mother of Regent Murray), Queen Mary entrusted to her custody, 95, 96; her son "Prettie Geordie" plans her escape, 101; effects it, *ib.*, 102;—of Whittinghame, Wm. sent to Denmark for discharge of duties against the Scots, 70;—William, "the Fundlin," or Foundling, 101; he aids Queen Mary's escape from Lochleven, *ib.*; goes to England with her after the defeat at Langside, 103;—William and Robert (brothers to Regent Murray), demand justice for their brother's murder, 122;—Mr Arch. (Parson of Glasgow) sent to Earl of Sussex to treat, 129.
- Draffan, castle of, taken by Regent Murray, 105.
- Drumlanrig, Laird of. See Douglas.
- Drumquhassil, Laird of. See Cunningham.
- Drurie, Sir William (Marshall of Berwick), 119; at Glasgow with a strong convoy along with Earl of Lennox, 126; arrives from Stirling at Leith, 137; he attempts a truce, but fails, *ib.*; Morton defeats Queen Mary's party, *ib.*
- Dumbar, Regent Arran retreats to, 11; French forces land at St Abb's Head, 18; Earl of Hartford's army, 19; captain of, taken prisoner at battle of Pinky, 20; the French fort agreed to be razed, 51; Dumbar and Inchkeith to be occupied by 60 Frenchmen as a possession for Francis and Mary, *ib.*; George Earl of Huntley sent prisoner, 67; he is forfeited, *ib.*; Queen and Darnley fly to, after Riccio's murder, 78; Bothwell and Queen escape in disguise from Borthwick castle and reach Dumbar, 92.
- Dumbarton, Lennox retires to, 6, 7; castle given in keeping to George Stirling, 10; young Queen to be guarded there, 22; she embarks for France to be married to the Dauphin, 23; her arrival, 24; castle taken from Duke of Hamiltoun, 62, 112; Murray goes there to get delivery of the castle from Fleming, 120; returns disappointed, *ib.*; remarkable taking of the castle, 131, 132.
- Dumblane, Bishop of (William Chisholm), sent ambassador to France to explain Queen's marriage to Bothwell, 90.
- Dumbuck, hill of, near Dumbarton, 132.
- Dumfries, meeting between Lennox and Wharton for invasion of Scotland, 22; defeated by Master of Maxwell, 23; Regent Murray's army there, 106; Maxwells, &c. submit to his authority, *ib.*; Lord Scroop throws down castles of Dumfries, Hoddon, and Annan, but retreats to Carlisle with great loss, 127.
- Dun, Laird of. See Erskine.
- Dundee, Arran there, 14; provost of (See Haliburtonne) 1000 men of Angus join Congregation, 40; Laird of Grange sends French prisoners there, 47.
- Dundrennan, Queen Mary embarks for England, after her flight from Langside, at a small creek near, 103; lands at Cockermouth, *ib.*
- Dunfermling. Abbot of. See Pitcairn.
- Dunkeld, Bishop of, convened before Council for saying mass, 67; imprisoned in Edinburgh castle, *ib.*; forfeited by Lennox's parliament at Stirling, 139.
- Dunse, town of, burnt by Sir Harry Percy and Marshall of Berwick, 33.

## E

EASTER, feast of, ordered by Queen Regent to be kept holy in the usual manner, 37; utterly disregarded, *ib.*

Edinburgh, Regent Arran musters his forces, 5; Lennox well received, 7; invaded by Earl of Hartford, 8; burnt by English, 9; forced to retire by fire from castle, *ib.*; Parliament held by Arran after the Cardinal's murder, 17; Queen Regent publicly installed, 28; Monasteries, &c. are sacked and utterly destroyed by Reformers, 41; Churches spoiled and defaced, 42; reception of Mary Queen of Scots on her arrival from France, 56, 57; new tolbooth founded, 61; Confederate Lords attempt to gain Edinburgh, 72; repulsed and retreat to Dumfries, *ib.*; King and Queen enter Edinburgh, *ib.*; raise army and advance to Dumfries, *ib.*; Lords retire into England, 73; magistrates alarmed by blowing up of Kirk-of-Field after Darnley's murder, 84; after proceedings, *ib.*, 85, 86, 87; Confederate Lords raise army before surrender of Queen at Carberry-hill, 93; Mary is treated with great indignity, and is sent prisoner to Lochleven, 95; castle of, 112; Murray enters town in triumph on his return from conference with Queen Elizabeth, 113; Earl of Northumberland brought in prisoner, 119; is sent to Lochleven, *ib.*; delivered to Elizabeth, who beheads him, *ib.*; Convention after Regent Murray's murder, 122; another, 123; attempt of the Duke, Herries, Lochinvar, &c. to surprise town, 130; Captain of castle declares for Queen, 133; garrison warned by Regent to lay down arms, &c. 134; skirmishing, Queen's party defeated, 137; Fernihurst made provost, 138; King's friends leave the town and choose a captain, *ib.* See Mary, &c.

Edmoustoun, Laird, English prisoners taken by him at Northumberland's raid, 33.

Ednam, Long, burnt by the Earl of Northumberland during his raid, 33.

Edrintoune, Captain, taken by Scots at Northumberland's raid, 33; again by Bothwell at water of Till, *ib.*

EDWARD, PRINCE (afterwards Edward VI.) proposal to marry Mary Queen of Scots, 2, 3.

EDWARD VI. Earl Hartford invades Scotland, 19; he encourages Reformation, 36.

Eglintoune, Earl of, taken by English fleet sent to intercept Mary Queen of Scots, 56; liberated by Queen Elizabeth, *ib.*; a partizan of Mary's at Langside, 102; submits to Regent Lennox, 131; but is warded for a time, *ib.*

Elbeuf, Marquis de (brother of Mary of Guise), arrives at mouth of river Forth with eight ships with men and supplies, but durst not land, 48; accompanies Mary Queen of Scots and lands at Leith, 56, 57; is said to have prevented the proposed interview between the two Queens, 63.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN, succeeds her sister Mary, 36; re-establishes Protestant religion, *ib.*; encourages Reformation in Scotland, *ib.*; the Governors of Berwick send money, 45; which is intercepted, *ib.*; ambassador sent, 46; league with the Lords of Congregation, 47; eight vessels arrive with supplies, 48; treaty with Mary Queen of Scots not to bear the arms and title of England and Ireland, &c. 51; Lord James (Murray) visits her on his return from Queen Mary in France, 54; their arrangements, *ib.*; Mary sends Mons. de Osell to her as ambassador from France, 55; Mary sends Lethingtoun to Elizabeth, 57; his commission, 58; his return, 59; embassies for proposed interview with Mary, 62; to be held at York, 63; frustrated, *ib.*; seconds Murray's schemes to defeat marriage

between Mary and Darnley, 68, 69; but fails, 70; sends ambassadors for that purpose, *ib.*; orders Lennox and Darnley back to England under pain of forfeiture, *ib.*; embassy on Prince James' baptism, 81; murder of Darnley notified to Elizabeth, 85; Murray waits on her before being appointed Regent, 99; Queen Mary claims her protection, 103; she sends a diamond ring presented as a token by Elizabeth to be used in extremity, *ib.*; she is seized by Lord Scroop, and sent prisoner to Carlisle castle, 104; sends letters to defer meeting of parliament, 105; but it was held, *ib.*; Commissioners appointed to meet at York to treat of Queen Mary's claims, 106; proceedings there and before Elizabeth in London, *ib.*, to 113; letters as to Queen Mary, 116; Abbot of Dunfermlin sent as to Mary's projected divorce, and her marriage to Duke of Norfolk, 117; returns, *ib.*; Norfolk imprisoned, and Mary is more closely confined, 119; Earl of Northumberland betrayed to Murray, 118; is taken to Lochleven, 119; Marr delivers him to Elizabeth, by whose order he is beheaded, *ib.*; sends Randolph after Murray's murder, 122; seeks redress for Buckleuch and Fernihurst's depredations, *ib.*; is solicited by Mortoun to send an English army to support King's interests, 124; complies, 125; sends army under Sussex, *ib.*; advises Lennox to be chosen Regent, *ib.*; advance of her army, 126, 127; Abbot of Dunfermline returns from a new embassy, 128; she grants cessation of hostilities, *ib.*; Morton applies for safe conduct as ambassador, 129; Morton sets out on his embassy, 131; he reports his embassy to Regent at Stirling, 134.

Elgin, in Moray, Regent Murray there, 115.

England, embassy from Henry VIII. proposing marriage with Prince of Wales, 3; war declared, 4; English fleet of 200 sail land at Wardie for invasion and destruction of Edinburgh and Leith, 8, 9; their army defeated at Ancrum-muir, 12; fleet for invasion of Fife, 16; fresh invasion by an English army, 17; they lay waste Annandale, &c. *ib.*; Langholm taken

from them, 18; Hartford's invasion and battle of Pinky, 19, 20, 21; execution done by guns from English fleet at Pinky, 20; 360 widows in Edinburgh after Pinky, 21; fleet attempt a landing in Fife, but repulsed at St Monans and Montrose, 24; treaty of peace, 30; war again proclaimed, 31; embassy to Queen Elizabeth, Lethingtoun, 46; treaty with Lords of the Congregation, 47; conditions, *ib.*; arrival of English army, 6000 foot and 2000 horse, 48; a further supply of 2000 foot, 49; Secretary Cecil arrives, *ib.*; treaty with Mary Queen of Scots, 51; English army to retire, *ib.* See Elizabeth.

Ennernes. See Inverness.

Erskine, Alexander, Captain of Edinburgh castle, repulses Confederate Lords, and forces them to leave the town, 72;—Sir Althiur, Queen's Master Stabler, 78;—of Dunn, Sir John, Provost of Montrose, one of the commissioners at Mary's marriage in Paris, 32; requested by Queen Regent to disperse the Congregation met at Stirling to present Confession of Faith to her, 37; treaty proposed to the Lords, 39;—Lord, 5; appointed one of Mary's guardians, 22; embarks with the young Queen for France on her marriage to Dauphin, 24; their arrival, *ib.*; captain of Edinburgh castle, 48; receives Queen Regent, *ib.*; one of Mary's council of twelve, 60; is displeased at Lord James being created Earl of Marr, 61; exchanged for earldom of Murray, *ib.* See Marr.

Errol, Earl of, one of Mary's council of twelve, 60.

Eskdale, English army lay waste, 17; ravaged by Lennox as the new English warden, 22; Regent Murray's raid there, 118.

Eske, Scots drowned in river during battle of Pinky, 20.

Eusdaill (Ewisdale), Regent Murray's raid there, 118.

Even (Avon?), bridge of, 126.

Evers, Sir Ralph, invades the Merse and lays waste Border, 11; killed at battle of Ancrum-muir, 12.



## F

FAITH, Confession of, prepared by John Knox and presented to Queen Regent, 37; to a Convention of nobility, 52; sworn to and subscribed, *ib.*

Falkirk, proposal for a Convention there after Murray's murder, 123.

Falkland, palace of, Queen Regent there awaiting result of encounter with Congregation, 41; Duke of Hammiltoun advises her to negotiate, *ib.*; eight days truce, *ib.*; Mary Queen of Scots there, 62; plots against her, &c. *ib.*

Fastcastle, taken by English, 21; surprised by countrie people, and garrison killed, 24.

Fernihurst, castle of, sacked by Earl of Sussex, 126;—Laird of. See Ker.

Fife, English fleet prepared for invasion of, 16; part of army of Lords of Congregation sent there, 47.

Findlater, Lord, breaks prison from Stirling castle, 64; Huntlie and his Countess intercede for their son, *ib.*; Mary declines till he enters ward, *ib.*; Huntlie's treason against Queen at Inverness, *ib.*; he takes the field against her, 65; castle of Inverness taken and captain hanged, *ib.*; Huntlie defeated by Murray, 66; his death, *ib.*; Findlater beheaded, *ib.*

Flammock, Andro, saves English standard at Pinky, 20.

Flanders, West, war between Philip II. of Spain and the French, 30.

Fleming, of Boghall, John, taken at Dumbarton castle, 132;—Lady, in Dumbarton castle when it was taken, *ib.*; Regent Lennox dismisses her with all her goods, and gives her part of forfeited rents, 133;—Lord (Malcolm), killed at battle of Pinky, 20; (James) one of Commissioners at Mary's marriage in Paris, 32; he dies of poison on his return, 33; (John)

at Langside in Mary's army, 102; conducts Queen from the field, 103; Regent Murray goes to Dumbarton to take possession of the castle, 120; but does not succeed, *ib.*; castle taken from him in a very remarkable manner, 131, 132.

Forth, river. See Edinburgh. Leith.

Forman, Robert, Lion king at arms, sent to Congregation from Queen Regent, 43; their answer, 44.

