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THE
BANNATYNE MISCELLANY;
CONTAINING
ORIGINAL PAPERS AND TRACTS,
CHIEFLY RELATING TO THE
HISTORY AND LITERATURE
OF SCOTLAND.

VOLUME I.



PRINTED AT EDINBURGH:

M.DCCC.XXVII.

AT a Meeting of the Committee of Management of the BANNATYNE
CLUB, held at Edinburgh, in the House of the PRESIDENT,
on the 4th day of July 1823,

Resolved, That a Work, to be entitled THE BANNATYNE MISCELLANY, containing a COLLECTION of TRACTS AND ORIGINAL PAPERS, RELATIVE TO THE HISTORY, LITERATURE, AND ANTIQUITIES OF SCOTLAND, be printed in successive parts or numbers, under the joint superintendence of the PRESIDENT and SECRETARY; and that Members be invited to communicate such original papers and documents in their possession, as may appear to be peculiarly suited to this Work.

DAVID LAING, Secretary.



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M.DCCC.XXIII.—M.DCCC.XXVII.

A PROPOSAL
FOR UNITING SCOTLAND WITH ENGLAND,
ADDRESSED TO KING HENRY VIII.
BY JOHN ELDER, CLERKE,
A REDDSHANKE.

PART FIRST.

A

THE introduction of the Reformation into England, soon spread the Protestant doctrine in the neighbouring kingdom ; and to such as embraced it, the authority of James V., who, for want of political knowledge and education amongst the nobility, was unhappily compelled to govern chiefly by the counsels of the churchmen of the old faith, became peculiarly obnoxious. These ministers became still more odious during the regency of Mary of Guise. We have in the following treatise, the project of an union betwixt England and Scotland, addressed to Henry VIII., who is therein counselled to invade his deceased nephew's kingdom, and is assured of conquest by aid of the disaffected Highland chiefs, who are represented as so many " true hearts," devoted to the King of England, from learning his beneficence towards the Irish, who resembled them in language and manners. The scheme was as wild as treasonable, for the time was long past since the Reguli of the Hebrides and of Lorne had affected independence of the Scottish crown, and made treaties with England in their own name. The policy of Robert Bruce, and his successors, in settling the Argyle and Gordon families, as well as others connected with the Lowlands, in the Highland districts, had long since ruined the great sept of Macdougall, and divided and disunited that of Macdonald ;

nor did there exist any other clan of strength sufficient, if so minded, to have raised the banner of rebellion against the Scottish king.

This tract, which is printed from an original manuscript in the British Museum,¹ forms a sort of introduction to a Plot, or Plan of Scotland, setting forth the strength and weakness of the kingdom, for information of the English Monarch. The author, who proposed to get rid of Popery by sacrificing the independence of his country, was John Elder, a native, as he says, of Caithness, and a clergyman who had studied at the Universities of Saint Andrews, Aberdeen, and Glasgow, for twelve years, and was now, probably on account of his religious profession, an exile in England.

The Plot, or Description of Scotland, to which this treatise served as a preface, is not now known to exist; nor, indeed, any other of the author's works,² except a little volume of very uncommon rarity, entitled "*The Copie of a Letter sent in to Scotlande*."³ In this cu-

¹ Bibl. Reg. MSS. 18 A. 38, 17 leaves in 4to.

² Occasional notices concerning Elder, occur in our bibliographical writers; which it may be sufficient in this place merely to indicate to the curious reader where they are to be found:—BALEI Script. illustr. Maj. Brit. etc. *Basil*. 1557, fol. xii. 75, p. 95. PITSEUS de Rebus Anglicis, *Paris*. 1619, 4to. p. 866. DEMPSTERI Historia Eccles. Gentis Scotorum, *Bonon*. 1627, 4to. p. 92. TANNERI Bibl. Britannica, *Lond*. 1748. fol. p. 24, and likewise at p. 58 of the same work.

³ The full title of this tract is here copied from Herbert's edition of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, vol. I. p. 563.—"The Copie of a letter sent in to Scotlande, of the arival and landyng, and moste noble marryage of the moste Illustre Prynce Philippe, Prynce of Spaine, to the most excellent princes Marye Queene of England, solemnised in the Citie of Winchester: and howe he was receyued and installed at Windsore, and of his triumphyng entries in the noble Citie of London. ¶ Wherunto, is added a brefe ouerture or openyng of the legation of

rious tract is described the reception of Prince Philip of Spain, and an interesting account is given of the pageants and ceremonies used on occasion of his marriage with Mary, Queen of England. This letter is directed to Lord Robert Stuart, Bishop of Caithness, brother to the Earl of Lennox. It appears that Elder was at that time tutor to Lord Darnley. At the end of the letter, he says that he sends some verses and adages, written with the hand of "the Lorde Henrie Stuart, Lord Darnley, your nephew, I being with him then at Temple Newcome, in Yorkshire;" and, continuing in praise of his young and noble pupil, as likely to prove "a witty, virtuous, and an active well-learned gentleman,—whose noble parents (he adds) are my singular good patrons." Nor is it to be concealed that the author, who, in addressing Henry VIII., expressed such a violent antipathy against the Popish clergy, had accommodated his sentiments too readily to existing circumstances, having uniformly avoided, as he says, to give offence on *either* side. In the opinion

the most reuerende father in God Lorde Cardinall Poole, from the Sea Apostolyke of Rome, with the substaunce of his oracyon to the kyng and Quene's Magestie, for the reconcilment of the Realme of Englande to the vnite of the Catholyke church. With the very copye also of the supplication exhibited to their highnesses by the three Estates assembled in the parliamente. Wherein they representing the whole body of the Realme and dominions of the same, haue submitted themselves to the Pope's Holynesse." In small 8vo, black letter, contains F. in eights. It is said to be "Imprinted in Flete Strette, by John Waylande," no date, but apparently in 1555.

This letter is directed "to the ryght reuerend Father in God lord Robert Stuarde, Bishoppe of Cathenes, prouost of Dumbritane Colledge in Scotland."—From the citie London the 1st of January, 1555. By your Reuerende Lordeshippes humble oratour, John Elder."

of Anthony Wood,⁴ it is uncertain whether the author of this letter was the individual of the name of Elder who was incorporated in the University of Oxford, July 30, 1561.

The following letter to Henry VIII., contains some curious information regarding the Highlanders, and a minute account of the mode in which they acquired amongst their neighbours the name of Redshanks, from making buskins of the deer's hide. In other respects, Elder shews considerable ignorance, as when he confuses the two distinct nations of Scots and Picts. The crouching and flattering style which he uses to Henry, corresponds with the sentiments of an author who was desirous of laying the honour and independence of his native country at the foot of the English monarch. It is true, that like a Scottish faction of the period, Elder assumes that this conquest was only to be made in consequence of an union betwixt Prince Edward and the young Queen of Scotland.

Conjugium vocat—hoc prætexit nomine culpam.

⁴ He is simply styled, "one Elder."—Fasti Oxoniensis, I. 90. ;—new edit. p. 159.

To the moost Noble, Victorious, and Redoubted Prynce,
HENRY the Eight, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Irland Kynge, Defender of the Christen Faithe, and in erth next vnto God, of the Churche of England and Irland Supreme hed, JOHNE ELDAR Clerk a Reddshank, wisseth all wealth, all honour, and triumphant victory ouer all his enymies.

ALBEIT that fere, for laick of leirnyng and witt (moost high, excellent, and myghtie Prynce,) oftentimes persuadid me to withdraw my pene, from writting vnto your noble Grace: Yeit, neuer the les, perceaving emonges other thinges, in what miserable estate the realme of Scotland is presently in, for neid of a wyse gouernour, syns the soden death of our noble Prynce Kynge James the Fyfte, your Maiesties nephew, laite Kynge of the same, now after his decease, being reuled as it was in his tyme, be the advyse of the Cardinall, associatt with proud papisticall buschops, which euer allured our said noble Prynce in his daies, with their fals, flatteringe, and jugglinge boxes, from the naturall inclinacion, and loue, which he ought vnto your Maiestie, his moost myghtie and naturall Vncle. Consideringe also what ease and quiettnes, what wealth and ryches we shulde haue

in Scotland in few yeaes, yf now after our said noble Kynges decease, Prynce Edowarde, whom God preserue, your Maiesties naturall sonne and heare of the noble empyr of England, shuld, as he shall by the grace of God, marye our younge Queyne of Scotland; by reason whereof, the forsaid buscheps, which be the Dewils conuocation, and the father of mischeif, Dauid Beton ther cardinall, with Beelzebubs flesmongers, the abbotes and all ther adherentes, beinge quyte expulsed and drywyne away, boithe the realmes of England and of Scotland may be joynede in one; and so your noble Maiestie for to be superiour and kynge. Furthermore, knowinge what trew faithfull hartes the moost part of the commons of Scotland, (yf they durst speke,) beyound the watir of Forth, haue to your highnes, and wold hartly and glaidly so continew, yf the said pestiferous Cardinall, and his blynd ignoraunt busschops, with certane other wylde, fals, craftie bores, which haue drunkeyne the Frence kynges wyne, and taistide of his cwps, plainge leger de mane (as they say) with boithe haundes, wer tyied vp in ropis and halters. Moreouer, heringe and seinge what loue and fauour the valiaunt Yrishe lordes of Scotland, other wayes callid the Reddshankes, (excepte the Erll of Argyll, which is ravisshide onelye from the opinioun of the rest, be the Cardinall and his busscheps, becaus he is nourisshed and brought vp in ther bosomes, and lvis vnder ther wynges,) beris vnto your said Maiestie, of whois princely magnanimitie, Salomonick wysdome and sapience, and heroicall humanitie and beneuolence, now syns the death of our said lord naturall and Kynge, is euer ther communication, and euer ther reasonynge: Sene they heire and vnderstand, how