France, Grand Prior of, uncle to Mary Queen of Scots, accompanies Mary from France to Scotland, 56;—King of, ancient league infringed by Arran, 3; Lennox invited to come to Scotland, 4; his arrival, 5; his behaviour, 9; King imprisons his envoy, 10; Arran sends for supplies and to recall Lennox, &c. 13; forces sent, *ib.*; Leon de Strozzi arrives with forces, 18; they batter castle of St Andrews, *ib.*; garrison capitulate, *ib.*; assistance again demanded, and Mary is offered in marriage to the Dauphin, 22; sends 6000 German and French troops, 23; marriage agreed to, *ib.*; she embarks for France, her arrival, 24; Queen Dowager goes thither with a train and remains a year, 27; returns with a commission of Regency, *ib.*; envoy sent by Arran to thank King for his supplies, *ib.*; after Treaty of Peace with England ambassadors from France sent, 30; war again proclaimed, 31; ambassadors again sent, *ib.*; Commissioners dispatched to perfect conditions of marriage between Queen Mary and Dauphin, 32; encounter a storm, and two of their ships wrecked near Boulogne, *ib.*; 50,000 crowns of dowry and 20,000 crowns of pension settled, *ib.*; marriage at Nostre Dame, *ib.*; privileges of Scotsmen in France, *ib.*; embassy to get sword, sceptre, and crown of Scotland sent over to Dauphin, 35; at first



granted, and Earl of Argyre and Lord James appointed Commissioners to carry them, *ib.*; resisted by Lord James, *ib.*; King killed by Earl of Montgomerie at tilt, 42; Francis II. (the husband of Mary) succeeds, *ib.*; sends forces to put down Reformation, 43; French march from Leith, take Linlithgow, and proceed from Stirling by coast to Kinghorn, 47; burn house of Grange, *ib.*; a party of them overthrown, *ib.*; 1000 foot land at Leith from France, 48; Marquis de Elbenfe and eight ships with men and stores arrives at mouth of Forth, but returns to France, 48; Commissioners sent to Edinburgh from Elizabeth to treat, 49; body of Queen Mary of Guise sent to France for interment, 50; factions in Scotland for expelling French forces, *ib.*; privations endured by them, *ib.*; Treaty, 51; they leave Scotland, *ib.*; ambassador to Scotland to renew ancient league, 55; French garrison dismissed from Inchkeith, 67; sends order of St Michael to King Henry (Darnley), 73; his installation, *ib.*; embassy on Prince James' baptism, 81; Darnley's murder notified, 85; French ambassador refuses to be present at Queen's marriage to Bothwell, 89; Bishop of Dunblane sent to explain this marriage, 90; envoy sent to invite Murray's return, 97; Archbishop

of Glasgow applies to have Murray intercepted, 98; he narrowly escapes at Dieppe, *ib.*; ambassador refused access to Queen Mary at Lochleven, 101; she escapes, *ib.*; field of Langside, 102; her defeat, 103; French ambassador returns home by England, 104; is robbed on Borders, *ib.*; Mary sends Archbishop of Glasgow as her ambassador calling for aid, *ib.*; troops raised but not sent, owing to civil wars in France, 105; Monsieur de Verac sent to encourage Queen's party, 125; dispatches to Queen's party at Linlithgow, 126. See also Mary. Mary of Guise. Murray.

Francis II. King of France (husband of Mary Queen of Scots), 42, 51; his death, *ib.* &c. See Mary.

Franciscans of Stirling, 5.

Frenchmen in Scotland, and Scotsmen in France, their privileges settled, 32.

French Paris. See Parris.

Frasers, 80 gentlemen of that name killed in fight with Clanrannald, 13; each of their wives with child, "and everie chyld was a boy!" *ib.*

Fullartoune, Captain Adam, chosen captain by King's friends who left Edinburgh, 138.

Fyrie-cross sent round to alarm the country on Earl Hartford's invasion, 19.

## G

GALLOWAY, Bishop of, forfeited by Lennox's parliament at Stirling, 139;—Lord Scroop's expedition, 127.

Garrisons on the Border, permanent, proposed by Queen Regent to be defrayed by tax, 29; the commons resist and this plan is dropped, 30.

German troops, 3000 foot arrive, under command of the Rhongrave (Rhingrave), 23.

Glamis, Lord, island of Inchkeith given up to him, and French garrison dismissed, 67;

forfeited by Queen's parliament, 139; at Lennox's parliament in Stirling, *ib.*

Glasgow, Archbishop of, James Beatoune, elected by Chapter to See of St Andrews, 17; ambassador in France, 98; attempts to intercept Murray at Dieppe, *ib.*; is sent by Queen Mary, after her captivity in Carlisle, to solicit aid from France, 104;—Castle of, manned by Lennox, 7; Regent Arran secures friendship of Earl of Angus, *ib.*; Lennox and

- Arran reconciled, 8; castle taken by Regent Arran, 10; part of Lords of Congregation's army put there, 47; Henry and Mary's army march to Glasgow against Confederate Lords, 71; King Henry (Darley) there to visit Duke of Lennox, 81; is taken dangerously ill (supposed by poison), *ib.*; his recovery, 83; Regent Murray holds justice-air, 100; Convention there, 101; prepares his army against Queen, 102; defeats them at Langside, *ib.*, 103; Regent collects forces to reduce Duke of Hamilton, 113; he refuses to take oath, and is imprisoned in castle of Edinburgh, 114; Queen's party march to Glasgow and destroy castle, 127; disperse on King's friends, advancing, *ib.*; castle surprised by Laird of Crochnech and his brothers, 137; they are taken and beheaded, *ib.*
- Glencairn, Earl of (Alex.), 10; sent from Congregation with Sheriff of Ayr to Queen Regent, 36; brings his forces to oppose Queen Regent, 38; treaty proposed, 39; chosen a leader of the Congregation, 45, 52; one of Mary's council of twelve, 60; joins Confederate Lords against the Queen, 71; signs bond to maintain the young Prince, 91; a leader against the Queen at Carberrie-hill, 93; he and his servants deface the Chapel Royal of Holyrood, 97; is appointed one of the joint governors on Queen Mary's dimission, *ib.*; is at field of Langside against Queen, 102; at Convention in Edinburgh after Regent's murder, 123; at Regent Lennox's parliament in Canongate, 136; at his parliament in Stirling, 139;—Master of, 7.
- Glenurchie, Laird of, a leader of the Congregation, 45.
- Gordon, Lord Adam, taken prisoner when Huntlie was defeated, 66; is pardoned on account of his youth, *ib.*;—George, flies to Hammiltoun after death of Huntlie, 66; the Duke (his father-in-law) makes suit for him, *ib.*; he is taken prisoner and sent to Dumbar, 67; convicted of treason and returned to Dumbar, *ib.* See Huntlie;—of Lochinvar, in Mary's army at Langside, 102; Laird of Wedderburn sent by Regent Murray to procure his submission, 105; he refuses, *ib.*; Kenmuir castle razed to the ground, 106; attempts to surprise Edinburgh, 130; in Edinburgh with Queen's party, 135. See Huntley.
- Gower, Captain, taken prisoner, 19.
- Grahame, Fergus, captain of Castlemilk for the English, 22;—Laird of, at Langside in Mary's army, 102;—Master of, is at Langside against Queen Mary, *ib.*
- Grange, Laird of. See Kirkcaldy.
- Granthewan (Grampian) mountains, 10.
- Gray, Lord (Patrick), at Perth, 14; made prisoner, 15; refused entry by Ruthven, &c. *ib.*; again prisoner at Northumberland's raid, 33.
- Grey-Friars of Edinburgh, Monastery of, Convention there to consult as to Queen Mary's marriage to Dauphin of France, 23; agreed to, *ib.*; her arrival in France, 24; Church and Monastery destroyed by Reformers, 41. See Perth.
- Grey, Lord, general of English horse, dangerously wounded at Pinky, 20; arrives with 6000 foot and 2000 horse to aid Lords, 48; at Haddington, *ib.*; encamp at Prestonpans, *ib.*; go to Leith, *ib.*
- Guard for the Border, permanent, proposed by Queen Regent to be defrayed by tax, 29; commons resist, and the scheme of establishing garrisons abandoned, 30.
- Guyse, Duke of, 9, 28, 51, 53;—Mary of. See Mary.

## H

HADDINGTON, French forces rendezvous there, 13; occupied by the English, 6000 French and Germans blockade it, 23, 24; English supplies arrive, *ib.*, 25; Monsieur de Thermes supersedes Monsieur D'Esse, 25; his exploits, *ib.*, 26; de Thermes returns, English set fire to town and retreat to England, *ib.*; English army to aid Lords of Congregation arrive, 48; the Queen and Bothwell march thither before her surrender at Carberrie-hill, 92.

Haliburtonne of Pitcur, Captain James, 23; provost of Dundee, 37, 46; is present at Langside against Queen Mary, 102; marches with Regent's forces to Brechin, 129, 130; Sir James taken prisoner by Queen's party at Leith, 140;—Captain Alexander, slain, 46.

Hall, John, Englishman, taken in Dumbarton castle, 132; sent to London, where he was hanged, *ib.*

Hammiltoun of Bothwellhauch, James, and David his brother, in Queen Mary's army, and taken prisoners at Langside, 103; convicted of treason and condemned, 104; pardoned (and said to be at suit of Knox), *ib.*; kills Regent Murray in Linlithgow and escapes, 120;—of Carrouk, James and John, prisoners at Langside in Mary's army, 103;—Lord Claud, commendator of Paisley, fourth son of the Duke, at Langside, 102; takes house of Paisley, 131; tries to revenge the affair of Lonsielaw-field, 136; at taking of Stirling and surprise of Regent, 140; but town retaken and he escapes, 141;—of Coughall, John, placed in house of Paisley when taken by Lord Claud, 131; retaken by Regent and captain hanged, *ib.*;—of Craufurd John, Sir James, at Langside in Mary's army, 102; taken prisoner, 103;—of Crochnech, John, he and his two brothers surprise castle of

Glasgow and shut out keepers, 137; he is taken and beheaded, *ib.*;—of Cumnock, John, before his death confesses being art and part of Darnley's and Regent Murray's murders, 133;—Duke of (formerly Regent Arran), 38; commands 1000 Scots under Queen Regent against Congregation, 40; sends to Queen at Falkland and dissuades from battle, 41; eight days truce, *ib.*; is sent to St Andrews to negotiate, *ib.*; joins her in Edinburgh, 42; deserts to Lords of the Congregation, 43; Queen Regent sends a herald, *ib.*; their answer, 44; open hostilities between them and the Queen Regent, 45, 52; his title to Scottish crown, 54, 56; elected one of the council of twelve, 60; Murray and Bothwell concert measures for the ruin of him and his name, 61; envies Murray's greatness, 63; joins Confederate Lords, and takes field against the Queen, 71; Queen's friends rally at Hammiltoun after her captivity at Lochleven, 96; she renounces the crown, 97; the Duke is named one of the joint Governors of the kingdom, during King's minority, *ib.*; espouses Queen's quarrel, and attempts her release, 100; her escape from Lochleven and reception at Hamilton, 101, 102; castle of Hamilton taken by Regent Murray, 105; Queen's friends return home, *ib.*; invite the Duke to return from France and head their party, 110; pays court to Queen Elizabeth, and solicits her countenance, *ib.*; declines and detains him in England till Regent had time to take steps, 111; Queen Mary appoints him Lieutenant of Scotland, 113; Regent raises army and forces him to terms, *ib.*; day appointed to take oath to King, *ib.*; arrives in Edinburgh, declines to take oath, and is imprisoned in castle of Edinburgh, 114; promises Bothwellhauch a reward and his protection to murder the Regent, 120; who

shoots Regent in Linlithgow and escapes, *ib.*, 121; his party levy forces after Regent's murder, 122, 123; is suffered to escape by Grange before arrival of English army, 125; Queen's forces march to Glasgow, 127; they destroy castle, *ib.*; on King's party approaching they disperse, *ib.*; his lands laid waste and his castle destroyed, 128; he attempts to surprise Edinburgh, 130; returns to Edinburgh, 135; is forfeited by parliament at Stirling, 139; keeping of Hamilton palace given to Lord Semple, *ib.*;—Captain of Dumbar, prisoner at Pinky, 21;—Gavin (Abbot of Kilwinning), Arran's youngest son, accompanies Bishop of Ross to acquaint Arran that Regency to be conferred on Queen Dowager, 27; sent prisoner to Stirling castle, 62; with Queen's party in Edinburgh, 135; forfeited by Regent's parliament, 136; is killed in a skirmish with Queen's party, 50 of his men killed, and Lord Home wounded and taken prisoner, 137;—of Innerweek, at Langside in Mary's army, 102; taken prisoner, 103; convicted of treason and condemned, 104; pardoned, *ib.*;—Lord James, Arran's eldest son, made Captain over Scots soldiers in France, with pension of 12,000 crowns, 27;—Lord John (Abbot of Arbroath), Arran's son, detained prisoner in St Andrews, 17; loses heretrix of Herries, who marries Master of Maxwell, 22; one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, 87; Bothwellhauch escapes on his horse, 121; in Edinburgh with Queen's party, 135;—John, Abbot of Paisley (natural son of Regent Arran), presented to see of St Andrews, 17. See St Andrews;—John, servant to Archbishop of St Andrews, gives Bothwell keys of gates of Holyrood before Darnley's murder, 84; narrative of the murder, &c. *ib.*, 85, 86, 87;—of Kilcove, David, taken prisoner at Langside fighting for Mary, 103;—of Merrintoun, Andro, captain of castle of Hamilton, surrenders castle, 128; takes Lord Sempill and delivers him to the Duke, *ib.*;—palace and castle of. See Duke of;—of Stainhouse, Sir James, slain at

siege of Haddingtoun, 24;—William, base son to the Archbishop, forfeited by Lennox's parliament, 136.

Hartford, Earl of, his invasion of Scotland, 8, 9; interview with provost of Edinburgh, *ib.*; Protector, 19; he invades Scotland in person, *ib.*; overthrow of Scots army at Innereske (Pinky), *ib.*, 20; Leith sacked, 21; alleged league between him and Regent Murray, 112; proposal to marry one of Cecil's daughters, &c. *ib.*

Hawkhill, near Edinburgh, 46, 49.

Hay of Fala (Tallo), John, one of the actors at Darnley's murder, 84.

Henderson, William, at the Trone, Captain Blackadder taken while drinking wine at his house, 84; is hanged for Darnley's murder, *ib.*

HENRY, KING (Darnley), arrives in Scotland, 68; he is proposed to Mary for a husband, *ib.*; Murray's plots to prevent the marriage, *ib.*; he engages Elizabeth to thwart it, *ib.*; Elizabeth threatens forfeiture, 70; he is created Duke of Rothesay and Earl of Ross, *ib.*; his marriage at Chapel Royal, Holyrood, *ib.*; proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh, 71; gets order of St Michael from King of France, 73; schemes to sow discord between King and Queen, *ib.*; withdraws himself from her society, 74; spends winter alone at Peebles, 75; plots to increase estrangement between Darnley and Mary, *ib.*; his conduct after Riccio's murder, 77; Queen and he guarded, *ib.*; they fly together to Dunbar, 78; their return, *ib.*; execution of some of the murderers, *ib.*; is charged as being guilty of Riccio's murder, *ib.*; James VI. is born, 79; remarkable interview with the Queen immediately after her delivery, *ib.*; Bothwell pays great court to Queen, 80; Murray inflames Darnley's jealousy, *ib.*, 81; Queen visits Bothwell at Hermitage on his being wounded, *ib.*; she is dangerously sick at Jedburgh, *ib.*; King visits her on two occasions, and is twice ordered by her to Stirling, *ib.*; she proceeds to Kelso, &c. accompanied by Both-

- well, *ib.*; King's dangerous illness, under suspicions of poison, *ib.*; Prince is baptized during his absence, *ib.*; plot to murder Darnley, 82, 83; he recovers from his sickness, *ib.*; his murder circumstantially detailed, 84, 85; his naked body is brought on a board to Abbey Church-yard, *ib.*; is buried, *ib.*; alleged love letters between and the Queen intercepted in a silver casket belonging to Mary, 96; her death voted by many in parliament, on evidence of those letters, 100; order for her imprisonment granted by parliament, *ib.*; —II. KING OF FRANCE, killed by a splinter of a lance at tilt, 42. See France;—VIII. KING OF ENGLAND, 2; sends embassy proposing marriage between Prince of Wales and Mary Queen of Scots, 3; arrests Scottish ships and declares war, &c. 4; sends Earl of Hartford with a fleet to invade Scotland, 8; devastation committed, *ib.*, 9; receives Lennox honorably, 10; address to him by Sir Ralph Evers, &c. for permission to invade Scottish Borders, &c. 11; patent granted, *ib.*; death of the King, 19. See Evers.
- Hepburne of Boltoun, John, an actor at Darnley's murder, 84.
- Hereford, Earl of, 19. See Hartford.
- Hermitage, castle of, Bothwell carried there wounded, 81; Queen Mary visits him, *ib.*; orders him to be carried to Jedburgh, where she falls dangerously sick, *ib.*
- Herries, heretrix of, marries Master of Maxwell, 22; who defeats Lennox's schemes and puts English to rout, 23, 52;—Lord, Confederate Lords by his desire march to Dumfries, 72; he is employed by Lords to treat with King and Queen, *ib.*; they retire to England and charge of Border given to him, 73; one of Bothwell's assize on his trial for murder of Darnley, 87; is at Langside in Mary's army, 102; wounds Lord Ochiltree in the neck, 103; conducts Queen from the field, *ib.*; she goes with him to Terregles, *ib.*; he is sent a special messenger by Mary to Queen Elizabeth with diamond ring formerly got as a token from Elizabeth to be used in any extremity, *ib.*; Terregles is saved by a stratagem of Drumlanrig's, 106; Hoddod taken, *ib.*; also Annan and Lochmaben castles, *ib.*; confined to Edinburgh castle for not taking oaths to King and Regent, 114; is suffered to escape by Grange before arrival of English army, 125; repels Lord Scroop's invasion, who blows up castles of Hoddod, Dumfries, and Annan, and retreats to Carlisle, 127; attempts to surprise Edinburgh, 130; in Edinburgh with Queen's party, 135; —of Terrauchtie, George, a pledge, is spared on account of his youth, 23.
- Hoddod, castle of, taken by Regent Murray, 106; blown up by Lord Scroop, 127.
- Holyroodhouse, Palace of, spoiled by Reformers, and furniture carried off, 42; entry of Mary Queen of Scots, 57; David Riccio murdered in her presence, 77; some of the inferior actors executed, 78; entertainment there the night before King Henry Darnley was murdered, 83; Bothwell lay there, *ib.*; details of murder, 84, 85; King's naked body is brought to Abbey Church-yard and buried, *ib.*; Queen removes to Seatoun, *ib.*; sends the Prince to Stirling, *ib.* See Bothwell.
- Mary; Chapel Royal defaced by Glencairn and his followers, 97; garrisoned by Grange, 134; cannon planted by Queen's party to annoy Abbey, 138.
- Home, Captain, concerned in taking castle of Dumbarton, 131, 132, 135;—castle of, taken by English, 21; surprised by country people and guards killed, 24; besieged by Earl of Sussex, 126; delivered and manned by English, *ib.*;—Lord (George) wishes French army to invade the English Border, 13; Arran refuses permission, 14; is killed by a fall from his horse during Hartford's invasion, 19; his son killed, *ib.*; (Alexander) Bothwell and the Queen treat with him to support them, 91; they escape from Borthwick castle in disguise and fly to Dumbard, *ib.*; he is a leader against them at their defeat at Carberrie-hill, 93; swears on part of James VI. at his coronation, 99; at Langside against Queen Mary,

- 102; hurt in the leg there, 103; Sir James Balfour sent to his custody in Edinburgh castle, 118; Grange presents a counterfeited order for his liberation, *ib.*; Regent at his house when on his Border raid, *ib.*; committed prisoner, 119; is suffered to escape by Grange before arrival of English army, 125; his castle, after a siege, delivered to Earl of Sussex, and is garrisoned by English, 126; beaten by King's party at Lousielaw-field, 135; tries to revenge this affront, 136; is wounded, and he and 100 others taken prisoners in another skirmish, 137; is exchanged for Drumlanrig, *ib.*; —of Wedderburn. See Wedderburn.
- Huntingtoun, Earl of, Queen Mary under his strict custody, 119.
- Huntlie, Earl of, creates feud between the Frasers and Clan Ranald, 13; led the rear "battell" at Pinky, 20; his troops fled at the first charge, and throw army into disorder, *ib.*; taken prisoner by English, *ib.*; charge of his being bribed by Sir Ralph Sadler, 21; goes to France with Queen Dowager, 27; made a Knight of St Michael, *ib.*; imprisoned by Queen Regent for not doing his duty against Captain of Clanranald, 28; is restored to favour on very hard conditions, *ib.*, 29; chancellorship taken from him, *ib.*; restored, and he is elected one of Mary's council of twelve, 60; offended by Lord James being created Earl of Murray, 61; alleged attempts against Murray's life, 62; envies his greatness, 63; attempts to restore Roman Catholic Religion, *ib.*; new designs against Murray, 64; his treason against the Queen at Inverness, *ib.*; castle taken and captain hanged, 65; takes the field against the Queen, *ib.*; is defeated by Murray, 66; his death, *ib.*; Lord Findlater his son beheaded, *ib.*; Lord Adam Gordon pardoned on account of his youth, *ib.*; (George) taken prisoner after his flight to Hammiltoun, 67; convicted of treason and sent to Dunbar, *ib.*; forfeited, *ib.*; is liberated by Queen Mary, and restored to estates and honours, 69; tries to escape after murder of Riccio, but is taken by the guard, 77; Queen takes great seal from Morton, and gives it to Huntlie, 78; his sister Lady Jane, Countess of Bothwell, is prevailed on to divorce her husband, 89; who marries Mary Queen of Scots, *ib.*; he goes for security to castle of Edinburgh, 92; Sir Jas. Balfour joins Prince's party, and allows the captain, Huntlie, and Queen's friends, to escape, *ib.*; is too late to aid Queen at Carberrie-hill, 94; joins the Hamiltons, and espouses the Queen's cause, 101; but is not at Langside, 102; sent 2600 men to join Queen's friends, who get nearly to Perth, but all the passes are guarded, 105; he retires home, *ib.*; declines to submit to the Regent, 113; the terms of his pardon, *ib.*; Regent goes to the north, receives submission of the country, and returns to Perth, 115; Queen's party again threaten to return to Edinburgh, 120; at convention after Regent Murray's murder, 123; fails to get Queen's friends to be present, *ib.*; with Queen's party at Linlithgow, 124; at Glasgow when they destroy castle, 127; he retreats homewards by the Highlands, *ib.*; made joint Lieutenant with the Duke by Mary, 129; proclaims a parliament at Linlithgow, *ib.*; garrisons Brechin, *ib.*; Regent Lennox's proceedings against Queen's party, 130; beaten back by King's party at Lousielaw-field, 135; forfeited by parliament at Stirling, 139; commands Queen's friends at taking of the Regent and his party in Stirling, 140; but the town is afterwards retaken and Queen's party defeated, 141.



## I

INCHKEITH, English fortify it after Pinky, 21; Monsieur D'Esse retakes it, 25; to be held by a few French as a "possession" for Francis and Mary, 51; French garrison is dismissed, and island given up to Lord Glamis, 67.  
 Inchcolomb fortified by the English after Pinky, 21; Abbot of, seizes a French ship with gold, &c. 138.  
 Innereske, overthrow of Scots army there, 19, 20, 21; Leith sacked, *ib.*  
 Innerweek, Laird of. See Hammiltoun.

Invasion of Scotland by Earl of Hartford, 8, 9; again, 19, 20, 21. See England, &c.  
 Inverness, Mary Queen of Scots refused admittance into castle, 64; lodges in the open town, *ib.*; Huntley's treason, *ib.*; she takes the castle, hangs the captain, and returns to Aberdeen, 65; Regent Murray there, 115.  
 Irvings, a number of that name submit to Regent Murray at Dumfries, 106.  
 Italian guard, Mary Queen of Scots', 74. See Borders. Mary.

## J

JAMES I. KING, governors during his reign, 110; —JAMES II. KING, *ib.*; —JAMES V. KING, 1; his testament, *ib.*; dies, 2; his half-sister, Lady Margaret Douglas, married to Regent Lennox, 10; Hamiltoun castle (with rich furniture formerly belonging to the King) destroyed, 128; —JAMES VI. KING, his birth, 79; remarkable interview between Mary and Darnley immediately after her delivery, 79; his baptism, 80, 81; ambassadors, &c. who were present, *ib.*; is named James-Charles or Charles-James, "with all the Catholick ceremonial," by Archbishop of St Andrews, 81; is removed to Stirling castle for safety after Darnley's murder, 85; Queen visits the Prince, 88; on her return Bothwell carries Queen to Dunbar, *ib.*; divorces his wife, *ib.*; marries the Queen, 89; Murray and Morton organize a party for Prince, 91; Murray goes through England to France for assistance, *ib.*; "Band of Confederacie" for the Prince, *ib.*; they are betrayed by Argyle, *ib.*; Confederate Lords invest the Queen and Bothwell in Borthwick castle, 92; they escape in disguise, *ib.*; they

reach Dumbar and raise troops, *ib.*; advance to Haddingtoun, *ib.*; Bothwell retires from her army by command, 94; Queen carried to Lochleven, 95; his friends muster on the sands of Leith, 97; the Reformed party join them, *ib.*; Queen signs Renunciation of the Crown, *ib.*; joint Governors appointed, *ib.*; envoys sent to France for Murray, *ib.*; his return, 99; the Prince is crowned King at Stirling, *ib.*; Knox preaches the sermon, *ib.*; Murray confirmed sole Regent, 100; Lennox chosen "Intergent," 128; chosen "absolute Regent," 129; present in Lennox's parliament at Stirling, 139. See Lennox. Mary. Morton. Murray, &c.  
 James, Lord (Stuart, Prior of St Andrews), natural brother to Queen Mary, embarks for France with his sister, 23; their arrival, 24; returns and repulses English who had landed in Fife, *ib.*; is one of the commissioners at Mary's marriage in Paris, 32; narrowly escapes death by poison in his return, 33; appointed with Earl of Argyle to carry crown, sword, and sceptre to France, 35; resists, *ib.*;



pretends to aid Queen Regent against Congregation, 38; openly joins the Lords, 39; Francis and Mary reprimand him and write him to desist, 42, 45; repulsed in trying to intercept provisions, 46; negotiations between Queen Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots, 50, 51; is sent to France to get Queen to confirm resolutions of convention as to Confession of Faith, &c. 53; Queen Mary allows him to convene nobility, *ib.*; he waits on Queen Elizabeth on his return, 54; who promises protection, *ib.*; his alleged attempts to succeed to the crown, *ib.*; returns and calls a Convention, 55; quells a tumult, 57; created Great-Lieutenant of Scotland, 60; is sent to the Borders to do justice against the thieves, *ib.*; elected one of Mary's council of twelve, 60; opposes the formation of a guard to the Queen, 61; created Earl of Marr, *ib.*; marries daughter of Earl Marishall, *ib.*; this

title is exchanged for Earldom of Murray. See Murray.

Jedburgh, town and abbay burnt by English, 11; Monsieur D'Esse invades English Borders, 25; he is recalled to France, *ib.*; Bothwell ordered to be carried there when wounded in executing justice as Warden, 81; Queen taken dangerously sick there, *ib.*

John, Lord, Prior of Coldinghame, base brother of Mary Queen of Scots, dies, 67.

Johnstoune, John, carries money from the English resident to banished Lords, 73;—Laird of, his houses of Lochwode and Lochhouse taken by Regent Murray, 106; he submits to Regent, *ib.*; repulses Lord Scroop, who retires to Carlisle after destroying castles of Dumfries, Hoddum, and Annan, 127.

Johnstouns, a number of that name submit to Regent Murray at Dumfries, 106. See Borders. Murray, &c.