mercifully, how graciously, and how liberally your noble Grace haith vsed, orderide, and dealide with the lordes of Irland ther nyghbournes, which haue continewid so many yeares rebellis ; perdonyng and forgyvving theame ther offences and trespasses ; creatinge of theame, some erlis, some lordes, and some barons ; rewardinge theame more lyke princis then erlis and lordis, with gold, siluer, and riches ; and sending theame home agane with gorgious indumentis, and riche apparell. Also, perceavinge what sedicion and variance, what dissension and insurreccions, what theifte and extorcions, what dearth and misery, what pryde and hypocrisy, what invye and haterat we shall haue in Scotland, so long as this miserable, wretched Cardinall and his busscheps reagnethe and reulithe emonge ws ther, without your Highnes, by the prouision of God, hunt and drywe theame shortly fourth of the same with fyre and swerde : I can no les do, then offer this plotte of the realme of Scotland vnto your excellent Maiestie, wherein your Highnes shall perceaue and se, not onely the description of all the notable townes, castels, and abbeis ther set fourthe, and situat in ther propir places, as they stand in euery countie and schyre, withe the situacion of all the principall yles marched with the same, callid Orknay and Schetland, and of the out yles, commonly namede the Sky and the Lewys : but also your noble Grace shall se the cost of the same, the dangers lying therby, with euery port, ryver, loigh, creke, and haven ther, so truely drawyn and set fourthe as my poore witt and lernynge can vtter and discerne. Which plotte, I haue not maide by relacion of others ; but in so moche (and pleas your Highnes) that I was borne in Caitnes, which is the northe part of the

saide plotte, marched with the East yles of the same, callid Orknay ; educatt, and brought vp, not onely in the West yles of the same plotte, namede the Sky and the Lewis, wher I haue bene often tymes with my frendis, in ther longe galeis, arrywing to dyvers and syndrie places in Scotland, wher they had a do : but also, beinge a scholer and a student in the southe partis of it, callid Sanctandrois, Abirdene, and Glasgw, for the space of XIIth yeares, wher I haue travailde, aswell by see as by the land, dyuers tymes ; by reason whereof, knowinge all the notable places ther euery wher, with ther lordis and masters names, and from thens vnto the said countreth wher I was borne, I am the bolder (pardon cravide) to offer the saide plotte vnto your excellent Maiestie ;—wherein, becaus it bicommes not me, a wretche destitute of all good lernynge and eloquence, to interturbe your noble Grace with theis my rude, barbourous, and fessious lettres, in declaringe of the forsaide plotte in this litle boke, I haue written the principal erlis and lordis names in Scotlande, annext to ther common habitacion and duellinge place in the same ; with a breif declaracion of all the ryvers, loighis, and havens ther also, to the intent your noble Maiestie may perceauē, se, and reide the same ther, without any farther investigacion. And fforsomoche, and pleas your Grace, that I haue written the names of all the Yrische lordes of Scotland, commonly callit the Reddshanckes, and by historiographouris, Pietis ; joynede also to ther cuntreth and duellinge places, I will, be your Maiesties pardon, writ somethinge of theame heir, whois names, because they be Yrishe, and soundis not well to be interprete in Englis, I will declair theame to your Grace in Latyne.

Therfor, if it pleas your excellent Maiestie, Scotland, a part of your Highnes empyre of England, bifer the incummyng of Albanactus, Brutus secound sonne, was inhabitede, as we reide in auncient Yrische storeis, with gyauntes and wylde people, without ordour, ciuilitie, or maners, and spake none other language but Yrische, and was then called Eyryn veagg, that is to say, little Irland ; and the people wer callit Eyrynyghe, that is to say, Irlande men. But after the iucummyng of Albanactus, he reducyng theame to ordour and ciuilitie, they changed the forsaid name, Eyryn veagg, and callid it Albon, Albon, Scotland, Albonyghe, and their owne names also, and callid theame Albonyghe ; which too Scottis men, drywyne from Albanactus. Yrische wordes, Albon, that is to say, Scotland, and Albonyghe, that is to say, Scottische men, be drywyne from Albanactus, our first gouernour and kynge. Which diriuacion (and like your Highnes) the papistical, curside spiritualitie of Scotland, will not heir in no maner of wyse, nor confesse that euer such a kynge, namede Albanactus, reagnede ther. The which dirivacion, all the Yrische men of Scotland, which be the auncient stoke, can not, nor will not denye. For as Sanctus Columba, a Pict and a busshep, who in preching of Goddis worde syncerly in Eyrische, in followinge of the holy apostlis in godlie imitacion, doctryne, and pouertie, excellid then, our proude Romische Cardinall and his bussheps now adaies in Scotlande, writethe in his monumentis of the same, we haue our names of Albanactus, and so haith Scotland also. But our said bussheps (and pleas your Grace) drywithe Scotland and theame selves, from a certane lady, namede Scota, which (as they alledge) come out of Egipte, Scotland (as the bussheps alleage) drywyne from Scota. a maraculous hote cuntreth, to recreatt hir self emonges theame in

the colde ayre of Scotland, which they can not afferme be no probable auncient author. Now, and pleas your excellent Maiestie, the said people whiche inhabitede Scotland afor the incummyng of the said Albanactus, (as I haue said,) beinge valiant, stronge, and courageous, although they wer savage and wilde, had strange names, as Morwhow .1. Mordachus; Gillecillum .1. Malcolmus; Donyll .1. Donaldus, and so fourth. Then ther sonnis followinge theame in manheid and valiauntnes, callide theame selves after this maner of wyse, leavinge ther propir names vnexpresside, Makconyll .1. filius Donaldi; Makgillecillum .1. filius Malcolmi, etc^r.:—and so they haue contenewide vnto this daye, and neuer expressis ther propir names, but whene they subseryue a lettir, as Donyll Mak Leode Lewis .1. Donaldus filius Ludouici de Levisia, etc^r. The Yrische lordis names in the saide plotte be theis, Mak Eoyn whanyghe .1. filius Joannis bellicos; Mak-kye .1. filius Hugonis; Mak Leode Lewis .1. filius Ludouici de Levisia; Mak Leode ne Harr .1. filius Ludouici de Hartha insula; Mak Yllcan .1. filius Kellani; Mak Kymmy .1. filius Kymmeci; Mak Kenny .1. filius Kennici; Mak Tossigh .1. filius Tossei; Mak Allan .1. filius Allani; Mak Neill Varray .1. filius Nigelli de Barra insula:—for Mak in Eyrische signifieth a sonne. Likewise your Maiesties subiectis, the lordes of Irland vnto this tyme, that your noble Grace haithe moost royally changede ther names, and creatide theame erlis and lordis, wer callide O Neill .1. nepos Nigelli; O Bren .1. nepos Bernardi; O Conwhir .1. nepos Conradi; a degre forthir of, then the Eyrische lordes in Scotland, bicaus the sonnis of the forsaide Neill, Bren, and Conwhir, and so of the

Wherfor the
Eyrische lordes
callis theame-
selves Makkis.

Wherfor in
Ireland they
called theame-
selves Oos.

rest, chancede not to be so valiaunt in manhede and chialre at the begynninge as ther ffathers, but ther nephiew. Therfor they wer callit O'Neill, O'Bren, O'Conwhir; omittinge also ther propir names, and pleas your Highnes, but when they subseruuede a lettir, as Ewwyn O'Neill .1. Eugenius nepos Nigelli; for O' in Eyrische signifiethe a nephew. Moreouer, wherfor they call ws in Scotland Reddshankes, and in your Graces dominion of England roghe footide Scottis, Pleas it your Maiestie to vnderstande, that we of all people can tollerat, suffir, and away best with colde, for boithe somer and wyntir, (excepte whene the froest is mooste vehemente,) goynge alwaies bair leggidde and bair footide, our delite and pleasure is not onely in hwntyng of redd deir, wolfes, foxes, and graies, wherof we abounde, and haue greate plentie, but also in rynninge, leapinge, swymmyng, shootyng, and thrawinge of dartis: therfor, in so moche as we vse and delite so to go alwaies, the tendir delicatt gentillmen of Scotland call ws Reddshankes. And agayne in wynter, whene the froest is mooste vehement (as I haue saide) which we can not suffir bair footide, so weill as snow, whiche can neuer hurt ws whene it cummes to our girdills, we go a hwntyng, and after that we haue slayne redd deir, we flaye of the skyne, bey and bey, and settinge of our bair foote on the insyde therof, for neide of cunnyng shoemakers, by your Graces pardon, we play the swtters; compasinge and mesuringe so moche therof, as shall retche vp to our ancklers, pryckynge the vpper part therof also with holis, that the water may repas when it entres, and stretchide vp with a stronge thwange of the same meitand aboute our saide ancklers, so, and pleas your noble Grace, we make our schoois:

Wherefore the
courtyours of
Scotland call
ws Redd-
shankis.

Wherefor in
England we
be callid
roghe-footide
Scottis.

Perones.
Verg. Æned. 7º.

Therfor, we vsinge suche maner of schoois, the roghe hairie syde outward, in your Graces dominion of England, we be callit roghe footide Scottis; which maner of schoois (and pleas your Highnes) in Latyne be called perones, wherof the poete Virgill makis mencion, sayinge, That the olde auncient Latyns in tyme of warrs vside suche maner of schoos. And although a greate sorte of ws Reddshankes go after this maner in our countrethe, ycit neuer the les, and pleas your Grace, whene we come to the courte (the Kinges grace our great master being alyve) waitinge on our Lordes and maisters, who also, for velvettis and silkis be right well araide, we haue as good garmentis as some of our fellowis whiche gyve attendaunce in the court euery daye. And howbeit the babilonically busscheps and the great courtiours of Scotland repute the forsaide Yrishe Lordes as wilde, rude, and barbourous people, brought vp (as they say) without lerninge and nourtour, ycit they passe theame a greate deale in faithe, and honestie, in policy and witt, in good ordour and ciuilitie; ffor wher the saide Yrishe Lordes promises faithe they keipe it truely, be holdinge vp of ther formest fyngar, and so will they not, withe ther sealis and subscripcions, the holy Euangel twichide. Therfor, and pleas your Highnes, like as the saide busscheps and ther adherentis repute ws rude and barbourous people, euen so do we esteme theame all, (as they be,) that is to say, ffals, flatteringe, fraudelent, subtile, and covetous. Your noble Grace hathe many good hartis emonges the forsaide Yrishe Lordes of Scotland, bicaus they vnderstand and heire how mercifully and how liberally (as I haue saide) your Highnes haith orderide the Lordes of Ireland. Therfor I haue written the

saide Yrische Lordes names of Scotlande in the saide plotte, as your Grace may perceauē and se; wherfor I moost humbly exhort your excellent Maiestie, of your royall humanitie and gentilnes, to accepte and pardon my good will therein; and wher I haue failide in my Cosmographie in drawing and settinge fourthe of the same, I shall not faille (willing God) in declaringe of all thinges therein containide, to any to whom your Highnes shall pleas to apoint me so to do. What plotte, truely, (and pleas your Grace) I haue drawene for that same porpas and intent, that your Royal Maiestie shall not onely se and perceauē the similitnde and ymage of the saide realme of Scotland in the same, which your Highnes haithē (all ambiguitie set apart) a thousand tymes bettir set fourthe, then my sclendir capacitie and witt is able to expres and declair heir: but also, yf thar be any thing in the saide plotte concerninge the land, wherein your Maiestie doubtis, and woll haue the treuthe of the same schawene and notifiedē to your excellent Grace, that I (yf your royall Maiestie pleas to accepte and allowe my good will therin) maye declair the same, (as I haue saide) so farr, by the helpe of God, as my knowledge and vnderstandinge will vtter and serue; wheron I shalbe alwayes, and pleas your noble Grace, redy with hart and hand to wait and gyue attendance. For suerly, (moost humbly beseechinge your Highnes heir of pardon) yf my dreade Soueraigne Lorde and Kinge, my liege Lorde, naturall and superiour, Kinge James the Fyfte, laite Kinge of Scotlande, and your Maiesties nephiew, wer alyve, whom soden deathe (allace,) haithē ravissede from ws for euermore; or yf he hade lefte ws a Prynce lawfully begotten of his body, in whom,

after his decese, our joye and comforte, our hope and felicitie, shulde haue bene affixt, I wolde in no maner of wise presume to shaw and declair the privities of Scotlande to no Prynce Christen. Therfor, in so moche as our saide noble Prynce (whom the Hewinly Kinge, I pray God the Father, superiour ouer all, mercifully receaue in his celestiall throne,) haith lefte ws (the Lorde be thanked) as chaunce is, a Prynces, whom your excellent Maiestie moost godly desyres for to be mariede with noble Prynce Edowarde, your Graces lawfull begotten sonne and heare of the empyre of England; by reason wherof, hypocrisy and supersticioun abolissede, and the Frence Kinge cleane pluckt out of our hartis, England and Scotland, and the posteritie of both, may liue for euer in peax, loue, and amitie; which godly porpas and desire beinge contrariede by a sortie of Papist preistis, according to their accustomed falshede and disceite, which allured not onely our noble Prince in his daies from your Maiestie, whom his Grace vndoubtedly louede aboue all Pryncis mortall in his hart; and hath provide so, yf the said traiterous preistis had not bene allwaies roundinge in his Graces eyris, which, as often as his Highnes porposede a metinge with your Maiestie, seduced and blindide him with ther boxis; as often as he intendide to repair to your Grace, causide invasions and roddis; and as often as he wolde speke of your Highnes, allectide him with armonie, fables, and songes: but also now, by ther presumpeion, intendeth to drounde all Scotland in bloude, I can no les do, by Goddis law, mannis law, and all humanitie, then invent, declair, expres, notifie, labour, and studie for that thing vn-to your excellent Maiestie, (whom all honest stomakes in Scotland,

presumpcion and arrogancy set asyde, shulde, with all ther hartis, loue for our noble Pryncis sake) whiche myght bringe the forsaid traiterous preistis of Scotland, if it wer possible, to mischeif and vttir ruyne : ffor ther is no people, and pleas your Grace, in no region in Europe, so perturbed, so molestide, so vexide, and so vtterly opprest withe bussheps, monckes, Rome-rykers, and preistis, and euir haue bene, a cardinal, a carlis-birde, a common-cluner, and a hen-kyller, sometymes in France, now beinge ther capitane, as they which inhabite the realme of Scotland ; and so shall contenewe, without your Highnes, (who haith moost iuste caus and quarell, euery thinge considerit syns the reagne of your Maiesties nephiew, vnto this daye, to invade theame) by the help and assistance of God, hwnt, drywe, and smoyke the forsaide fals papisticall foxis, with all ther partakers, out of ther cavis, with bowis, billis, fyre, and swerde. At the which hwntinge, wold God that I and euery haire in my head (I meane faithfully without any dissimulacion, I take God to recorde) wer a man with your noble Grace, havinge, as poetis feane, if it wer possible, Hercules strength and fortitude to owerthrow and wressell with the saide Cardinall and his chaplans ; Hectours manhede and chialrie to fyght withe the fals, wylde, craftie boris, whiche have plaide bo peip withe bothe haundes ; and, finally, Achilles subtiltie and witt, to invent gurnis and traps for the fals bussheps of Scotland and all ther adherentis.

I keipe your Highnes to longe with my barbourous and rude talke, wherfor, mooste noble Prynce (pardon cravide) I will make an end, moost humbly exhortinge your excellent Maiestie to pardon and

accepte the forsaide plotte in gre, and not to regarde the rudenes thereof, but rather the faithfulness of me, your Maiesties poore oratour; and for so moche as I know myself vnmeite to do any bodely seruice condigne to so noble and excellent a Prynce; yeit, at the least, I shall gyve vnto your excellent Maiestie the thing which, as well the feble as the stronge may gyve, that is to say, hartie prayers to Almyghtie God for the longe preseruacion of so mercifull, so faithfull, and so gentill a Kynge, to the settinge fourthe of his wordes to the comforte and joye of all thoise which loue your Highnes, and to the destruction and vtter ruine of our high presumptuous Scottis Cardinall, his bussheps, and ther partakers, and death of all ther pryde and popery. Amen.

*Your afaire/respone
faithfull and hartie
oratour.*

*So your olden, certis,
a Redd Banocke.*

THE PROGRESS
OF THE REGENT OF SCOTLAND,
WITH CERTAIN OF HIS NOBILITY,
JUNE M.D.LXVIII.

PART FIRST.

C

[COMMUNICATED BY THOMAS THOMSON, ESQ.]

THE following pages contain an account of the active and energetic measures pursued by the Regent Murray against the Lords Herries, Maxwell, Fleming, and other chiefs of the Queen's party, which had been recently defeated at the battle of Langsyde.

In a collection of Original Letters recently purchased by the curators of the Advocates' Library, there is one from Sir William Drury to the Earl of Leicester, dated at Berwick, July 1, 1568, which had unquestionably formed the envelope of the copy from which this account of the Regent's Progress has been printed. They have been since restored to their original connection, and are now deposited together in the Advocates' Library. The Letter is as follows :—

“ My dutie remembred unto your L. Being loth to lett flipp overmuch tyme without remembring your L. I have at this presente appoynted theis advertizementis of Therle of Murreys maner of proceedingis in his last jorney, to performe some part of my dutie unto the same ; praying your L. to accept as the tyme serveth : And

when anie thinke of woorthie preferment happeneth, I fall not fayle to guide unto your L. And so praying God ever to kepe the same in all happenes, I humbly take my leave ; ffrom Barwick, this first July, 1568.

your L. humble assured,

at commandment,

WILL^M. DRURY."

" To the right honorable and my very good
Lord the Erle of Lecestre, Maister of the
Quenis Majesties horffe and of hir Privy
Counsell."

It appears from the Rev. Mathew Crawford's collections,¹ that another copy of this paper, (endorsed with Cecil's hand, " xi Junij 1568,—The Regent of Scotland's Progresse,") has been preserved in the State Paper office. The two copies differ chiefly in minute particulars of orthography, not necessary to be specified.

¹ MS. Advocates' Library, W. 2. 21. fol. 223.

THE PROGRESSE OF THE REGENT OF SCOTLAND, WITH
CERTEN OF HIS NOBILITIE, BEGYNNING THE XIth OF
JUNE, ANNO 1568.

IN primis the xviiijth daye of Maye, anno 1568, the Regent of Scotland made a proclamation, that the Shires of Mernis, Angus, Fyf, Merse, Lowdyan, Kyll, and Carycke shold provyde xv^{ten} dayes victuallis, and to meete hym the xth daye of June in Begger, to ryde in the sowthwest of Scotlande, for punyshinge of dysobedyent persons and theves.

The xjth daye of June, the Regent of Scotlande, with certen of his nobilitie, marched furth of Edenborough, and that night come to Begger, where they receaued the castle of Boghall, perteyninge to my Lord Flemynge; they had cast that downe, but these reasons stopped them: First, he was in England, and at that present could gett no worde to them; Secondly, he had the castle of Dumbarton in his hande, whiche they were in hope to receave, they sparinge his place. The armye jorneyed this daye xx myles.

The xijth daye, the Regent caused cast downe the castle and place of Skyrlyng, a notable buyldinge, vpon this consideracion, that others might heare and feare.¹ And that night he marched forward to a

¹ Skirling was treated with this severity, in all probability, because its owner, James Cockburn, was married to a sister of the Lady Herries.

place called Crawford John, perteyninge to Sir James Hamylton, and receaued the castle therof, but cast it not downe because they hadde the man in their owne handis. They jorneyed this daye x myles.

The xiiijth daye of June, they marched to Sawcher [Sancher,²] and laye there all night, but cast not downe my Lords place, because he hath made a promysse to come in to the Regent to Edenborough at a daye, and sewertie found therefore. They jorneyed that daye xij myles.

The xiiijth daye they marched forward to a valley called barbarusle the holme of Dawherny [Dalquherne,] where they remayned all the night, and toke some goodis there. This daye they sende the Lard of Wedderburne to the Larde of Lowinvar [Lochinvar,] to desyre hym to come in, who all vtterly refused. After they sende hym offers, that if he wold come in, and laye a pledge at Michelmas nexte, that they wold do hym no injurie; and yf there were any change of courtis betwene this and that tyme, that he should be at his advantage without reprofe; but all their offers were refused by hym. This daye they jorneyed xij myles.

The xvth daye they marched to a place called St John's clawan, [clachan,³] and remayned there, two myles from Lowinvar place, in hope of incommynge, for they wold not haue destroyed his place if they could haue gotten any appointment of hym; but this night my Ladye Herry's wrote to hym not to go in to the Regent, and shewed

² Sanquhair—belonging to Lord Sanquhair, ancestor of the Earls of Dumfries.

³ Saint John's Clachan, or Saint John's Church.

hym that her husbande⁴ wold gett supporte; the which lettre was a great stoppe to his incommynge. They jorneyed this daye x myles.

The xvijth daye they marched to Lowtkayn [Loch Ken,] foranent Kenmvre. In the morninge there appeared about lx men vpon an hill syde, but enterprysed nothinge. This daye the place of Kenmvre was destroyed and cast downe, and another proper place, also an ffreindis of Lowinvaris. They jorneyed this daye two myles.

The xvijth daye they come to the water of Vr, to a gentlemans place, called Makneth, [Macnaught of Kilquhonnetie,] and remayned, where diuerse gentlemen come in and gaue obedyence, and were receaued thankfully. This daye they jorneyd viij myles.

The xvijth daye they marched toward Dumfreis, and in marching forwardis toke certen robbers and villanes, and hanged. They jorneyd this daye xiiij myles.