## K

KERTH, Lady Agnes, daughter of Earl Marishall, marries Earl of Murray, 61. See Murray.

Kelso, town and abbay burnt by English, 11; Mary Queen of Scots there with Bothwell, 81.

Kenmuir, castle of, razed by Regent Murray, 106.

Kennedy of Bargany, at Langside against Queen Mary, 102;—Captain, prisoner at Northumberland's raid, 33.

KENNETH, KING, laws of succession to crown made in his time, 111.

Ker, Sir Andro, taken prisoner and his men routed by Duke of Norfolk, 31;—Captain, an Englishman, prisoner, 33;—of Cessford, at Langside against Queen Mary, 102;—of Fawdounsyde, Andro, at David Riccio's murder, 76; presents and snaps a pistol at Queen, which misses fire, *ib.*; noticed by Mary instantly after her delivery of King James VI.

79;—of Fernihurst (Thomas), breaks the English borders and spoils the country, 121; Queen Elizabeth demands redress, 122; his lands ravaged by Earl of Sussex, 126; his castle sacked, *ib.*; attempts to surprise Edinburgh, 130; made provost of Edinburgh, 138; forfeited by Lennox's parliament at Stirling, 139; at taking of Stirling, 140; town plundered by his men, the alarm given, and is thereby retaken, &c. 141;—Ralph, single combat with Sir Wm. Kirkaldy of Grange, and is beaten, 34.

Kers, properties belonging to them ravaged by Sussex, 126.

Kilspindie, Laird of. See Douglas.

Kilcovel, Laird of. See Hammitoun.

Kilwinning, Abbot of. See Gawin Hammitoun.

Kinghorn, French encamp there 3 weeks, 47; burn Grange's house, *ib.*; he defeats them, &c. *ib.*

Kirkaldy of Grange, Wm. younger, at murder of Cardinal Beaton, 16; Sir Wm. single combat with Ralph Ker, an Englishman, who is beaten and wounded, 33; French troops burn house of Grange, 47; he defeats them, &c. *ib.*; is sent from Confederates to treat with Queen before Carberrie-hill, 94; advises Bothwell to retire, *ib.*; Queen surrenders and is carried to Lochleven, 95; is made Captain of Edinburgh castle, 100; is at Langside against Queen Mary, 102; presents a counterfeit order of Regent's to Lord Home for liberation of Secretary Lethingtoun, 118; Regent sends for him, but he does not obey, *ib.*; alleged connivance between them, *ib.*, 119; becomes surety for Lethingtoun, 121; at instance of Morton refuses admittance of Queen's party into Edinburgh, 124; suffers Hamiltoun, Herries, Home, &c. to escape before arrival of the English army, 125; refuses Regent Lennox's demand for Regalia and ammunition, 129; is displaced as Provost of Edinburgh, 130; publicly declares for the Queen, 133; proclamation to garrison, 134; he fortifies St Giles' steeple, *ib.*; and garrisons Holyrood, *ib.*; skirmishes with the King's

party, Lousielaw-field, 135; his brother takes some Scots soldiers returning from Denmark, 137; forfeited by parliament at Stirling, 139.

Kirklistoun, meeting of Commissioners there, 5.

Kirk-of-Field (Maria de Campis), Edinburgh, 42; King Henry removed thither after his illness at Glasgow, 83; details of his murder, *ib.*, 84, 85; the house blown up by gunpowder, 84; detail of the after proceedings, *ib.*, 85, 86, 87.

Knox, John, supplants Rough as preacher to garrison of St Andrews, 17; is taken prisoner when garrison capitulated to the French, 18; after preaching the Reformation at Perth—"Pull down the nests that the crows might not build again!"—a general destruction of Religious Houses, Churches, &c. takes place throughout Scotland, 38, *et seq.*; preaches to Lords of Congregation in Stirling, 46; presents Confession of Faith to a convention of nobility, 52; proposes Superintendents and Readers, *ib.*; their salaries, *ib.*; preaches sermon at coronation of King James VI. 99; leaves Edinburgh and goes for protection to the King's party, 135.

## L

LABLOIE, in Poitiers, the Abbacy conferred on the Bishop of Ross, 27.

La Bross, Monsieur. See Bross.

La Croke, Monsieur, ambassador from Duke of Savoy, at Prince James' baptism, 81; he goes to Queen at Seatoun after Darnley's murder, 85; they return to Edinburgh, *ib.*; he refuses to attend her marriage to Bothwell, 89; endeavours to treat between the Prince's and Queen's friends before her surrender at Carberrie-hill, 93; her captivity at Lochleven, 95.

Lamlash, Earl of Sussex sails to, 34; returns by coast of Ireland, *ib.*

Langholm, castle of, retaken from English, 18.

Langside, battle of, Regent Murray's previous arrangements, 102; overthrows Queen's forces, *ib.*, 103; casualties there, *ib.*

Langtoun, house and village burnt by Percy, 33;—Laird of, one of the Assize on Bothwell's trial, 87; joins Queen and Bothwell before her surrender at Carberrie-hill, 92.

Larches, Laird of, in Mary's army, and taken prisoner at Langside, 103.

Latton, Sir Bryan, invades and lays waste Border country, 11; killed at the battle of Ancrum-muir, 12.

Lauder, the English build a fort after battle of

- Pinky, 21; evacuated on peace, 26;—of Bass. See Bass.
- Lauderdaill, wasted by Evers and Latton, 11.
- Lawsell, Monsieur, his servant sent from France with dispatches to Queen's party, 126.
- Leagues. See England, France, &c.
- Leith, Lennox with 10,000 men there, 7; Earl of Hartford's expedition, 8; Leith burnt by the English, 9; English army under Somerset rest there 8 days, and then sack the town, 21; German and French auxiliary troops (6000) arrive, 23; Lords of Congregation batter Leith, 46; they are repulsed, *ib.*; French march from Leith and take Linlithgow for Queen Regent, 47; go to Stirling, *ib.*; at Kinghorn, *ib.*; defeated by Laird of Grange, *ib.*; 1000 French arrive, 48; evacuated by Queen Regent, *ib.*; fortifications are ordered to be destroyed in treaty with Queen Elizabeth, 51; Queen Mary lands there, 56; Sir William Drurie arrives, 137; Regent Lennox arrives, *ib.*; Queen's party attack, 139; repulsed, but Sir James Haliburton taken prisoner, 140;—Leith-mills burnt, 49;—wynd, 135.
- LENNOX, Earl of (John), 4; (Mathew), REGENT, *ib.*; invited to come to Scotland, *ib.*; lands from France, 5; musters his forces, *ib.*; professes Roman Catholic faith at Stirling, *ib.*; is promised Queen-mother in marriage, *ib.*; who refuses him, 6; raises an army, *ib.*; is reconciled to the Cardinal, 7; and to Arran, 8; his conduct, 9; writes to France, *ib.*; his messenger imprisoned, 10; he is defeated by Arran, *ib.*; goes to England, *ib.*; marries Lady Margaret Douglas, *ib.*; accused of appropriating 30,000 crowns sent from France, 13; his faction, 19; made Warden on English side, 21; invades Scotland, *ib.*; spoils Eskdale, Annandale, &c. 22; negotiates with Angus to quit English interest, *ib.*; is defeated by Master of Maxwell, 23; fourteen pledges hanged, *ib.*; returns to Scotland, 68; restored, *ib.*; brings Henry Lord Darnley with him, *ib.*; proposals of marriage and plots to defeat this scheme, *ib.*, 69, 70; the marriage, *ib.*; Elizabeth orders their return to England, *ib.*; he is trained to foment discord between Darnley and the Queen, 75; demands justice on Bothwell and the other murderers of the King, 86; his mock trial, *ib.*, 87; is appointed a joint Governor on Queen Mary's dimission, 97; a servant of his accuses Lethingtoun of Darnley's murder, 117; the Secretary escapes from Edinburgh castle, 118; recommended by Queen Elizabeth as Regent in room of Murray, 125; at Berwick, 126; in Edinburgh, 127; approaches Glasgow, when Queen's friends disperse, *ib.*; at Glasgow, 128; spoils Hammiltoun's country, *ib.*; castle of Hamilton destroyed, &c. *ib.*; Lennox is made Lieutenant or "Interegent," *ib.*; chosen Regent, 129; summons a parliament, *ib.*; Captain of Edinburgh castle refuses to give up Regalia, *ib.*; appoints Robert Pitcairne, Abbot of Dunfermling, Secretary in room of Lethingtoun, *ib.*; marches to Linlithgow to stop parliament to be held by Queen's party, *ib.*; advances to Brechin, *ib.*; progress of his army, 130; holds parliament at Edinburgh, *ib.*; another cessation from hostilities, 131; retakes house of Paisley and hangs captain, *ib.*; sends embassy to Queen Elizabeth, *ib.*; marches to Air, &c. and gets submission of barons, *ib.*; returns by Glasgow, *ib.*; remarkable taking of castle of Dumbarton, *ib.*, 132; sick of gout and fall from his horse, *ib.*; Archbishop of St Andrews is taken there, sent to Stirling, and hanged, 133; proclamation to those of Edinburgh castle to lay down arms, 134; Morton returns from Queen Elizabeth, *ib.*; report of his embassy, *ib.*; skirmishing with Queen's party, 135; holds a parliament in Canongate, 136; adjourned to Stirling, *ib.*; arrives in Leith, 137; vessel from France with gold and arms taken, 138; arms recaptured at Queensferry, *ib.*; another ship taken with letters, &c. *ib.*; Argyle and Boyd make conditions with him, 139; holds a parliament at Stirling, *ib.*; attack on Leith in his absence, *ib.*; repulsed,

- 140; remarkable attack on Stirling, and capture of Regent and his whole party, *ib.*; the town retaken and the assailants defeated, 141.
- Lent, Mary Queen of Scots commands to abstain from flesh, under penalty, 67.
- Lermonth, Captain, 23.
- Leslie, John, at murder of Cardinal, 16; discloses the conspiracy of Huntlie and Sutherland, 65; is pardoned, *ib.*;—Norman, 12, 15; murders Cardinal Beatoun, 16.
- Lethingtoun, Secretary. See Maitland.
- Liddisdale, Bothwell there as Warden to execute justice, 81; Regent Murray's raid, 118.
- Lilulithgow, 5, 7; Parliament held there, 11; Churches, &c. destroyed by Reformers, 41; taken by French for Queen Regent, 47; Lords meet there, 48; Regent Murray murdered, 120, 121; proposal for a Convention there, 123; another meeting there, 124; Queen's party unable to treat, 126; they march to Glasgow, destroy castle, and then disperse, 127; Parliament proclaimed by Huntlie, 129; the projected Parliament by Queen's party stopt, 129;—Sheriff of, his son suffered to escape by Grange before the arrival of English army, 125.
- Lion, John, captain of castle of Annan, 22.
- Lion King-at-Arms, sent to Congregation by Queen Regent, 43; their answer, 44.
- Livingstoun, Alex. taken in Dumbarton castle, 132.
- Livingstoun, Lord, 5; one of Mary's guardians, 22; goes to France with her on her marriage to Dauphin, 24, 28; at Langside in Mary's army, 102; accompanies the Queen in her flight from Langside, 103.
- Livistoun (Lethingtoun), young. See Maitland.
- Lochhouse, house of, taken by Regent Murray, 106.
- Lochinvar, Laird of. See Gordon.
- Lochleven, Mary Queen of Scots carried thither in captivity, after Carberrie-hill, 95, 96; is forced to renounce the crown, 97; effects her escape, 101, 102; Earl of Northumberland imprisoned there, 119; Regent Murray delivers him to Queen Elizabeth, who beheads him, *ib.*;—Laird and Lady of. See Douglas.
- Lochmaben, castle of, taken by Regent Murray, 106; delivered in keeping to Drumlanrig, *ib.*
- Lochwode, house of, taken by Regent Murray, 106.
- Lorgis, Monsieur de (James Montgomery), arrives with troops from France, 13; army disbanded, 14; is sent to Stirling, *ib.*
- Lorrain, Cardinal of, 9, 28.
- Lousielaw-field, skirmishing between King's and Queen's parties, 135; this affront avenged by Queen's party, 136.
- Love-letters alleged to have passed between Queen Mary and Bothwell, silver casket containing them intercepted, 96; Parliament grants warrant for her imprisonment, 100; some of them vote her death on evidence of these letters, *ib.*; her friends avert these letters to have been forged, *ib.*
- Luss, Laird of, is sent to Langside against Queen Mary, 102.
- Lyndsay, Lord (Patrick), 5; aids Murray and Mortoun against Huntlie's conspiracy, 65; Huntlie is defeated, 66; his death, *ib.*; plots to foment discord between King and Queen, 75; at Riccio's murder, 76; signs "Band of Confederacie" to maintain the Prince, 91; accepts Bothwell's challenge before Carberrie-hill, but the Queen discharges them, 94; is at Langside against Queen Mary, 102; accompanies Murray, &c. to London for conference as to Queen Mary, 107; proceedings there, *ib.* to 113; marches to Brechin against Queen's party, 129, 130; at Regent Lennox's parliament in Canongate, 136; repulses an attack on Leith in Regent's absence, 139, 140.

## M

MACGILL of Rankeillor, Mr James, Lord Clerk Register, 78; is deprived and is succeeded by Mr James Balfour, *ib.*; at the conference in York about Queen Mary, 107 to 113; proceeds to London with the Regent, 108; is made Provost of Edinburgh, 130; goes with Secretary Pitcairne as assessors to Mortoun, ambassador to Queen Elizabeth, 131; returns, 134.

Main, Marquis de, brother of Queen Mary of Guise, arrives, 27; returns, *ib.*, 28.