The xixth daye they remayned in Dumfreis, and the castle therof was offred them, which apperteyneth to my Lord Maxewell. This daye sondrye of the Maxewellis, Johnstouns, Vrwins, Grahames, and Belis, come to the Regent, and offred them selves, and was thankfully receaved: for the Maxewellis, come in the goodman of Hillis;⁵ for certen of the Johnstons, the Larde of Newbe; for the Grahames, Forgus the Grahame; for the Vrwins, Kirstie of Bonshawe,⁶ &c. My Lorde Maxewell, the Lorde of Johnston, Cowhill, Lowinvar,

⁴ The Master of Maxwell, created Lord Herries, eminent for his loyalty to the unfortunate Mary, was at this time in England on her behalf.

⁵ A strong castle, now ruinous, about three miles from Dumfries, belonging formerly to the Lords Maxwell, now to Mr Maculloch of Ardwell.

⁶ Christopher Irving, of Bonshaw.

with them the number of a thowsande men, was in Dumfreis two dayes before, and spent all the meate and drinke that was readye, as also consulted what was best to be done agaynst the Regentis comynge. Yt was thought that my Lord Maxewell shold haue come in, yf Cowhill, Johnston, and Lowinvar had not stopped hym, and conselled hym to the contrarye. They jorneyed this daye xiiij myles.

The xxth daye they marched toward Hoddome, a place of my Lord Harrys,⁷ the which was maynteyned by men of warre agaynst the Regent on Harrys behalfe, and was a stronge forte.⁸ This night they helde it, and shott many shott of greate ordynance furth of the place, and slewe one horse and man. This night the broken countries and theves gathered to the number of a thowsande men, and brake a chase after some of our men that was goynge furth of the campe; the whiche when the Regentis men perceyved, sende furth a chase after them, and toke two or three, and one of them was the Lord Johnstons father brother. They laye within halfe a myle of the campe. This daye they jorneyed x myles.

The xxjth daye the house was geuen over to the Regent, the

⁷ When the Regent was at Dumfries, he gave orders to pull down the house of Terreglis, the family mansion of Lord Herries; "but the Laird of Drumlanrig, who was Lord Herries's uncle, and in favour with the Regent, told that Lord Herries would take it as a favour to ease him of pains in throwing it down himself, to be built in another place. The Regent swore, he scorned to be a barrow-man to his old walls, and so it was safe."—*Abridgement of the Scottish History*, by LORD HERRIES, MS. 1656. In this MS., Hoddam Castle is said to have held out for three days.

⁸ Hoddam Castle is still entire and habitable, being the beautiful residence of General Sharpe. The arms of the Herries's, being three hedge-hogs, were carved above the stair-case, but are now destroyed.

which they might haue holden longe ynoughe, yf they had ben good fellows within it: and vpon this condicion only, that the men shold haue their lyves, and no more; all bagge and baggesse to remayne in yt; and yt was delyuered to the Lord of Dumlanarige to kepe, who is appointed Warden in those partis of Scotlande foranest Englande. This daye my Lorde Regent sende furth a thowsande men with my Lorde Hewme⁹ and Morton, to haue drawen a chase on the theves and rebellis, but they fledde, and wold not preike. This daye, as also of before and after, there was a greate hunger in the campe; for the Scottis pynte of wyne was at vij^s Scottyshe, and no breadde to be hadde. Some dyed for hunger in the campe. This daye and before, they burnt diuerse gentlemens places about, that wold not come in nor obeye.

The xxijth daye the campe remayned, but the Regent, with a thowsand horsemen went to Annan, and receyved the castle therof, and put one Edwarde Vrwyn to kepe yt; and there mett my Lorde Scroope of Englande, and talked with hym a longe while, and that night returned to the campe to Hoddome. They jorneyed this daye vj myles.

The xxiiijth daye they marched to Lowchmaben, and receyved the castle therof, and gaue yt to Drumlanarige; but some of the Maxewellis remayned in a crosse house or volt within, and toke the house

⁹ Although the Earl of Home attended the Regent on this expedition, he afterwards embraced the cause of the Queen. But the influence of Morton with Wedderburn and others kept most of the name of Hume (Ferdinand of Broomhouse excepted) on the King's side.

agayne, after the Regent was gone; and so they haue the house agayne.

That daye they receyved a place of the Larde of Johnston, called Lokat [Lochwood,] and another called Lowhouse [Lochhouse,¹⁰] but they cast them not downe, for he hath promysed to come in at a daye, and sewertie for the same founde. This daye, toke many cattell and furnyshed the campe. This night also they slew two of the thieves, by a shott of greate ordynance shott at threscore of them. This night they hanged one of the thieves that was taken in the campe stealinge horses. This night they laye at a place called Mylton Holme. Jornyed x myles.

The xxiiijth daye they come to Pebles, and remayned all night; and toke order with that countrie, for they come all in to the Regent. They jorneyed xxij myles.

The xxvth daye the Regent went to Edenboroughe, and the rest of the armye to their owne countrie and boundis. They jorneyed xij myles.

The number of the whole campe of horsemen in armour to fower thowsand; of harquebuzoiers and halbertmen one thowsand; of cariage horses with victuallis fower thowsand; ¹¹ of boyes and yonge men that kept horses three thowsand.

¹⁰ Lochwood, and Lochhouse, two strong castles belonging to the Johnstones, near Moffat. The former was the abode of Lord Johnstone himself, and being situated amongst woods, and in the middle of a morass, James VI. said, that "he who built it must have been a thief in his heart." According to the continuator of Holinshed, the two castles were "utterly spoiled and committed to the fire," by the Earl of Morton, Warden of the West Marches, in 1583.

¹¹ The great disproportion between the fighting men and their attendants is worth observing.

The Countries the Regent passed through.

In primis, he passed through Cliddisdaill ; secondly, through Gal-lawaye ; thirdly, through Nyddisdaill ; ffourthly, through Annerdaill ; ffyftely, through Tweddell.

The Order of his Armye.

Fyrst, Alexander Hewme of Manderston and Huton Hall went before all the armye a myle, with a cornett of two hundred men, and they were appointed to skewre the feildis.

Then followed them the vauntergarde, to witt, Hewme and Morton, with a thowsande men and mo.

Nexte after them came the caryage, and behinde the caryage the Regent selfe, with the rest of the armye ; and behinde the Regent went the Larde of Cesfourde, with a cornett and a companye with hym. At euery side of the armye there went a cornett, to wete, on th' one side, the Lardis of the Marshe, on the other syde, the Larde of Buckclewghe.¹²

THUS ENDES THE PROGRESSE AND ORDER.

¹² Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh is shortly afterwards found among the keen adherents of Queen Mary. Probably his near relation to Morton, whose niece he had married, or perhaps some clan quarrel with the Maxwells, brought him forward on this occasion.

AN ACCOUNT
OF A PRETENDED CONFERENCE
HELD BY THE REGENT, EARL OF MURRAY,
WITH THE LORD LINDSAY AND OTHERS ;
JANUARY, MD.LXX.

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IN the year 1568, when the talents and character of James Stuart, Earl of Murray, then Regent of Scotland, were considered as the chief obstacle to the re-establishment of Queen Mary, her partizans resorted to a literary fraud, in order to diminish his interest among the people, by representing that it was his object, and that of his principal followers, to dethrone the young King, and to usurp the royal seat and dignity, as he already possessed the real authority, of the monarch. This remarkable paper, which was entitled, "Ane Advertisement sent from the Court to a Friend of my Lordis," was not circulated till after the Regent's death, either because that event had anticipated the publication, or because it had been reserved for such a crisis by the author, or authors, who probably had a shrewd guess that the close of Murray's life was approaching.

"At this time," says the learned biographer of John Knox, "there was handed about a fabricated account of a pretended conference, held by the late Regent with Lord Lindsay, Wishart of Pitarrow, the tutor of Pitcur, James M'Gill, and Knox; in which they were represented as advising him to set aside the young King, and to place the crown on his own head. The modes of expression peculiar to each of the persons, were carefully imitated in the speeches put into their mouths, to give it the greater air of credibility. The evident design of circulating it at this time was to lessen the odium of the murder, and the veneration of the people for the memory of Murray ;

but it was universally regarded as an impudent and gross forgery. The person who fabricated it was Thomas Maitland, a young man of talents, but corrupted by his brother, the Secretary, who before this had engaged himself to the Queen's party, and was suspected of having a deep hand in the plot for assassinating the Regent."¹

This curious dialogue is now printed for the first time, from a Manuscript of the Journal kept by Richard Bannatyne, secretary to John Knox, preserved in the Library of the College of Edinburgh, which contains a more perfect copy of that interesting work than the manuscript used by John Graham Dalyell, Esq. in his printed edition. Another copy of it, somewhat modernized, is inserted in Calderwood's Manuscript History of the Church of Scotland. After collating these, some obscurities still remain in the text, arising probably from the errors of transcribers.

The Dialogue is introduced into Bannatyne's Journal in the following terms :—"Immediatlie efter the murther, thair was a buik set fourth in forme of a letter, conteaning a counsall gevin be the Lord Lindsay, the laird of Pitarrow, Johne Knox, Mr Johne Wood, the tutor of Pitcure, and Mr James M'Gill. The wryter, or wryteris, (for it apeiris thair hes bene moe than aue,) laboures wonderfullie to counterfoute the countenance, the knowledge, and the affectiounes of sic as ar broght in to give counsall to the Regent. Bot the wryteris, Hamiltounes, Maitlandis, or vtheris of thair factione, they ar impudent liaris, or sones of the dewill."

At the conclusion of the dialogue, Bannatyne continues :—

¹ M'Crie's Life of Knox, Second Edition, vol. ii. p. 381.

“ Who was the devyser and inventare of this most fals, sclandrous, and dewilish lie against the Regent, it was not at that tyme publictlie knawin. Yit it was suspected to be some of the brether of the house of Lethingtoun; which was not far by: for afterwaridis, it was plainelie affirmed, that it wes inventit be Mr Thomas Maitland, the younger brother of that house; who, after, departit this life, gangand to Rome.

“ Dauid Forester, called the generall, gaue the copie heiroyf to Alice Sandilandis, Ladie Ormistoun, a litill efter the cuming abroad thereof, or with the first of thame, which he affirmed to be trew. But the gude and vertuous lady (quha wad beleive na sic thing) brocht the copie; ‘ and’ shoe gave it to Mr Knox, which quhen he sawe, and after shoe had requyred the treuth thairof at him, he said, ye sall knaw my ansuer afterwards. And so the nixt day, when he preached, he schew the effect thairof in pulpet; and declairit that the devile, the father of levis, wes the cheif inventer of that letter, quha euir was the penner thairof. And this was his ansuer to the said guid ladie, quha was not a litill reiosed, quhen shoe hard the same reproved oppinly in the pulpet, which was inventit to bring the guid Regent in hatred with the nobilitie and vtheris guid men. Thairfoir, for ansuer, it is said be the said Johne Knox, that the thingis be thame affirmed, and be vtheris beceived, ar als fals as God is true. And yit the Ducke eschames not to say, that he will gar men avow everie word in our faces.”—

“ To returne, quhairsoeuer the buik was forged, the Abbot of Kilwynning send it to my Lord Argyle, and he send it bak to the Erle of Mar, who delyuered it to his brother Alexander Erskine, who,

after the reiding thairof, said, heir ar the maist malicious lies that ever man invented ; and yit the man is a knawin Papist."

The substance of these remarks is repeated by Calderwood, who mentions that Knox, after rehearsing " the purpose of this letter or advertisement" from the pulpit, " threatened that the contriver should die in a strange land, where he should not have a friend near him to hold up his head. The author, Mr Thomas Maitland, Lethington's brother, (he adds,) was present and heard, and, going out at the kirk door, confessed to his sister, the Lady Trabrowne, that he had forged that letter. But, as the servant of God denounced, it came to pass, for he departed out of this life in Italy, while he was going to Rome."

It is scarcely necessary to add, that the pamphlet, which imputes to the Regent Murray, and those nearest to his councils, the most desperate purposes of making good their authority, by exercising the utmost rigour against all who did not come into their measures, and even, according to the advice put into Knox's mouth, by dethroning the King himself, was calculated ingeniously to do them the greatest prejudice with the public. A good deal of talent is shewn, as well as some humour, in suiting the speeches to the persons of the drama, and contrasting the military rudeness of Lindsay with the hypocritical cant ascribed to John Knox, and the worldly wisdom of Pitarrow and M'Gill. Although drawn in derision, or rather with the purpose of fraud and misrepresentation, the characters and language bear probably the same resemblance to the original, as the sketches of a caricaturist do to real portraits, and are therefore not without their value, when duly considered, as evidence of the temper and manners of the age.

THE COPIE OF ANE ADUERTEISMENT SENT FROM
THE COURT TO A FREIND OF MY LORDIS.

EFTER most heartlie commendatioune, I promised to aduertise yow of the proceedingis heir in court, principall as concerning my Lord your cousing. They will yow to vnderstand, that at this tyme thair is no hope of ony guid wayis; for, and this I know, nocht onlie by diuerse report of courteouris, and sa meikill as I can perceave myself be my Lord Regentis awin speaking, but also, be ane discourse of counsall haldin verie secretlie, whairinto I traist no man in this realme is previe, but thai which namelie wer called thairto, and I who was covered.

About foure dayis since, in this toun, my Lord Regent went in ane previe chalmer, and with him thir six persones: my Lord Lindsay, the Laird of Pittarrow, Mr Johne Woud, Johne Knox, Mr James M'Gill, and the Tutour of Pitcurre, which ar the men in the world he beleivis maist into. When thai war entered, he desyred thame to place thaimselues, for he wold reteane thame the space of thrie or four houris. It chanced that I was sleipand into ane bed within the cabinate, so weill hid that no man nicht perceave me; and efter I was waikned be the brute they maid at thair entrie, I mycht easilie heir

The Regent his
gidders.

everie word that thai spake. Then, first my Lord Regent sayis to thame, "I haue convened yow at this tyme, as the men of the world whome into I maist put my grittest confidence, and whome, I beleive, wald fainest haue my estaite standing,—to give me your faithful advise familiarlie, for my advancement and standing. Ye sie how monie lyis out from me; and monie that wer with me in the beginning of this actione, ar miscontent with my proceedingis; quhairfor, I wald desyre yow to declare to me your opinionones how I may best stand, and set foreward the purpose ye wot of." And after he had thus spokiu, he commanded my Lord Lindsay² to speike first—who said:

Lord Lindsay's
speiche.

"My Lord, ye know of ould that I was moir rashe than wyse. I can nocht giue yow a verie wyse counsall, but I loue yow weill aneughe. To be schort, quhat should ye do, bot vse counsall, which ye will never do; thairfor I think mony tymes the devill gart me mak yow Regent. My Lord, make us quite of thir Matchewillians and bangster lordis, that will circumvene yow with thair policie, and wraike yow with force. And when ye fall to thame, bourd 'not' with thame; ffor be Godis breid, give ye take thaim in mowes, I will gange

² The Lord Lindsay of the day, a fierce and ready warrior, seems to have partaken much of the genius of his ancestor mentioned by Pitscottie, who had great knowledge of the wars, but was otherwise of "rude and small ingine." His party appears, however, to have had considerable confidence in his personal prowess, of which he is here made to brag; for when the Earl of Bothwell, at Carberry Hill, refused the single combat offered by Kirkaldy of Grange, under pretext of inequality of rank, Lord Lindsay was the person selected to meet him, and the Earl of Morton upon that occasion is said by Godscroft to have made him a present of the sword with which his ancestor Belle-the-Cat slew Spens of Kilsplindie. He died 11th December, 1589.

to the Byiris and haike,³ as I did this last tyme at Striveling. Bot gar thame daunce heidles, and than ilke guidfellow may gat a lumpe of thair landis, which will gare them feght lyke swyne; and vthir men wilbe suire of the spange of thair taill. And give thair be ony stout kairle that will fight, set me till him, and ye sall sie that I sall give him ane targate and stotchard.⁴ And gif he be a hote man, I will lat him play him a while, syne take him a cupe darer,⁵ and he may die with gogeis⁶ as ye list. Gif we had this old craig⁷ in our handis, I wald lyke the materis the better. Ye knaw I will nocht

³ He would go to Byres, his estate in Fife, and idle away his time,—“*Haike*” signifying to play truant.

⁴ “*Stotchard*,” an offensive weapon, probably some kind of sword to be used with the target. The derivation is perhaps from the Italian *Straciare*, to slash or cut to pieces.

⁵ “*Cupe darer*,” coup-d’arrest, or coup-d’arriere, a fencing term. In Cald. MS. the passage stands thus, “And if he be a hot man, I will lett him play him awhile, and syne tak him a *cup darier*, and when the principals are past, ye may doe with the gogeis what ye list.”

⁶ “*Gogeis*.” Gouge, in old French, signifies a silly wench. Here it is applied to the other sex. The meaning seems to be, “and he (the Regent) may do (northern, die) with simple fools as he pleases, I having disposed of the forward and active combatants.”

⁷ “*The Auld Craig*,” mentioned in this and in a subsequent passage, is certainly the Bass, the ancient inheritance of the Lauders.—It had long been an object with the Kings of Scotland to obtain this very strong island, in which they at length succeeded, but not without much reluctance on the part of the original inheritors. It is said of James V., that when one of the Lauders had in due form made a resignation of his lands in order to obtain new infeftment, the King bid him pause, and consider whether, among all the Baronies of Scotland belonging to the Crown, he could not point out one which he would accept instead of this barren rock. The Laird paused, hesitated, scratched his head, but ended by saying, “In troth your Majesty maun e’en gie me *the Auld Craig* back again.”

speake Grainge,⁸ but let him ly thair, while the principalis be dispatched. Than give him ane heill waige:⁹ bot yit, I thinke to be evin with him for taking the Erle of Rothes part aganis me."

Ye will nocht beleive quhen he pat on his bonat, how grit a lauchter was in the hous. And syne my Lord Regent sayis, "Yea weill, Sirs, for all his raschnes in speiking, he kenis weill ynoughe wherat he wald be." And than thai swore all with ane voice, "The devill speid thame but my Lord hath spoken weill."

Johne Knox. Nixt my Lord Regent caused Johne Knox to speike; who, luiking up to the heaving, as gif he had bene begynand a prayer befor the sermont, (for be ane hole, I micht behold thair countenances, and so sie what thai did;) and efter he had keipit silence a guid space, he begynis with a stuir and brocken voice,¹⁰ and sayis, "I praise my God grittumlie that hes hard my prayer, which often tymes I powreth furth befor the throne of his Majestie, in angwise of my hart, and that hes made his evangell to be preached with so notabill a succes, vndir so waike instrumentis; which, indeid, could neuer bene done, except your grace had bene constitute a member over his church, especiallie endewit with sic ane singular and ardent affectione to obey the will of God and voice of his ministeris. In respect whereof, I embrace, as the servand of God, your grace's guid will, and zeal to the promotioun of Godis glorie, as Johne Knox favoris your grace

⁸ The celebrated Kirkaldy of Grange was already beginning to fall off from the Regent's party, and there was art in representing him as an object of secret malevolence on the part of Murray and Lindsay.

⁹ "*Heill-wage*,"—qu. Heitt-wage? It may signify hail wage,—not half years's wage.

¹⁰ This is a striking description of Knox's external manner.

better then ony man vpoun the face of the earth. Now, to explane to your grace, my judgment concerning your awin standing, which being sa convenient with the standing and establishing of the churche; yea, seing the weillfair of Godis kirke so dependis vpoun your grace, that ye circumvenit, it is nocht abill to endure ony long tyme: whairfoir it seimes to me necessar, both for the honour of God, the comfort of the poure bretherin, and vtilitie of this commone weill, that first your grace, nixt your estait, be preservit in a qualitie of tyme, and nocht to prescryve ane certane dyate, of xv or xvij yeiris, leuing more to the observatioun of publict lawis, then to the commone probatioune of eternall God. As I could neuer away with thair jolie wittis and polytick braines, which my lord Lindsay callis Matchvellis discipilis;¹¹ swa wald I wische thai war out of the way, gif it wer possibill. And I trust suirlye, give first your grace, and syne the nobilitie of that confederatioune had passit to work with als grit magnanimitie, as I vttered my judgment simplie and assuiredlie in my sermondis, made expresslie for that purpose, the mater had bene farder advanced, nor it is, or salbe this long tyme, gif God send nocht better succes, nor my sorrowful hart persauies. Sicklike, thame of the nobilitie that wold hinder your grace's pretence, thought thai semid nocht so in the eyes of the blind world, I have preiched opinlie, and yit daylie craves of God, that thai may be confoundit with that wicked woman, whome to thai cleave so obstinatlie; and that thair posteritie may drinke of the cupe prepared for the judgment and pu-

¹¹ An allusion to Secretary Maitland, to whom the name of Machiavel is often assigned in Bannatyne's Journal and elsewhere.