Maitland, Mr John, Prior of Coldinghame (brother to the Secretary), 135; forfeited by Regent's Parliament, 136;—of Lethingtoun, Wm. younger, Secretary, 46; deserts Queen Regent and joins Congregation, *ib.*; is sent to Queen Elizabeth for supplies, *ib.*; League with England, 47; is sent ambassador to Queen Elizabeth, 57, 58; his return, 59; espouses Queen's cause and joins the Hamiltons, 101; but is not at Langside, 102; afterwards turns to the Regent's side, 105; at York with Regent, &c. at Conferences as to Mary, 107 to 113; accompanies Regent to London, 108; Regent proposes to try him, 117; is sent to Edinburgh castle, but is suffered to escape by the captain, 118; day for trial extended, 120; released under surety, 121, 123; is superseded by Abbot of Dunfermling as Secretary, 129; with Queen's party in Edinburgh, 135; forfeited by Regent's parliament, 136; again at Stirling, 139;—Mr Thomas (brother to Secretary), forfeited by Regent's parliament, 136.

Marches, permanent Guard proposed by Mary of Guise for resisting English, 29; the tax objected to, 30; Lord Herries gets charge of country, 73.

Maria de Campis. See Kirk-of-Field.

Marishall, Earl, goes to France with the Queen Dowager, 27, 52; one of Mary's council of

twelve, 60; his daughter Lady Agnes marries Earl of Murray, 61;—Master of, William, prisoner at Percy's raid, 33; a leader of the Congregation, 45; at Regent Lennox's parliament in Canongate, 136.

Marr, rents of, belonging to Huntley, renounced, &c. 28, 29;—Earl of, Lord James, Prior of St Andrews (afterwards Regent Murray), created, 61; exchanged for earldom of Murray, *ib.*; (John Erskine) created, 64; Prince James committed to his custody in Stirling castle after Darnley's murder, 85; signs "Band of Confederacie" to maintain the Prince, 91; one of leaders against Queen at Carberrie-hill, 93; appointed one of the joint Governors of the kingdom after Queen Mary's dimission, 97; is at field of Langside against the Queen, 102; delivers Earl of Northumberland to Queen Elizabeth, who beheads him, 119; at Convention in Edinburgh after Regent Murray's murder, 123; Queen's party attempt to intercept him, 126; but fail, *ib.*; at Stirling on his march to relieve Glasgow, 127; his house in Brechin manned against Queen's party, 130; at Regent's parliament in Canongate, 136; at his parliament in Stirling, 139.

Martignes, Monsieur de, arrives with 1000 French foot, 48; driven back from Hawkhill by English, 49; blamed as Mary of Guise's councillor, 50; raises forces in France, but is stayed by the civil wars, 105.

MARY, QUEEN OF ENGLAND, treaty of peace, 30; at the instance of France war is again proclaimed, 31; her death, 35.

MARY OF GUISE, QUEEN REGENT, 2; proposed in marriage to Lennox, 5, 6; Bothwell also offers marriage, *ib.*; Lennox raises an army, *ib.*; conditions made, 7; her brother the Marquis de Main visits Scotland, 27; returns, *ib.*; she goes to France with a train, *ib.*; remains

above a year and returns with a commission of Regency, *ib.*; convention at Stirling to ratify this, 28; publicly installed in Regency at Edinburgh, *ib.*; establishes foreigners in the highest offices in the state, 29; tax for permanent garrisons on Border, *ib.*; commons resist, and plan dropped, 30; Lords of Congregation insist on free profession of Religion, &c. 34; consults Clergy, 35; embassy from France to deliver up crown, sword, and sceptre to Dauphin, *ib.*; agreed to, but commissioners afterwards refuse to act, *ib.*; death of Mary Queen of England, *ib.*; deputies from Congregation sent to Queen Regent at Stirling, 36; threaten to renounce their fidelity to her if she refuse their demands, *ib.*; insurrections by Reformers, 37; Ruthven refuses to interfere with people of Perth in matters of religion, *ib.*; she orders Easter to be kept holy, *ib.*; openly disregarded, *ib.*; summons Congregation at another Convention at Stirling, *ib.*; they come unarmed, but in great multitudes, *ib.*; Laird of Dun intreated to dismiss them quietly, *ib.*; destruction of Churches, Monasteries, &c. 38; at Perth, *ib.*; Couper, *ib.*; Crail, 40; Scone, Stirling, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh, 41; Queen Regent and Lords at open warfare, 38; she treats with Lords, 39; Argyle and Lord James join Congregation, *ib.*; she changes magistrates of Perth, &c. *ib.*; returns to Stirling and levies an army, 40; people demolish churches, &c. *ib.*; she marches to Couper, *ib.*; Duke of Hamilton procures 8 days' truce, 41; he again negotiates at St Andrews, *ib.*; they march to Perth, besiege town, and take it, *ib.*; are well received in Edinburgh, *ib.*; Churches, &c. destroyed, *ib.*; and Holyrood plundered, 42; she marches thither, *ib.*; forces arrive from France, 43; sends Herald King-at-Arms to Congregation, *ib.*; their answer, 44; seizes 4000 crowns coming from England to Lords, 45; her Secretary betrays his trust and joins Lords, 46; he is sent to Queen Elizabeth, *ib.*; Treaty by Lords with her, 47; Linlithgow taken by French for Queen Regent, *ib.*; arri-

val of English and French supplies, 48; Queen Regent evacuates Leith and goes to castle of Edinburgh, *ib.*; siege of Leith, 49; negotiations, *ib.*; Queen Regent's death, 50; her body carried to France, *ib.*

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, 1, 2, 3; proposals of marriage with Prince Edward, *ib.*; carried to Stirling, 5; to whom entrusted, *ib.*; crowned, *ib.*; Henry VIII. demands custody of her person, 8; Scotland invaded by Earl of Hartford, *ib.*, 9; fresh invasion by Protector Somerset, 19, 20, 21; nobility resolve that Lords Erskine and Livingston shall be her guardians, in Dumbarton castle, 22; assistance demanded from France, *ib.*; 6000 troops arrive, 23; Convention to consult as to marriage with Dauphin of France, *ib.*; agreed to and Queen embarks for France from Dumbarton, *ib.*; her arrival, 24; embassy from France for commissioners to attend her marriage, 31; eight sent, 32; she is married at Notre Dame in Paris, *ib.*; gets 50,000 crowns of dowry yearly, and 20,000 crowns of pension, *ib.*; privileges of Scotsmen in France settled, *ib.*; Earls of Cassillis and Rothes, Bishop of Orkney and Lord Fleming on their way home die of poison, 33; Lord James, her brother, narrowly escapes, *ib.*; embassy to send crown, sword, and sceptre of Scotland to France, 35; resisted by Lord James and Earl of Argyle, the commissioners, *ib.*; her alleged title to English crown on the death of Mary Queen of England, *ib.*; her husband Francis II. succeeds to crown of France, 42; treaty with Queen Elizabeth that Mary shall not henceforth bear arms and title of England and Ireland, &c. 51; death of Francis, *ib.*; Lord James sent to France to get her consent to alteration of religion, &c. 53; meets her at Lorraine, *ib.*; he is allowed to convene nobility, *ib.*; he visits Queen Elizabeth on his return, 54; her agreement with him, *ib.*; sends M. de Osell to Queen Elizabeth as ambassador to notify her intention to pass through England, &c. 55; Elizabeth resolves to intercept her, *ib.*; Mary escapes and lands



at Leith, 56; her reception and triumphal entry into Edinburgh, *ib.*; her residence at Holyrood, 57; her religion insulted, *ib.*; her uncles take leave, *ib.*; sends embassy to Queen Elizabeth, *ib.*; particulars of the commission, 58; he returns, 59; Mary is challenged by Congregation for having Mass performed, *ib.*; she elects a council of twelve, 60; proposes a royal guard, and is opposed, 61; gets a third of the Church lands from the Clergy, *ib.*; Murray's intrigues against the Hammiltouns, and to secure succession to the Crown, &c. *ib.*, 62; Queen at Falkland, *ib.*; Embassies for proposed interview with Queen Elizabeth, *ib.*; to be at York, 63; but frustrated, *ib.*; Queen at St Andrew's, *ib.*; goes to the north, *ib.*; at Aberdeen, 64; Huntlie proposes his son, Lord Findlater, in marriage to Mary, *ib.*; Huntlie's treason, *ib.*; Queen lodges at Inverness, *ib.*; Huntlie takes the field against her, 65; she takes Castle of Inverness, hangs captain, and returns to Aberdeen, *ib.*; his force defeated by Murray, 66; death of Huntlie, *ib.*; Lord Findlater beheaded, *ib.*; Queen sheds tears for him, *ib.*; orders Lent to be observed, under a penalty, 67; Churchmen imprisoned for saying mass, *ib.*; her wardrobe, &c. at Holyrood, broken up for mass-cloths and church-stuff, *ib.*; she orders her coffers to be sent to Stirling, *ib.*; Murray and Queen Elizabeth plot to prevent her marriage with Henry Darnley, 68, 69; aspersions against Mary, *ib.*; they fail in their attempt, 70; Queen returns from Perth before marriage, *ib.*; holds Convention at Stirling, *ib.*; embassy from and to Denmark, *ib.*; Elizabeth sends Throckmorton and other ambassadors to stay marriage, *ib.*; protests against marriage by Earl of Murray and Lord Ochiltree, *ib.*; married at Chapel-Royal, Holyrood, *ib.*; proclaimed at cross of Edinburgh, 71; the Duke of Hammiltoun and other Confederate Lords take arms, *ib.*; King and Queen raise an army, *ib.*; their proceedings, 72, 73; machinations to foment discord between King and Queen, *ib.*; all writs to be

signed by her, and marked with a privy seal in keeping of Riccio, 74; her Italian guard, *ib.*; Darnley withdraws from her society, *ib.*; spends winter at Peebles, 75; the coronation deferred, *ib.*; her attentions to Riccio are increased, *ib.*; plots to foment animosity between Darnley and the Queen, *ib.*; plot to murder Riccio, 76; the Queen and King are guarded in their chambers, *ib.*; narrative of the murder, *ib.*, 77; their flight to Dumbbar, 78; execution of some of the murderers, *ib.*; she is delivered of a son (afterwards James VI.), 79; remarkable interview with Darnley, *ib.*; Bothwell's attentions, 80; Murray plots to make Darnley jealous, *ib.*, 81; Bothwell wounded in Liddisdale, and carried to Hermitage Castle, *ib.*; Queen rides thither, *ib.*; falls sick at Jedburgh, *ib.*; King visits her twice, is repulsed, and retires to Stirling, *ib.*; she recovers, and goes to Kelso with Bothwell, *ib.*; King is taken ill, with suspicions of poison, *ib.*; Prince James baptized in the King's absence, *ib.*; plot to murder Darnley, 82, 83; his murder, 84, 85; Bothwell makes a pretended search after the murderers, and reports it to the Queen, *ib.*; King's naked body brought to Holyrood, and buried, *ib.*; their conduct, *ib.*, 86; his mock trial, *ib.*, 87; sets up a challenge on cross to fight any one who would accuse him, *ib.*; but refuses a gentleman, *ib.*; marriage proposed to the Queen, *ib.*; she ratifies bond by Murray, &c. as to her marriage with Bothwell, 88; Bothwell carries her to his castle of Dumbbar, *ib.*; divorces his lawful wife, 89; carries back the Queen to Edinburgh, *ib.*; and marries her, *ib.*; execrations of the people, *ib.*; French ambassador refuses to be present, *ib.*; Mary sends an ambassador to France, 90; bond by nobility to defend her and her new husband, *ib.*; Murray refuses to sign, *ib.*; they go to Seatoun and send for him, *ib.*; but he resists, 91; goes to France to organize a party for the young Prince, *ib.*; Morton left to act in his absence, *ib.*; Queen goes with Bothwell to Borthwick Castle, to pacify borders, *ib.*;