nissment of thair childrene. Heirin I agrie with my lord Lindsay, that spake immediatlie befor : böt me think to establishe true religion, to obtaine this, I say, we man haue a farder respect and consideratione than this : ' that is'—That the government be established in your persone sa lang as ye live, ffor when this bairne, whome we call now King, shal come to age, dois ony man think that he will leive all royall insolence, and suffer himself to be rewled according to the simplicitie of the evangell ? What guid hope can we haue of the child, borne of sic parentis ? I will nocht speike of the suspitione may be concerning the man that was killed ; but thocht he be his, whois he is called, what can we luik for, but, as it wer, the heritage of the slaines lychness, and the motheris iniquitie ? Gif John Knox counsall be followed, the estaite of the evangell and professouris thair of shall neuer be gevin ouer to such, be hasarde. Better it is to content with our selues, with him in whose majestie we haue guid experience, both in wealthe and truble, then to change frae the gravitic of ane aiged rewler, to the intemperancie of ane vnbridled childe. Your grace hes persavit how my blast of the trumpet against the regiment of weimen, is approved of all the godlie. I haue written in lyk manner, and hes it reddie for the printing, a bouke, whairin I prove by sufficient reasones, that all kingis, princes, and rewleris, goes not be successione ; and that birth hes no power to promote, nor bastardry to seclude men from government. This will waikin vtheris to pance moir deiply vpoun the matter. Besydis this, we shall set fourth ane act, in the Generall Assemblie, and bayth I and the rest of the bretherin shall ratifie the samyn, in our daylie sermondis, till that it be

moir than sufficientlie perswadid to the peipill. This beand solempnedlie done, the buik of God opened and laid befor the nobilitie, who will say the contrare, except he that will nocht feir the wechtie hand of the magistrat stryking with the sword, and the censure of the church, rejecting him as the scabbit scheip from the rest of the floke, be excommunicatioun? This shall also serue, in eventure the King departit this lyfe, as we are all mortall, to keip us fourth of the handis of Lennox and Hammiltoun, whois imperfectiones are both notorious. Then, your grace being thus advanced be God, we doubt nothing but ye sall be thankfull, in punishing but pitie all that displeases the church, and provyde that the servandis of God be honorable entreated¹² with ane portione of this commone wealth, according to thair calling." And so he held his peace.

Then my Lord Regent said, "Ye know I was neuer ambitious, *Regentis answer.* that I will nocht oppone myself to the will of God, revealed be yow, which ar his trew minister; but Johne, heir ye, tell your opinione in ye pulpit!"—Which, when he had promised so to do, the Laird of Pittarrow¹³ was desyred to speik, who said:—

"Sir, and it pleis your grace, that which your brother, Mr Knox, *Pettarro.* hes spoken, hes euer bene my opinione; ffor, to be plane, vnless ye

¹² 'Be honorable entertained.' *Cald. MS.*

¹³ Sir John Wishart of Pitarrow, comptroller of the modification of the stipends of the clergy. He was, according to Sir John Scott, "a small friend to the ministers, anent their stipends, being more careful to make up his own house than to furnish them bread." (*Staggering State*, p. 144.) His character in this respect was so notorious, that it became a common saying, "The gude laird of Petarro was an earnest professor of Christ, but the mekill devil receive the comptroller."

be so weill heaft in the authoritie that ye can nocht be taken fourth of it, I can nocht see how this commoun wealth can stand. But for bringing this matter to pas, besydis the furtherance that standis in the ministeris hands, ye man haue some vthir respect : that is, that ye have the strenthis in your handis. Stirling is weill, so long as ye and my Lord of Mar agries so weill together as ye doe :—bot I wald wis the King wer in your awin handis, ffor your grace knowis, quhat guyding my Ladie hes of your vnle ; and ye know whois sister shoe is. Edinburgh, (sayis he, hyme, hyme, shakand his heid,) it wer better that both the housses wer in your brotheris handis, with the plenishing thair of, or some vther that loues yow weill as your brother dois. To get Dumbartan, I wald nocht stik for geir ; and albeit I shuld giv als meikill as Sir James Balfour¹⁴ gat. Ane kyng seikand treasone may find land. And ye list ye may ay get your hand beyond my Lord Flemyng. I heir say my Lord of Mortone¹⁵ is trafficquen to get the house of the Bass, which gif he dois, he will stope some

¹⁴ Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, President of the Court of Session, had been appointed Deputy Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh, and was accessory to its being rendered up to the Earl of Morton, for which he received the lands of Strathkinnes and Ballone. (Scott's Stagg. State, p. 117.) Although a party in all the different factions of his time, he contrived to escape the fate which his treacherous and iniquitous practices justly entitled him to have received. During the regency of Morton, he was said to be his head and chief adviser ; but afterwards he appeared against him at his trial, and was instrumental to his accusation and condemnation. Well was it said of him, '*that he could wag as the buss wagged*,' when it was to serve his purpose.

¹⁵ It is here and elsewhere intimated, that the interest of Morton was not united and identified with that of Murray.

devyses your grace knowis : and thairfoir, wer I in your graces steid, I sould be betwixt the kow and the corne. I tell yow that auld craig is ane guid starting hole : at the least, it will serue to keip thaim that ye wald be suir of ; and gif thair be ony vthir grit strenthis within this realme, I wald haue that, be some moyen, in my handis. Bot besydis the strenthis, ye mon haue respect to some grit housses, that will neuer lat yow come to honour, sua far as thai may : Sic as Hammiltoun, Lennox, Argyle, Huntlie, that perteanis¹⁶ to the Crowne ; and vther men that hes over grit power in this cuntrie, as Morton, Athole, Hereis, Home, Pherniherst, Lethingtoun, Sir James Balfour, Tulibarden, and diuers vtheris, whome your grace hes in ticket. This I wald ye handled, as it hes oftymes bene devysed."

Nixt him spake the Tutore of Pitcurre¹⁷ in this manner—" My Lord, when Hannibald past to conqueis Italie, he made him selfe starke with men of warre, whairvnto he gave wages. Scipio, when he past to Africa, and to destroy Carthage, did the lyke ; evin so, my Lord, giue your lordship will do weill, make your selfe starke with waged men, both on horse and foute, and so I thinke with some strangeris, ye may easilie conqueis this cuntrie."

Tutour of Pitcur
his speiche.

When he hes schortlie spoken to this effect, Mr John Woude¹⁸ be-

Johne Wood
his speiche.

¹⁶ That pretend to the crowne.—Cald. MS.

¹⁷ Mr James Halyburton, of the ancient family of Halyburton of Pitcur, provost of Dundee, and commendator of Pittenween. He was a zealous friend of the Regent, and continued steady in his opposition to the Queen's faction.

¹⁸ John Wood of Tilliedary, one of the Extraordinary Lords of Session, was Se-

gan and said—" My Lord, I trust my vprightnes in your seruice hes sufficientlie perswadit your grace, that I am no flatterer ; and in the vther part, addicted to no factione ; quhairthrow, both I will and may give your grace anc faithfull counsall for your behoufe, quhom I love inteirlic in my hart, both for your awin grace, guid natuire, and profite of the commoune wealth : ffor, in guid faith, as I haue said oftymes, 'gif I knew that thair wer ony vice into yow, I should neuer serue yow. I wrote long since, a long discourse, how ye should behalfe your selfe ; off the which I will remember yow at this present of a few heidis, in stead of my counsall. Senephone, in ane litill prettie buike, intitulat Cyripadia, writes that anc captane that desyris to vinqueis his enemics, shuld vse strenth, moyen, subtilitie, craft, deccit, leasingis, suith sayingis, oathes, liberalitie, and erweltie. This precept I wald your grace should note. Secondlie, I haue euer said, that this natione can nocht be dantoned be babisnes : Propone to your self the Duck d'Alues example. Ye man come in thair, and be bawld amonges thaim ; and that will gar thair hartis trumbill, and thair hair stand widdirshynes. Thridlie, the prince can neuer do ane notabill enterpryse, except he be right polyticke. Ye man haue anc factione bothe within the cuntrie and without, to repose 'upon.' And now to speik, how to put thir thingis in executioun. To speike of the last heid, the men ye ought to repose on, in Scotland,

cretary to the Earl of Murray, Regent. Sir James Melvill speaks of him as " a great ring-leader." Lesley, Bishop of Ross, informs us, that " within very few daies after [the death of the Regent, Jan. 1569-70,] his man, Mr John Wood, was also slaine in Fife." Anderson's Collections, vol. iii. p. 84.

ar the preceis protestantes and ministeris :¹⁹ ffor the nobilitie of thir be ane man, ar ane pack of fals greidie traytoris. Without the cuntrie, the Queine of England and Lady Caterenis factione : ffor quhat reckis yow, who bruik the croun of England, sua thai be your frends? I wold nocht ye shuld cast away your self, for conquessing of kingdomes to the Queines sone. It is meit also, to be confederat with the Princes of Almany, that ar of the religione ; and the King of Denmarke : and, or ye fail, lat some of Scotland or Orknay slip with him, for ye get nocht meikle profit of it. The best way to get siluer, is to caus the kingis rentis be lifted be a faithfull man to your behuise. I can nocht tell quhair ye will get one better nor my fathir, the Laird of Pittarow. Nixt, gar tak all the benefices to the croun, ffor why shuld these idle belleis briuke these rowmes, in the kirkes name? And give the ministeris the thrid, and hald the twa part to yourself. The kirklandis that ar sellit,²⁰ make yow to reduce thame all ; ffor that way, ye sall haue the whole fewis in your owin hands ; or get grit sowmes of money, in compositioun. And syne of thir noblemen that hes offendit, and riche burges carles, lat non pas without debursing of siluer. And I traist, and ye behaife your self wyselic, ye may get everie yeir some litill pot of wyne²¹ out of England, to pay your men of weir. Feid France with fair wordis,

¹⁹ This sentence in Cald. MS. reads, "To speak of the last head, the men ye are to repose on in Scotland, are the precise protestants, for the nobility and their bands of men, are a pack of false greedy traitors."

²⁰ That ar fewit. Cald. MS.

²¹ Some small supply of money like the gratuity given to servants or the like, to buy them a pot of wine, as we would now say a pot of beer.

and luike alsmeikill to the Admirallis factione²² as ye may. As for the nobilitie, ye sie they ar divydit in tuo pairtis ; some ar grit men and puissant ; some ar feble and gogeis : Off the one sort ar thay that my father the Laird of Pittarrow hes reckned, and the rest that your grace hes in bills. Lat thea childer want the heidis ; which sall both make yow quite of thair cumber, (*quia mortui non mordent*,) and sall caus vtheris stand in awc. Make the simpill band a connyen-hous, and gar thame pay euerie yeir ane guid tribute. Moirover ye most change all the offices, both of Court and Sessionne ; and vther-wayis, in the cuntreis ; impute men of thair your creationne. Feid the simpill with fair wordis ; boast the faint-harted ; dispatche the men of spreitis ; and make ane new forme in this cuntrie. As for the strenthis, my father hes spoken weill ellis. But I man speike this ane word, concerning the Laird of Grange. To trap him, caus Alexander Clerke, Mr Knox, Daud Murray, and vtheris of his acquaintance, both wryte and say, he is evill spoken of throw the cuntrie, for lying out from your grace, and that can nocht stand with his honour ; and able he will give credite : which give he doe, and get him out in your hands, ye know quhat is devysed. I neid to speik no farder. Gif ye will know vtheris thingis in speciall, tak the paine to reid my discours once agane ; and I sall come the morrow, to your rysing, and explane it poynt by poynt, that ye may be the moir resolute."

²² The Admiral Coligny, the great patron of the Protestants in France, who suffered in the barbarous massacre of St Bartholomew's, by orders of Charles IX. and Katherine de Medicis.

And after he had done, my Lord Regent sayis—"Now, Clerk of Register, lat me heir yow; becaus ye ar ane wylie child, we keipit yow to speike hindmest; so speake plainelie, ffor sorrow a body heiris us, bot our selues, nor yit sall heir."—Bot I thocht, sorrow fall yow, and God saue me that lyis heir, and heiris weill aneughe all that is spoken.

Then the Clerk Register²³ said—"My Lord, I am ane ewill discoursare, but I wald speir ane questioune, Give ye wold saue zour awin lyfe and stait?"—"Yes," quod my Lord Regent.—"Then, my Lord, ye man put thame out of the way, that may, or hes desyre to hinder yow. The tyme hes bene, quhen I wald my Lord of Mortone had bene weill; bot now, sene he traistis vther men, or his awin fantasie, better than me, and rinnis nocht your course, let him pas amonges the leave; syne wyte the nifferraris. As to the strenthis, in guid faith ye man haue men of your awin impositioun. I grant, all thame that ar of Matchevelis doctrine will say, that thai haue done your grace guid seruice; but the Clerk Blair said, Nay, Matcheivell is ane ewill buik, and I wold he had bene brunt sewin yeir syne, that be thair and heir be guid yeir. Remember ye what the old Bischope of Dumblane said, in the yeir of God lvj, quhen I was commissioner at the bordour,²⁴ 'Princes sould nocht be 'windie,' quod Mr Henry.—Alace, in guid faith, he was a guid companion,

Mr James M'Gill
his speiche.

²³ James M'Gill, Clerk Register. He had been dismissed from office on account of his being concerned in the murder of Rizzio; but was restored in the year 1567.

²⁴ The commission alluded to was held for the settlement of Border matters, at the town of Dunse, in the summer, or rather autumn, of 1556. M'Gill, with

could haue tauld yow my mynd. Thay say thai haue money aganis yow. Weill, I am als auld as thir folkis, and hes seine the fashione of Scotland alsweill as ane vther: thoeth thai haue the tounge, I can tell the taill. Ye will get als mony to take your part, as the contrair wilbe against yow, and ane mae. Tak thair ane ansure, in a word."

The Regent his
ansuer.

When thai had all done, my Lord Regent said, "It was ane heauey burding that lay vpoun him, and that he wald vnderly the same als lang as he mycht, and depend vpoun thair counsallis allanerlie; prayand thame to aduerteis him quhene he keipit nocht all his kewis, for the thing thay spake he judged all to be trew."

Be this dayis taking, ye may judge what is meant. I can nocht write all that was spokken, bot this was the effect, sa far as I remember. Suirlye materis are euill guydet heir, and I can perceave nothing but grit crueltie, disceat, and dissolutioun. Suppose I beir a fair countenance, and hes ane ressonabill dres in court, I mislyke very sair the thingis I saw, and wald wische all the nobilitie knew that I know concerning thair awin wracke. I traist thay suld nocht be so arche to put remedie to their inconvenientis. Aduerteis, my Lord, your cousing of this, and desyre him to provyde for himself, for heir thair is nothing but geld him.—THUS FARE WEILL.

Richard Maitland of Lethington, and the *Bishop* of Dunblane, were Commissioners for Scotland. This was Bishop *William* Chisholm, who held the see from 1527 to about 1564, although he seems to be called *Henry* in the text. The meaning of the Bishop's apothegm seems very obscure, unless we interpret the word *windie* to mean *winding*, or crooked in politics, when the sense is obvious enough. The transcriber of Bannatyne's Journal has left out the word, which is supplied from Calderwood.

SINCE the publication of the first part of the present volume, we have been favoured, by the kindness of JAMES CHALMERS, Esq., London, with a minute and careful collation of the preceding sheets, with a copy of the Conference which is preserved among the Cottonian MSS. (Calig. B. ix. 172. fol. 326.)¹ in the British Museum. As the two copies differ in many respects, and as this pretended Conference is a paper of considerable interest, we shall insert the passages of the Museum MS. which contain the most material discrepancies with the printed text.

“ THE COPEY OF ANE BILL OF ADUERTEISMENT, SEND BE ANE FREIND OWT OF COURT TO ANE KYNISMAN OF THE ERLE OF ARGILLIS, THE X. OF DECEMBER, 1569, DISCLOSAND THE CONSALL OF SAX PERSONIS.”

Page 38.—LORD LYNDSEY'S SPEECH.

MY Lord, ye know of the ald that I was evir mair rashe nor wyfe. I can nocht giff yow ane verray wittie counfall, bot I luif yow weill aneughe. To be schort, quhat suld ye do, bot vfe counfall, quhilk ye did nevir yeit; thairfor, I think the devill cawfit men cheis yow to be ane Regent. Yet my Lord, mycht ye be quit of thir Machiwelliftes and thir bastard lordis, that will circumvein you with thair policie, and wrak yow with thair force, I wald have ane guid hoip of all materis. And quhen ye fall to thame, bourd not with thame: ffor be Godis breid, and I persave that, I will pass to the Byris and halk as I did the last tyme at your being in Streveling. Gif ye do will [weill?] gar thame dance heidles; and than ilk guid fellow may get ane lumpe of thair landis, quhilk will gar them fecht lyke swyne; and uthir men wilbe werer [beware] of the spang [or lath] of the taill. And gif thair be ony stout carle,

¹ It is signed *Finis Ha. Patersoun*, who may probably have been the transcriber.

set me till him, and I fall gif him ane callado with ane stokado. And gif he be ane het man, I fall lat him play him ane quhyle, and syne fall gif him, behind the hand, ane cowp de jarret, and lat him ly thair. And quhen the principallis ar this wayis dispeschit, ye may do with the gogie Lordis quhat yow list. And [gif] we had the auld Crage in our hands I wald lyk materis the bettir; bot ye knaw I will nocht speik aganis Grange; bot yet, I think I will be evryn with him, and gif him ane heill wage for takin part with the Erle of Rothes aganis me.

Page 40.—JOHNE KNOX'S SPEECH.

Nixt my Lord Regent caufit Johne Knox to speike; quha eftir he had keipit fylence ane guid quhile, he begynis with ane stuir and kroken voce, and sayis, " I pryfs my God gretumlie that hes hard my prayer, quhilk oftymis I powrit furth befor the throne of his Majestie, in angwis of my sorowful hart, and that hes made his evangell to be prechit with so notabill succces, vndir so waik instrumentis; quhilk, indeid, culd neur haif bene done, except your grace had bene constitute rewlar over this kirk, speciallie endewit with ane singular and ardent affectione to obey the will of God and voice of his minifteris. In respect quhairof, I, as ane of the servandis of God, imbrace your guid grace's zeil to the promotione of Godis glorie; and as Johne Knox favoris your grace better nor ony man apone the face of the erth. Accordingly fall explane to your grace, my jugement concerning your awin standing, quhilk is sa conjunit with the establisment of the kirk; yea, the weillfair of Godis kirke so dependis apone your grace, that gif ye succumbe, it is nocht possible to it for to induir ony lang tyme: whairfoir it seimes to me maist necessar, bayth for the honour of God, the comfort of the purir bretherin, and vtilitie of this commoun weill, that first your grace's lyfe, nixt your estait, be preservit in equalitie of tyme, and nocht to preferyve ane certane dyat, of xvi or xvij yeiris, lyving mair to the constitution of the politik lawis, than the fouer operatioun of the eternall God. And as I neuer culd away yet with thir jolie wittis and polytick branis, quhilk my Lord Lindsay callis Machivillistes; sa wald I that thay war furth of the way, gif it war possibill. For I traist assuredly, gif first your grace, and syne the rest of the nobilitie of oure societie had passit to wark with als gret magnanimitie, as I vtterit my jugement simply and syncerly in my sermondis, maid purposly for that caus, the mater had bene forthir avancit, nor it is, or salbe this lang tyme, gif God grant na hastier succces, nor my sorowful hart prejudis. Siclyk, thame of the nobilitie, and utheris, that wald hinder your just pretence, thocht thay seme

nocht fa in the eis of the blind warld, I have prechit opinlie, and yit daylie craves of God, that thai may be confoundit with that wickit woman, quhome to thai cleiff so obstinatlie; and that thair posteritie may drinke of the cowpe preparit for the iniquitie and punifment of thair forfathers. And heir I agre with my Lord Lindsay, that spake immediatlie befor; bot men suld, to establishe the trew religioun, have ane further respect and consideratioun: that is, that the governement be establisht in your persone sa lang as ye leif, ffor quhen this barne, quhome we call King, fall cum to age, dois ony man think that he will leif off all his royall insolence, and suffer himself to be rewrit according to the simplicitie of the evangell? Quhat guid hoip can we haue of the child, borne of sic parentis? I will nocht speike of the suspitioun concerning the man that was killit; but thoct he be his quhois he is callit, quhat can we luik for, but, as it wer, the heritage of the fatheris lychness, and iniquitie of the mother. Gif Johnne Knox counfall be followit, the estait of the evangell and professouris thair of fall neuer cum under such ane hassarde. Better it is to content ourselis with him of quhais modestie we have rycht guid experience, baith in welthe and rubre, and not to change from that graffit and rowttit societie, with the intemperance of ane unbriidlit childe. Your grace hes perfavit quhow my blast of the trumpet set furth aganis the regiment of wemen, is apprevit of all the godlie. I haue wrettin in lyk manner, and hes it reddie for the prenting, ane buik, quhairin I preif by sufficient reffon, that all kingis, princes, and rewlaris, goes nocht be successioun; nor that birth hes strytn to promote, nor yet bastardy to seclude men fra governement. This will walkin vtheris to pance mair deiplie upoun the mater.