Prince's party invest the castle, and they escape in disguise to Dunbar, 92; they raise a force and march to Haddingtoun, *ib.*; surrender at Carberrie-hill, 93, 94; Queen treated with great indignity, and is carried prisoner to Lochleven Castle, 95; Bothwell turns pirate, *ib.*; flies to Denmark, and dies in miserable captivity, *ib.*; the Queen's silver box, or casket, is seized in its passage from castle of Edinburgh to Bothwell, *ib.*; its contents, 96; Chapel-Royal, Holyrood, defaced, 97; Mary renounces the crown, *ib.*; governors appointed, *ib.*; messengers sent to France for Murray, *ib.*; he is named sole Regent, 100; parliament votes her imprisonment, *ib.*; grounded on evidence of her letters to Bothwell produced, *ib.*; alleged by her friends to be forged, *ib.*; her release attempted, 101; her partizans, *ib.*; escapes from Lochleven, *ib.*; raises forces at Hamilton, 102; field of Langside, *ib.*; is defeated, 103; is escorted by Sanquhar to Terregles, *ib.*; embarks for England at a small creek near Dundrennan, and lands at Cockermouth, *ib.*; sends Lord Herries to Queen Elizabeth with a diamond ring, a token given by her to be presented in any case of emergency, *ib.*; Lord Scroop takes her prisoner, and confines her in Carlisle castle, 104; French ambassador returns home by England, *ib.*; is robbed on borders, *ib.*; Mary sends Archbishop of Glasgow as her ambassador to France, craving aid, *ib.*; her friends collect forces, but return home again, 105; prisoner in Bolstone castle, 106; renews her applications to Queen Elizabeth, *ib.*; commissioners to meet at York, *ib.*; proceedings there, 107, 108; Regent goes to London, *ib.*; conferences there, *ib.*, 109 to 113; he takes leave, *ib.*; she writes her friends in Scotland, 111, 112; her letters are intercepted, *ib.*; she is more strictly watched, 113; writes as to her marriage with Bothwell, and proposes to be formally divorced, 116; Convention treats her letter with scorn, and no answer sent, *ib.*; but write Queen Elizabeth, 117; Abbot of Dunfermline sent as to this,

and her lately projected marriage to Norfolk, 117; he returns, Norfolk is imprisoned, and Mary more closely watched, 119; murder of Regent Murray, 120, 121; Queen Elizabeth sends a new commission, *ib.*; Mary's party meets frequently at Linlithgow, &c., 123, 124; envoy from France raises hopes of foreign aid, *ib.*; her party are refused entry into Edinburgh, *ib.*; King's friends solicit aid from Elizabeth, *ib.*, 125; English army collected on border under Sussex, *ib.*; Kirkaldy suffers Hamiltoun, Herries, Home, &c., to escape before their arrival, *ib.*; despatches from France, 126; try to intercept Marr, *ib.*; arrival of English army on borders, *ib.*; her party destroy castle of Glasgow and disperse, 127; Queen Elizabeth grants a cessation of hostilities, 128; Mary gives commission to Huntlie as joint lieutenant with the Duke, 129; parliament at Linlithgow stopt, *ib.*; Regent marches against her party, *ib.*, 130; in his absence, the Duke, &c. try to surprise Edinburgh, *ib.*; new cessation of hostilities, 131; Paisley surprised, *ib.*; Morton's embassy to Queen Elizabeth reported, 134; her party skirmishes with Regent, 135; they adjourn their proposed parliament, 136; French vessel with treasure taken, 138; Duke presides at her parliament, 139; her party most dexterously surprise Stirling, and capture the Regent and all his party, 140; town retaken, and Queen's friends defeated, 141; mass, a mock, represented at pageant on entry of Mary Queen of Scots into Edinburgh, 57; Mary openly challenged by Congregation for having mass performed, 56; Archbishop of St Andrews and Bishop of Dunkeld imprisoned for saying mass, 67; also Prior of Whitthorne, *ib.*; Queen's wardrobe, &c. broken up in search of mass-cloths, *ib.*

Maxwell, Lord, 8; imprisoned, *ib.*; set at liberty, *ib.*; his son Robert taken prisoner, 14; resists English invasion, 17; at Langside in Mary's army, 102; his houses spared, as he had submitted to the Regent, 106; his castle of Dumfries thrown down by Lord Scroop, 127; in

Edinburgh with Queen's party, 135;—Master of, John, marries heretrix of Herries, 22; defeats the schemes of Lennox, 23, 52;—Robert, taken prisoner, 14.

Maxwellheuch, Scots army encamp there, 31; skirmishes with the English, *ib.*

Meffon (Methven), Paul, Queen Regent orders his apprehension, 37; he is allowed to escape, *ib.*

Meggat water, Arran's army encamps by, 17.

Melrose, Scots forces meet there, 12; the English army totally routed at Ancrum-muir, *ib.*; Mary Queen of Scots there, 81.

Melville, Captain David, succeeds his brother, 136; he and his ensign are defeated by King's friends and taken prisoner, 137;—Captain James, killed by explosion of gunpowder at affair of Craigmillar, 136.

Merrintoune, Laird of. See Hammiltoune.

Merse, the, spoiled by English, 11; Scots army despatched thither, 31; skirmishes with English, *ib.*; ravaged by Earl of Sussex, 126.

Methven, Lord, at Lennox's parliament at Stirling, 139.

Mint, Royal, and coining irons, delivered over to Queen Regent, 42.

Minto, Laird of, retakes castle of Glasgow and beheads Laird of Crochnech, 137.

Mochtour, house of, sacked by Earl of Sussex, 126.

Monlur, Monsieur, 49.

Monteith, Earl of, against Queen Mary at field of Langside, 102; at Regent's parliament in Canongate, 136.

Montgomerie, Earl of, kills King of France with splinter of his lance at tilt, 42.

Montgomery, James (Mons. de Logris), arrives with troops from France, 13.

Montrose, Earl of, 5; one of Mary's council of twelve, 60;—town of, English land there, and are repulsed with loss of 500 men, 24; also at St Monans, with loss of 600 killed and 100 prisoners, *ib.*

MORTOUN, Earl of (James, afterwards REGENT), joins Queen Regent's party at Edinburgh, 42, 52; one of Mary's council of twelve, 60; aids

Murray and Lord Lindsay against Huntlie's conspiracy, 65; Huntlie is defeated, 66; his death, *ib.*; castle of Tamtallon taken from Mortoun and given to Atholl, 73; watches motions at Court, *ib.*; plots to foment jealousies between the King and Queen, 75; at Riccio's murder, 76; gives him the first stroke, 77; the great seal is taken from him and given to Huntlie, 78, 82; plots Darnley's death, 83; Bothwell demands implement of his conditions to marry the Queen, 85, &c. See Bothwell; signs bond to maintain the Prince, 91; he leads the first "battell" at Carberriehill, when Queen is defeated, 93; advises Bothwell to retire for a time, who complies and goes with only two men to Dunbar castle, 94; Queen is sent to Lochleven, 95; is named a joint Governor on Queen Mary's dimitting the crown, 97; he and Home swear on part of King James VI. at his coronation, to maintain the Reformed Religion, 99; at Langside, 102; made Chancellor, 104; accompanies the Regent to York to treat as to Queen Mary, 107; his opinion as to Murray's murder, 122; convention at Edinburgh, 123; prevails on Grange to refuse admittance of Queen's party into Edinburgh, 124; solicits Queen Elizabeth for an English army to aid King's friends, *ib.*; granted, 125; Marr joins him, and they advance to Edinburgh, 126; applies for safe conduct as ambassador to Queen Elizabeth, 129; goes with 800 horse to Brechin against Queen's party, 130; ambassador to Elizabeth, 131; is accompanied by Secretary Pitcairne and Mr James M'Gill as assessors, *ib.*; returns, 134; gives report of his embassy to Regent, *ib.*; marches to Leith, 135; at Regent's parliament in Canongate, 136; lying ill with cholic at Leith, 137; defeats a party of Queen's friends, kills Abbot of Kilwinning and 50 others, hangs Captain Cullen, and takes above 100 prisoners, *ib.*; at Lennox's parliament at Stirling, 139; is taken at the surprise of Stirling with the Regent and his party, 140; town alarmed and retaken, &c. 141.

Moubray of Barnbougall. See Barnbougall.

Murray, Bishop of, forfeited by Lennox's parliament at Stirling, 139;—Earl of (James, afterwards REGENT), his creation, in exchange for Earldom of Marr, 61; his marriage with Lady Agnes Keith, *ib.*; intrigues with Bothwell for ruin of the Hamiltons, his schemes to secure the crown, &c. *ib.*, 62; Arran discloses the Duke's plots against him, *ib.*; his life said to have been twice attempted by Huntley, *ib.*; goes again to Borders, 63; holds court at Hawick, *ib.*; his popularity rises, *ib.*; new attempts against his life, *ib.*; he aids Mary against Huntlie's conspiracy, 65; defeats him, 66; Huntlie's death, *ib.*; plots to prevent Queen's marrying Darnley, 68, 69; Elizabeth also interferes, *ib.*; their schemes fail, and marriage takes place, 70; accuses Bothwell of new attempts against him, 69; retires from court to Lochleven, and holds meetings with friends, *ib.*; Mary returns from Perth to Edinburgh, 70; protests against the marriage, *ib.*; Confederate Lords take arms against the Queen, 71; restored to Queen's favour, 79; his conduct after the birth of the Prince James, 80, 82; the origin of Darnley's murder, *ib.*, 83; Murray, under pretence of his wife's illness, retires towards St Andrews, *ib.*; the murder is perpetrated, 84; tries to persuade Queen Elizabeth and the country of his innocence, 85; Mary's conduct after the murder, *ib.*; Bothwell urges implement of his condition to marry the Queen, *ib.*; Lennox demands justice, 86; Bothwell's mock trial, 87; hastens Bothwell's marriage, *ib.*; signs bond to maintain Bothwell, 88; Bothwell carries off the Queen, *ib.*; his wife divorced, 89; the marriage takes place, *ib.*; execrations of the people, *ib.*; Murray refuses to sign the "Band of Confederacie," 90; he retires to France, and organizes a party for the young Prince, 91; Morton acts in his absence, *ib.*; bond by the Prince's friends, *ib.*; Argyle betrays them, *ib.*; is named one of the joint Governors, 97; messengers sent to France to invite his return, *ib.*; he is nearly intercepted at Dieppe, *ib.*; waits on Queen

Elizabeth, 99; offered the sole Regency, *ib.*; asks time to advise, *ib.*; accepts and is confirmed by Parliament, 100; vote for Queen Mary's imprisonment passed, *ib.*; establishes Reformed Religion, *ib.*; Justice-air at Glasgow, *ib.*; Queen's release attempted, 101; her party, *ib.*; convention at Glasgow, *ib.*; Mary's escape from Lochleven, *ib.*; she reaches Hamilton, 102; her overthrow at Laingside, *ib.*; casualties at that battle, 103; escapes to England, *ib.*; her imprisonment, 104, &c.; parliament called for forfeiting Queen's party, *ib.*; forces raised by Argyle and Queen's friends to oppose Regent and impede parliament, 105; Regent takes castles of Hamilton and Draffan, *ib.*; army at Biggar, *ib.*; a number of houses and castles destroyed, *ib.*, 106; returns by Dumfries and Peebles to Edinburgh, *ib.*; conferences at York as to Mary, *ib.*; his proceedings at York and London, 107 to 113; takes his leave of Elizabeth, 113; conducted to Berwick, *ib.*; enters Edinburgh "in manner of triumph," *ib.*; convention at Stirling, *ib.*; raises an army, and forces Duke of Hamilton to terms, *ib.*; he comes to Edinburgh to take oath to King and Regent, but declines, 114; is imprisoned in castle, *ib.*; convention at St Andrews, *ib.*; Argyle is received into favour, *ib.*; Huntlie, &c. refuse, *ib.*; terms of his pardon, *ib.*; Regent goes to the north and receives submission of the barons, 115; returns to Perth to a convention, *ib.*; letters from Elizabeth and Mary as to her proposed divorce from Bothwell and marriage to Duke of Norfolk, *ib.*, to 119; Abbot of Dunfermlin sent to Elizabeth, 117; he returns, 119; goes to Stirling and proposes to try Lettingtoun, 117; this waived, 118; he escapes from Edinburgh castle, *ib.*; engages in a new Border raid, *ib.*; seizes Duke of Northumberland, *ib.*; who was sent to Edinburgh and Lochleven, 119; is afterwards delivered to Elizabeth (by Regent Marr), and dies on the scaffold, *ib.*; goes to Dumbarton, 120; at Glasgow and Stirling, *ib.*; plot to murder the Regent, *ib.*; he is shot in Linlithgow and murderer escapes,

*ib.*, 121; his funeral, *ib.*; William and Robert Douglas, his brothers, demand justice, 122; convention of the estates, *ib.*;—Countess of, 61; sick in childbed at St Andrews when Darnley murdered, 63; Murray sets out to visit her, *ib.*;—Earldom of, Huntlie forced to renounce his claim to, 28, 29;—of Tullibardin, Patrick, present at murder of David Riccio, 76; Sir William accepts of Bothwell's

challenge before Carberrie-hill, 94; who refuses on account of inequality of rank, *ib.*; his brother James also offers and is refused, *ib.*; joins the Hamiltons and espouses the Queen's cause, 101; but was not at Langside, 102.

Musselborough-roads, cannonading by English fleet during battle of Pinky, 20; Confederate Lords march there before defeating Queen at Carberrie-hill, 93.

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NAVARRÉ, KING of, 51.

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Newbottle, convention at, when war proclaimed against England, 30.

Newcastle, 2.

Nick Niven, a witch, burnt at St Andrews, 115.

Nithsdale, Lord Scroop's expedition, 127.

Noales, Monsieur de, Ambassador from France, 55.

Norfolk, Duke of, 2; advises patent for invasion and conquest of Scottish Borders, 11; encounter with Sir Andro Ker at foot of Cheviot hills, who is taken prisoner and his force routed, 31; Commissioner for Queen Eliza-

beth at conference in York with Regent Murray, &c. as to Queen Mary, 107; proceedings there and in London, *ib.* to 113; his purposed marriage with Mary Queen of Scots, 115; he is committed to the Tower, 119.

North Isles invaded by Earl of Sussex, 34; he lands at Cantyre, burns the country, and returns by coast of Ireland, *ib.*

Northumberland, Earl of, raises tumult in North of England, 118; Earl of Warwick disperses his forces, *ib.*; he escapes to Scotland, and is betrayed to Regent Murray, 119; is delivered by Regent Marr to Queen Elizabeth, who beheads him, *ib.*

Nowghtoun, Laird of, at Langside in Mary's army, 102.

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OBIGNIE, Lord (brother of Regent Lennox), 9.

Ochiltree, Lord (Andro Stewart), protests against Queen Mary marrying a papist, 70; at Langside against Queen Mary, 102; is wounded on the neck by Lord Herries, 103; forfeited by Queen's parliament, 139.

Octavian, Monsieur, arrives with 1000 French to resist Congregation, 43.

Ogill, Lord, killed at Ancrum-muir, 12.

Ogilvie of Boyne. See Boyne;—Lord, takes arms under Duke of Hamilton for Mary, 114; Murray tries to get his submission, *ib.*; at convention in Edinburgh after Regent's murder, 123; with Queen's party at Brechin, 130.

Oliphant, Lord, one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, 87.

Orders, the Cockle, 43; St Michael, 27, 73.

Orkney, rents of, Huntley renounces, &c. 28,

29; invaded by Sir John Clerc, Englishman, who is killed with nearly all his men, 34; Bothwell escapes thither and commits acts of piracy, 96; retires to Denmark, *ib.*; dies in wretched captivity, *ib.*;—Bishop of (Robert Reid), one of the commissioners at Mary's marriage in Paris, 32; the ship in which he was, wrecked in the roads of Boulogne, and he saved in a fisher's boat, *ib.*; dies of poison in his return, 33;—(Lord Robert Stewart, natural brother to Mary Queen of Scots, and Commendator of Holyrood), present with the Queen when Riccio was murdered, 76; goes to London with Murray to conference with Elizabeth as to Mary, 107 to 113;—(John [Adam] Bothwell), marries the Queen to Bothwell, 89;—Duke of. See Bothwell.

Ormistoun of that Ilk, James (called Black Ormistoun), an actor at Darnley's murder, 84; joins Queen and Bothwell before defeat of Carberrie-hill, 92;—Hob (Robert), an actor at Darnley's murder, 84.  
Osell, Monsieur de, receives sword, sceptre, and crown in Queen's name, 28; besieges Wark castle, 31; is desired by Scots to retire, *ib.*; commands Queen Regent's forces against Congregation, 40; sent ambassador to England from Queen Mary in France, 55.  
Otterburn, Mr Adam, provost of Edinburgh, 8; is sent to Earl of Hartford to offer reparation, *ib.*  
Our Lady Kirk in the Fields (Maria de Campis, or Kirk-of-Field), Edinburgh, is destroyed by the Reformers, 42.

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PAGEANT at reception of Mary Queen of Scots, 56, 57; rich presents to her, *ib.*  
Paisley, confederate Lords encamped there against Henry and Mary, 71; they retire by Hammiltoun to Edinburgh and Dumfries, 72; house of, taken by Lord Claud, 131; manned by Hammiltouns, *ib.*; retaken by Regent, who hangs captain, &c., *ib.*;—Abbot of. See John Hammiltoun, St Andrews.  
Palmer, Sir Thomas, arrives with supplies to English in Haddingtoun, 24.  
Pans, the. See Prestonpans.  
Panter. See Ross.  
Parris, William (called "French Paris"), meets Bothwell, who was in coat of mail, before Darnley's murder, 83; they strangle the King, 84; particulars of this murder, *ib.*, 85, 86; Bothwell's mock trial, *ib.*, 87.  
Peebles, Darnley spends a winter there, apart from the Queen's society, 75; Regent Murray there, after getting submission of border barons, 106.

Pell, Ensign, taken by Scots at Northumberland's raid, 33.  
Persey, Sir Harrie, invades borders with Marshall of Berwick, 33; Bothwell invades the English border, routes him, and takes Captains Edrintoun and Ker, &c. prisoners, *ib.*, 34.  
Perth, Regent Arran and the Cardinal persecute Protestants, 14; progress of Reformation there, 15; provost (Ruthven) refuses to interfere in matters of religion, even at command of Queen Regent, 37; after a sermon by John Knox, the people demolish all the monasteries and churches, 38; Queen Regent creates new magistrates, &c. 39; returns to Stirling, 40; Lords take Perth, 41; their followers sack and destroy churches, &c. *ib.*; Queen Mary returns from Perth to Edinburgh, 70; Convention under Regent Murray, 115.  
Pernihurst, Laird of. See Ker.  
PHILLIP II., KING OF SPAIN (husband of Mary Queen of England), 30.

- Pierrie, an actor at Darnley's murder, 84. See Darnley.
- Pinkie-field, overthrow of the Scots army, 19, 20, 21; 360 widows after that battle, in Edinburgh alone, 21.
- Pitcairne, Mr Robert, Abbot of Dumfermline, goes to York with Regent Murray to conference with Queen Elizabeth's commissioners as to Mary, 107 to 113; is sent to Elizabeth as to Mary's projected divorce from Bothwell and marriage to Duke of Norfolk, 117; he returns, 119; Norfolk imprisoned, and Mary more closely confined, *ib.*; returns from a new embassy to Elizabeth, 128; is appointed Secretary of State in room of Lethingtoun, 129; goes as assessor with Mortoun to Queen Elizabeth, 131; returns, 134.
- Pitcur, Laird of. See Haliburtonne.
- Plate, cupboard of, presented to Mary Queen of Scots, 56.
- Pleasance, Edinburgh, 135.
- Pore, the, 1; abjuration first proposed by Knox, 52; his authority abolished by first parliament under Regent Murray, 100.
- Prestoun of Craigmillar, Simon, Provost of Edinburgh, 71; captain of Dunbar castle, and receives Queen and Darnley on their flight from Holyrood, 78.
- Prestonpans, Hartford's army encamp at, 19; English army and Lords of Congregation encamp there, 48; they advance to the siege of Leith, &c., 49.
- Privileges of Scotsmen in France, and Frenchmen in Scotland, confirmed, after Mary's marriage to Dauphin, 32.
- Propynes to Mary Queen of Scots, 56.

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- RAMBEVEULT, Monsieur de, brings order of St Michael from King of France to King Henry, 73; his installation, *ib.*
- Ramsay, Alexander, ensign, is the first to enter castle of Dumbarton when it was taken, 132; —captain, 135.
- Random, Monsieur, 49.
- Randell (Randolph), Mr, the English ambassador, 73; supplies Confederate Lords in England with money, *ib.*; is sent home, *ib.*; was in Scotland when Regent Murray was murdered, 121; goes to England in consequence, *ib.*; returns to Edinburgh with a new commission, 122; seeks redress for Buckleuch's injuries done to Borders, *ib.*
- Ratliff (Ratcliffe), Captain, is slain at Paisley, 20.
- Readers, Knox proposes a new class of Clergy called, 52; their salaries, *ib.*
- Regalia, Coronation of Mary Queen of Scots, 5; delivered up by Arran, 28; Dauphin demands them in virtue of his marriage with Queen Mary, 33; is refused, *ib.*; Argyle and Murray appointed to carry them to France, 35; they refuse, *ib.*; coronation of James VI., 99; Lennox demands them from captain of Edinburgh castle, 129; who refuses them, *ib.*
- Reformation of Religion, 14; persecution of Protestants, *ib.*; its progress, 15; Wishart burnt, *ib.*; is renewed, 26; Convention by Lords of the Congregation, 34; sign a Bond and take up arms, *ib.*; pray Queen Regent for free profession of their religion, &c. *ib.*; Queen Elizabeth encourages the Scots Reformers, 36; convention at Stirling, *ib.*; they present Confession of Faith to Queen Regent, 37; destruction of Churches, Abbeys, &c. 38; at Perth, *ib.*; Couper, *ib.*; Crail, 40; St Andrews, *ib.*; Scoone, Stirling, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh, 41; the Queen's party and Lords of Congregation take to the fields, 38; Holyrood-house attacked, and all the furniture taken by Reformers, 42; a French bishop and three doctors of the Sorbonne arrive to dispute with Reformers, 43; aid of England solicited, *ib.*; the Duke and Arran join Con-



gregation, *ib.*; money sent from England intercepted, 45; they choose leaders, *ib.*; Secretary Maitland joins them, 46; they are worsted and march to Stirling, *ib.*; part of their force sent to Glasgow, the rest to Fife, 47; League with Queen Elizabeth, *ib.*; English forces arrive, 48; meeting at Perth, *ib.*; Lords meet at Dalkeith, *ib.*; army advances from Prestonpans, *ib.*; Leith besieged, *ib.*; death of Q. Regent, 50; treaty with England, *ib.*; they send to Francis and Mary with Articles for their signature, 51; death of Francis II. *ib.*; their Envoy returns, 52; convention of the nobility, *ib.*; Knox presents a Confession of Faith, &c. *ib.*; subscribed and sworn to, *ib.*; send Lord James to France to the Queen to confirm this, 53; she allows a new convention, *ib.*; proceedings there, 55; Queen Mary openly challenged for celebrating mass, &c. 59; Archbishop of St Andrews, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Prior of Whithorn, imprisoned for saying mass, 67; break up Queen's wardrobe in search of mass-cloths, &c. *ib.*; objections to Queen marrying Darnley, 68; Confederate Lords take field against King and Queen, 71; at Glasgow, *ib.*; Paisley, *ib.*; Murray offers to treat, *ib.*; and retires with army by Hamiltoun to Edinburgh, and thence to Dumfries, 72; King and Queen advance by Stirling, Fife, and Edinburgh, to Dumfries, with their army, *ib.*; Lords retire to England, *ib.*; they are invited home by Darnley and his party, 76; Bond signed to recall banished Lords, to kill Riccio, &c. *ib.*; his murder, *ib.*, 77; banished Lords appear after the panic following Riccio's murder, and take instruments of their compearance, 78; Murray refuses to guard the Queen, *ib.*; she flies with King to Dunbar, but soon returns, *ib.*; Chapel Royal at Holyrood defaced by Glencairn, 97; convention at Stirling, 99; James VI. crowned, *ib.*; Knox preaches the sermon, *ib.*; Morton and Home on part of King swear to maintain Reformed religion, *ib.*; it is formally established by parliament, 100. See Lennox. Murray.

Restalrig, Parson of, marries Queen Mary to Darnley, 70.  
 Riccio, David ("Rizius," or "Signior Davie"), Secretary to Mary Queen of Scots, 54; accused of too great intimacy with Queen, 69; seal given to him, without his affixing of which the King's writs not to be available, 74; Queen's attentions to him increased, 75; he has access to her bed-chamber at all hours, *ib.*; plot to cut him off, 76; his murder perpetrated, *ib.*, 77.  
 Richardsoun of Smetoune, Robert, Lord Ruthven supersedes him as Treasurer, 138.  
 Rippeth (Redpath), Andro, takes the Earl of Huntlie, 66; who dies "upon horsback in the throng," *ib.*  
 ROBERT BRUCE, KING, 111.  
 Robloch's wynd, Edinburgh, 83.  
 Robsone, Thomas, schoolmaster (once a Romish priest), 133.  
 Romanus, Julius, taken prisoner near Coldingham, and his Spaniards cut in pieces, 25.  
 Rongrave (Rhingrave), arrives with 3000 German troops, 23.  
 Ross, Bishop of (David Panter), sent from King of France to notify that Queen Dowager was to be Regent in Arran's room, 27; gets Abbatcy of Labloie in Poitiers for this service, *ib.*; (Henry Sinclair) one of Mary's council of twelve, 60; (John Lesly) forfeited by Lennox's parliament at Stirling, 139;—Earl of. See Henry;—Lord, one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, 87; at Langside in Mary's army, 102.  
 Rothes, Earl of (George), at Perth, 14; imprisoned by Arran, 15; freed, *ib.*; his son Norman murders Cardinal Beatoun, 16; objections against his being with the army, 18; one of the Commissioners at Mary's marriage in Paris, 32; wrecked at Boulogne roads, and saved by a fisher boat, *ib.*; dies of poison in his return, 33; (Andrew), 52; joins Confederate Lords against the Queen, 71; one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, 87; on Mary's side at Langside, 102; banished for three years, 105.



Rothsay, Duke of. See Henry.  
 Rough, Mr John, Minister, 16.  
 Roxburgh, English build a fort after the battle of Pinky, 21.  
 Rubie, Monsieur, gets office of Chancellor, 29. See Mary.  
 Ruthven, Lord, Provost of Perth, 15; embraces Reformation, opposes Cardinal Beaton, and is deprived, *ib.*; refuses Queen Regent's mandate to suppress Reformation in Perth, 37; a leader of the Congregation, 45; plots to

foment jealousies between King and Queen, 75; undertakes Riccio's murder, 76; directs the rest, *ib.*; sits down in the Queen's presence, and calls for a drink, 77; dies at Newcastle in May following, 78; ( ) at Langside against Queen Mary, 102; marches to Brechin with the Regent's forces, 129, 130; at Regent Lennox's parliament in Canongate, 136; appointed Treasurer, 138; at Lennox's parliament in Stirling, 139;—Master of, at Riccio's murder, 76.

## S.

SADLER, Sir Ralph (Governor of Berwick), ambassador, 3; demands Mary in marriage with Prince Edward, *ib.*; supposed to have bribed Huntley, and occasioned defeat of Scots at Pinky, 21; sends 4000 crowns to Lords of Congregation, 45; taken by Queen Regent, *ib.*; a commissioner for Queen Elizabeth at conference in York, as to Queen Mary, 107; proceedings there and in London, *ib.* to 113.  
 Sanddands of Calder, James (Knight of Rhodes), and Weems of that Ilk, are deputed to remonstrate with Queen Regent against tax for permanent garrisons on the Borders, 30; plan abandoned, *ib.*; again he petitions her in name of the Congregation, 34; his bold address to Queen Regent, 35; is sent to France by the Congregation, to get Francis and Mary's signature, 51; death of the King, *ib.*; he returns, 52.  
 Sands, Andro, of Leith, surprises two French ships, 48.  
 Sanquhar, Queen Mary halts there the night of her flight from Langside. See Mary;—Lord, in Mary's army at field of Langside, 103; promises obedience to Regent Murray's authority, 105; castle of Crawford taken, *ib.*  
 Savoy, Duke of, sends embassy on Prince James's baptism, 81.  
 Scone, churches, ornaments, and ancient monuments, &c. destroyed by Reformers, 41.

Scot of Buccleugh, Sir Walter, 12; breaks over English border and spoils the country, 120; Queen Elizabeth demands redress, 122; his property ravaged by the Earl of Sussex, 126; forfeited by Lennox's parliament at Stirling, 139; at taking of Stirling, 140; his men begin to plunder, and thereby alarm given, and the town is retaken by Morton, and Buccleuch prisoner, 141.  
 Scott, James, Sheriff-depute of Perth, at Riccio's murder, 76; is hanged and quartered, 78.  
 Scotsmen in France, their privileges confirmed, after Mary's marriage to Dauphin, 33.  
 Scroop, Lord, English Warden, seizes Queen Mary, and confines her in Carlisle castle, 104; meets with Regent Murray during his expedition to get submission from the Border barons, after Langside, 106; is ready on West Border to co-operate with army under Sussex, in aid of young King, 125; his unsuccessful attempts, 127; retires with loss to Carlisle, *ib.*  
 Seal, the Great, bestowed by Queen Regent on Strozzi, Prior of Capua, 29.  
 Seatoun, place of, 3; Mary and Darnley there, 78; Queen retires there after Darnley's murder, 85; returns to Edinburgh, *ib.*; Queen there, 92, 93;—Lord (George, Provost of Edinburgh), one of the commissioners at Mary's marriage in Paris, 32, 55; waits on Mary Queen of Scots, on her and Darnley's flight

- to Dunbar after Riccio's murder, 78; joins the Queen and Bothwell at Dunbar, after they had escaped in disguise from Borthwick, 92; surrender at Carberrie-hill, and Queen carried to Lochleven, 93, 94, 95; he was the only person privy to plot for Mary's escape from Lochleven, 101; carries her to Hamilton, *ib.*; is at Langside, 102; and is made prisoner, 103; at Edinburgh, with Queen's friends, 135.
- Sebastiane. See Brown.
- Sebastius, a Savoyard, killed by Laird of Grange with 50 of his men, &c. 47.
- Semple, Lord, at Langside against Queen Mary, 102; taken prisoner and delivered to Duke of Hamilton, 128; detained a year prisoner in Argyle, *ib.*; his house of Paisley taken from his servants by Lord Claud Hamilton, 131; retaken by Regent and captain hanged, *ib.*; he finds caution and is liberated, 138; at Lennox's parliament in Stirling, 139; gets keeping of Hamilton palace, *ib.*;—Master of, prisoner at Pinky, 21.
- Shelbie, Captain, slain at Pinky, 20.
- Shetland, rents of, renounced by Huntley, 28, 29; Bothwell commits piracy there, and in Orkney, 96; retreats to Denmark, is made prisoner, and dies in wretchedness, *ib.*
- Shreusburie, Earl of, Queen Mary under his custody, 119.
- Silver casket belonging to Queen Mary, 95; sent for by Bothwell, *ib.*; it is delivered by Sir James Balfour to his messenger, *ib.*; is seized by Confederate Lords, 96; its contents, *ib.*; on evidence of these letters between Mary and Bothwell, her death voted by many, 100; parliament order her imprisonment, *ib.*
- Sinclair, Mr Henry. See Bishop of Ross;—Mr John, Parson of Restalrig, marries Queen Mary and Darnley, 70.
- Single Combat. See Challenge.
- Slogan, "a Darnley!" Regent Lennox's warcy, 132.
- Solway, river of, English army cross, 17.
- Somerset, Duke of (Protector), 19; Huntley challenges him to single combat, to prevent general engagement of Scots and English armies, 21; refused by the Protector, *ib.*
- Somervell, Lord, in Queen's army at Langside, 102.
- Sorbonne, three doctors of the, arrive to dispute with the Reformers, 43.
- Spencer (Spens) of Wormestoun. See Wormestoun.
- St Andrews, Wishart imprisoned there, 15; burnt for heresy, *ib.*; castle fortified by Cardinal, 16; his murder, *ib.*; Arran besieges the castle for three months, 17; his army disbanded, *ib.*; the garrison's outrages, *ib.*; French army batters the castle, 18; capitulation, *ib.*; defeat of English who had landed in Fife, 24; Lords of Congregation consult there, 39; Reformers destroy Monasteries, Churches, &c. 40; Q. Mary there, 63; convention under Regent Murray, 114, 115; Nick Niven, a witch, burnt, *ib.*;—Archbishop of, John Hammiltoun, Abbot of Paisley (natural son of Arran), presented to this see, 17; the chapter elects James Beattoun Archbishop of Glasgow (but he was not confirmed), *ib.*; complaints against Arran and his son, 26; the Archbishop's licentiousness, *ib.*, 28; convened before Council for saying mass, 67; baptizes Prince James "with all the Catholick ceremonies," 81; takes refuge in Edinburgh castle, 92; Sir James Balfour allows him to escape, *ib.*; Regent Murray murdered in Linlithgow, from a house belonging to Archbishop, 120, 121; at Linlithgow with his followers, during convention of the King's party in Edinburgh, 123; taken in castle of Dumbarton, 132; sent to Stirling and hanged, 133; forfeited at parliament in Canongate, 136;—Prior of. See Lord James. Murray.
- St Andrew's day, Mary Queen of Scots challenged for having mass performed on, 59.
- St Columb's-isle (St Colm), English fortify it after the battle of Pinky, 21.
- St Ebb's-head, French forces land there, 18.
- St Germaines, Queen Mary received there, previous to her marriage to Dauphin of France, 24.
- St Giles, Church of, Edinburgh, destroyed by

- Reformers, 41, 61; Regent Murray buried there, 121; steeple fortified by Kirkaldy, 134.
- St John, Lord, at Lennox's parliament at Stirling, 139.
- St John's clachan, Regent Murray's army march there, 105; Kenmuir castle razed to the ground, 106.
- St Johnstone. See Perth.
- St Michael, Huntly created a knight of that order, 27; order sent to Darnley, 73; his investiture, *ib.*
- St Monans, English land in Fife, but are repulsed, with loss of 600 killed and 100 prisoners, 24; 500 more killed at Montrose, *ib.*
- Stanehouse, Laird of. See Bannatyne. Hamiltoun.
- Stanley, Sir William, servant to King Henry (Darnley), 78; present after birth of King James VI., 79; singular interview between King and Queen on that occasion, *ib.*
- Sterling (Skirling?) house of, taken by Regent Murray, 105.
- Stewart, Mr William, servant to the Queen, slain at siege of Haddingtoun, 25.
- Stirling, the young Queen carried there, 5; Parliament at, *ib.*; Leunox professes Roman Catholic faith there, *ib.*; arrival of Monsieur de Lorgis, 14; nobility meet for security of Queen, 22; convention for confirming Mary of Guise's Regency, &c., 28; convention as to Religion, 36; Queen Regent returns, 40; levies an army, and marches to Couper, *ib.*; Churches, &c. destroyed by Reformers, 41; Lords march thither, 46; Lord Findlater escapes from ward, 64; King and Queen march thither, 72; then to Fife, Edinburgh, and Dumfries, against confederate Lords, *ib.*; Convention, 99; James VI. crowned, *ib.*, 112; convention held there after Regent Murray's return from London, 113; Regent proposes to try Lethingtoun, 117; this is waived, 118; proposal for convention there after Regent's murder, 123; Marr there on his march to relieve Glasgow, 127; cannon sent to batter castle of Hammiltoun, which was utterly ruined, 128; Regent receives report of Morton's embassy, 134; returns to Leith, 137; a parliament held by Regent, 139; remarkable taking of town, with Regent and all his party, 140; retaken and Queen's friends defeated, 141;—George, captain of Dumbarton castle, 10.
- Strabogie, Earl of Huntlie's seat, 64.
- Strait-bow of Edinburgh, 56.
- Strozzi, Leon de, prior of Capua, arrives with French forces, 18; batters castle of St Andrews, *ib.*; castle capitulates, *ib.*; returns to France with Queen Dowager, 27; she makes him keeper of the Great Seal, 29.
- Stuart. See Lord James. Murray;—Lord Robert, commendator of Holyrood, &c., 45; accompanies Murray to London as to Queen Mary, 107 to 113. See Orkney.
- Superintendants of the Kirk, John Knox proposes their appointment, 52; their salaries, *ib.* See Reformation.
- Sussex, Earl of, with twelve ships invades the North Isles; lands at Cantyre, and burns the country, 34; sails to Lamhish, and returns by coast of Ireland, *ib.*; sent with an army, in aid of young King's interests, after Murray's murder, 125; intercepts letters to Elizabeth from Mary's party, and sends copies to King's supporters, *ib.*; advances and destroys lands, &c. of Queen's party, 126; returns to Berwick, *ib.*; Lennox sends envoys to treat of matters of state, 129.
- Sutherland, George, Earl of, goes to France with Q. Dowager, 27; joins with Huntlie in his conspiracy against Mary Queen of Scots and Murray, 65; his letters intercepted, *ib.*; he escapes, *ib.*; forfeited in parliament, 67; is recalled from Flanders by Mary before her marriage to Darnley, 69; and is restored to estates and honours, *ib.*; at Lennox's parliament in Stirling, 139.
- Swintoun, Scots repulsed there, and booty carried off by Percy, &c., 33.

## T

TAMTALLON, castle of, taken from Mortoune, and given to Atholl, 73.

Tay, passes of, guarded by Ruthven, &c., 105.

Taylor, William, servant to Darnley, murdered along with his master, 84; narrative of the murder, *ib.*, 85, 86, 87.

Terregles, Mary Queen of Scots halts, for a few days, at Lord Herries's house, after her flight from Langside, 103; embarks at a creek near Dundrennan, and lands at Cockermouth, *ib.*; sends Lord Herries to London, *ib.*; Lord Scroop takes her prisoner, and confines her to Carlisle castle, 104; Terregles saved by stratagem of Drumlanrig, 106.

Teviotdail, laid waste by Evers, &c., 11; Regent Murray's raid there, 118; Earl of Sussex ravages lands belonging to Queen Mary's party, 126.

Thermes, Monsieur de, arrives from France, and supersedes Monsieur D'Esse, 25; his

exploits, *ib.*, 26; the town of Haddingtoun set fire to by the English, and they retreat, *ib.*; de Thermes and the French return to France, *ib.*

Third of Church-lands bestowed by the Romish Clergy on Mary Queen of Scots, 61.

Throckmortoune, Sir Nicholas, ambassador from Elizabeth, 70.

Tolbooth of Edinburgh, new, founded, 61.

Trabroune, Laird of, in Mary's army at Langside, and taken prisoner, 103.

Traquair, Laird of, Captain of Queen's Guard, 76; privy to Riccio's murder, *ib.*

Trawling, village of, sacked by Earl of Sussex, 126.

Trent, Council of, 52.

Tullibardin. See Murray.

Tweed, 12.

Tilt, Henry II. King of France, killed by Earl of Montgomery at a tournament, 42.

## U

URR, river of, several gentlemen submit to Regent Murray there, 106.

Uchiltrie. See Ochiltree.

## V

VALENTIA, Bishop of (in Savoy), 49.

Vane, Henry, hurt, 19.

Verat (Verack or Virac), Monsieur de, is sent from France to encourage Queen's party, 124;

arrives at Dumbarton, *ib.*; is taken on the capture of the castle, 132; put in prison, but afterwards dismissed, 133.

Vottan. See Wotton.

## W

WIGHTOUNE (Wauchtoune), Laird of, joins the Queen and Bothwell, before defeat at Carberrie-hill, 92.

WALES, PRINCE of (afterwards Edward VI.), proposal of marriage with Mary Queen of Scots, 2, 3.

- Wardie, castle of, English land there for invasion of Edinburgh and Leith, &c., 8, 9.
- Wark, castle of, besieged by French, 13; again by French under M. de Osell, 31.
- Warwick, Earl of, disperses Northumberland's and Westmoreland's forces, 118.
- Wedderburne, retaken from the English by Arran, 13;—(Wetherburn), Laird of, joins Queen and Bothwell before her surrender at Carberrie-hill, 92; is sent by Regent Murray to procure Lochinvar's submission, 105.
- Weems, Captain, lands at Dundee from Denmark, 136; part of his troops taken, 137; the rest reach Dalkeith, *ib.*;—Laird of (of that ilk), prisoner at Pinky, 21; remonstrates with Queen Regent as to an obnoxious tax, 30.
- Westmoreland, Earl of, raises commotion in North of England, 118; crosses Borders to Scotland, but escapes, *ib.*
- West-port of Edinburgh, Mary Queen of Scots enters by, 56; pageants, &c., *ib.*, 57.
- Wharton, Lord, English Lieutenant, and Lennox, are deceived by Master of Maxwell, 22; who routs English army, 23; he hangs fourteen pledges, *ib.*
- Whitehall, palace of, 2.
- Whithorne, Prior of, sent to Dumbarton Castle prisoner for saying mass, 67.
- Whittinghame, Laird of. See Douglas.
- Wilsone, Patrick, an actor at Darnley's murder, 84.
- Wishart, Mr George, imprisoned for religion, 15; burnt, *ib.*
- Wotton, Nicholas, Dean of York, 49. See Elizabeth.
- Wormestoun, Laird of, Captain David Spencer (Spens), of the Queen's party, 138; encounters a party, takes Drumlanrig, and wounds Apilgarth, *ib.*; recaptures a valuable prize arrived from France with arms and munition at Queensferry, *ib.*; is at surprise of Stirling, where Regent and all his party taken, 140; town alarmed and is retaken, 141; the Laird is taken prisoner by Regent in person, *ib.*

## Y

- YARE, Henrie, a "revolted priest," at Riccio's murder, 76; is hanged and quartered, 78.
- Yester, Lord, taken prisoner at battle of Pinky, 20; joins Queen and Bothwell at Dunbar, previous to her surrender at Carberrie Hill, 92; was also at the field of Langside in Queen Mary's army, 102.
- York, Commissioners meet there, and afterwards in London, to treat of Queen Mary's claims, 106 to 113;—Dean of. See Wotton.