Page 45. l. 6.—THE LAIRD OF PETARRO'S SPEECH.

. . . . Bot besyd the strenthis ye man hae respect to sum grit houffes that will neuer let yow cum till honour and quietnes, sa far as thay may: Sic as Hammiltoun, Lennox, Argyle, Huntlie, that pretendis to the Crown; and als to sic utheris as ar owr welthie and esteemes thamefelfis bangstars; lykas Mortoun, Atholl, Hum, Hereis, Farnihurst, Tallibarne, Grange, Lethingtoun, Sir James Balfour, and divers utheris, quhome your grace hes in ticket. Thir I wald war handlit, as hes bene oft devyfit.

Page 45.—THE TUTOR OF PITCUR'S SPEECH.

My Lord, when Hannibald geid to conquess Italie, he maid him self stark be men of weir, quhome to he gaif wagis: Scipio quhen he past in Affrik to destroy Carthage, did the lyke; evin so, my lord, gif your grace will do weill, mak your self starke

with waget men, hayth on horis and fut, and syne I thinke with some stratagemis, ye may easilie conquies this cuntrie.

Page 46. l. 6.—MR JOHN WOD'S SPEECH.

. . . In guid faith, as I haif said oft tymes, and I had knawin ony notable vice in you, I suld neuer haif remanit in your service. I wreit lang tyme syne ane ampill discurs quhow ye suld behaif your selfe; off the quhilk I will remember yow at this present of ane few heidis, insteid of my confall. Zenophon, in ane litill prettie buik, intitulat Chiapatra [Cyropædia], writtis that ane capitane quhilk defyris to vinqueis his enemeis, suld haue strenthie, and ufe subtilitie, craft, dissait, lesingis, sum suith sayingis, aithis, liberalitie, and crueltie. This precept I wald your grace suld nocht forzeit. Secondlie, I have ever said to you that this natioun can nocht be dantit with bairnelynes or meik behawo^r, bot with vigour, as the Italian sayis, 'cum la furia de la spada:' And defyrit you, and yet defyris to propon to yourself the Duik of Alvas exempill, that is to cut fra the schulderis up for the first falt, and that wil gar thame all trymbill, and thair hair turn widdirfhyne. Thridlie, Ane prince can nevir do na notabill enterprys without riches. Ferdly, Ye man have ane factioun bayth within the cuntrey and without, that he may repois himself upon. Now to speik quhow ye fall put thir thingis to executioun. We fall begyne first at the last heid, the men quhome ye may credeit or put your confidence into in Scotland, ar the precis Protestantis, and ministeris; sior as to the nobilitie and thir new startand men, ar bot ane pak of fals greidie traytoris. And without the cuntrey, the Quene of England and Lady Catherinis factioun ye man lippin to, for quhat rakis yow quha bruik the crown of England, sa thai be your freinds? I wait nocht quhy ye suld cast away yourself, for conquessing of kyndomis to the Quenis succeffioun

P. 48. . . For the libertinis, ye se ar in twa setts: sum ar gret men and puiffant; utheris ar febill, puir, and obstinat: Of the ane fort ar they quhilk my fader, the Lard of Pittarrow, hes raknit, and the rest quhilk your grace hes in bill, lat ther children want the heidis, quhilk fall baith mak yow queit of cumir, sed precepne quod mortoun non mordeat (sic in M.S.) and fall caus utheris to stand in aw, mak the simpill band a cunzelhoufs and gar thame pay euerie yeir ane guid tribut. Mair attour ye may of force change all the office men, als weill in Court and Session as utheris in the cuntray; and imput men of your awin creatioun; seid the simpill men with fair wordis; boist the faint-hartit, depefche the men of spreit, and mak ane new form in this cuntray. As for the strenthis, my father hes spoken weill.

AN OPINION
OF THE PRESENT STATE, FACTION, RELIGION,
AND POWER OF THE NOBILITY
OF SCOTLAND.
M.D.LXXXIII.

PART FIRST.

G



THE English Princes, since the reign of Henry VIII., had made the important discovery, that they could more easily avoid the dangers to be apprehended from Scotland, by supporting and encouraging a party within the kingdom itself, than by force of arms. The progress of the Reformation in Scotland tended greatly to favour this course of policy; since the Protestant Nobles were easily induced to look to England for support, even at some risk of national independence, when they beheld the power of France exerted on the part of the Catholics. The following List, evidently made up by one of the English envoys or agents, is curious, as shewing the state of these two contending parties, and the respective influence of the Nobility, engaged in either faction, about the year 1583.



A BREIFE OPINION OF THE STATE, FACTION, RELIGION, AND POWER OF THE SEVERALL NOBLE MENN IN SCOTLANDE, AS THEY DWELL, NOT PLACINGE THEM ACCORDINGE TO THEIR GREATNES, DEGREE, OR ANTIQUITIE, VNDER THE RAIGNE OF KINGE JAMES VI. ANNO DOMINI 1583.

DUKE OF LENNOX.

ESME STEWART, sonne to Esme Stewart, the late Duke, is an infant, and remaineth yet in Fraunce. The lyuinge he hathe in Scotland, besydes that his father gott by the forfeitures of the Hamiltons, and Erle of Morton, is very small; the whole propertie of the olde Erledome of Lennox beinge morgaged, dismembred, and brought in manner to nothinge; and the reste like to breede him some troble with the Hamiltons and the Douglasses, if euer the tyme affourde them the oportunitie to recouer their owne. He is Shereife of Dum-bretoun, and hath the cheif commandement of that castell, beinge a place of principall strengthe amongst all the fortis of Scotlande.

ERLES.

ORKENAY.

THE LORD ROBERT STEWARTE, base sonne of King James Vth. hath possessed Orkenay and Zetlande since this Kinge was crowned, beinge a cheife thinge of the Kinges propertie, and created into an Erldome, in Nouember, 1581. A man dissolute in lyef; lyttle sure to any faction; of small zeale in religion. His reuennu is greate; and power suche as those countries can make. His wyef is daughter to the olde Erle of Cassills, and aunte to him that now lyueth.

KATHNES.

GEORGE SINCLAIR, half brother to this Erle Bothuille by the mothers syde, is a youthe of xvij yeares of age, vnder the tutorie of therle of Gowrie, who hath his wardeshipp, (a cause of the late vnkindenes and harte burninge betwene him and Bothuile.) Of his religion and inclination their is yet lyttle tryall. His power extendes ouer the bondes of Cathnes, althoughe therle Marshall and the Lorde Oliphonte be porcioners with him of that countrye.

SUTHERLANDE.

ALEXANDER GORDON, a younge man within xxx yeres of age, a branch lately discended of the house of Hunteley, and hath married this Erle of Huntleys father's sister, that was diuorced from the

late Erle Bothuill. He is in lyuinge poore ; in religion well affected ; but of no greate partie, nor enterprise. His mother was sister to Matthew, Erle of Lennox.

MURRAY.

JAMES STEWARTE, eldest sonne to the Lord of Down, begotten one this Erle of Argiles sister, styled of that Erledom in the right of his wyf, beinge theldest doughter of James, laste Erle of Murray and Regent. Is a yonge man of xvij yeres of age ; of a very tall stature, but lyttle prooffe.

HUNTLEY.

GEORGE GORDON ; his mother was doughter to the Duke Hamilton ; himselfe aboute xxj yeres of age. In religion doubted, and in affection Frenche. He is contracted to marry with the Duke of Lennox doughter ; by whose meanes he obteyned the Kinges fauor. His power and frendeshipp in the North is greate ; his estate as yet not fully restored since the forfaiture of his father ; and therefore slowe to engage himself in any faction, or quarrell of state, but at the Kinges pleasure, to whose humor and fauor he dothe wholly bende and apply himself.

BUCHANE.

JAMES DOUGLAS, an infante of three or four yeres olde. The sonne of Robert Douglas, seconde brother to this Lairde of Locheluin, who married the heretrix. An Erledome that some now in

courte are suspected to have aimed at, to the prejudice of this younge Erle.

ERROLL.

ANDROW HAY, Constable of Scotlande ; a man of LV yerres olde ; of greate lyuinge and power ; but the man himself of lyttle valure and judgement.

MARSHALL.

GEORGE KEITH, Marshall ; a younge noble man of good commendation ; his lynnige ancient, and reuennue greatest of any Erle in Scotlande. His mother was sister to this Erle of Erroll, and himself maryed to the LordHumes doughter, sister to him that now is. He was lefte very welthye ; and is esteemed honest, religious, and fauoringe the best parte.

CRAUFORDE.

DAUIDE LINDSEY, a younge man of an auncient house, of Erle of that surname. His mother was doughter to the Cardinall himself ; maryed to therle of Athols sister. His liuing and estate muche ruined. Himself in affection Frenche ; in religion vnsettled ; but his power tyed shorte, by the feude he hathe with the Master of Glamis and his frendes, for the slaughter of the last Lord Glamis, committed at Sterlinge.

ATHOL.

JOHN STEWARTE ; his mother the Lord Fleminges doughter ;

himself maryed to therle of Gowries doughter ; a man of lyttle valuer or accompte ; in religion suspected ; and that power he hathe is of Hilandmen, but not greate.

ROTHES.

ANDROWES LESLYE, a man of 1 yeris and vpwardes ; noted to be wyse, but no open medler, or parte taker in any faction. He is of good welthe, power, and frendes. Himself maryed the Erle of Gowries sister, and his sonne the Lord Linsayes doughter.

MONTROIS.

JOHN GRAHAME, a man aboue xxx yeris of age ; borne of the same mother with therle of Atholl. His wyf the Lord Drumundes doughter. His power not greate ; in affection Frenche ; and in religion doubted. He seemes to depende on therle of Argyle, the rather to fortyfie himself againste therle of Angus and his frendes, whose wyf he is charged to haue dishonored. The man is, for courage, and spirite, a principall man amonge the nobilitie of Scotlande.

MENTEITH.

WILLIAM [JOHN] GRAHAME, an infant ; his mother was daughter to [Sir James] Douglas of Drumlangrige. His power is small, and that of Hylandmen dependinge one therle of Ergile, whose mother was therle of Menteiths daughter.

Here the Duke of Lennox is to be placed accordinge
to his dwellinge.

MARCHE.

ROBERT STEWARTE, vnkle to the late Duke, brooking in efecte but the title of therldome; is a man paste LX; simple, and of lyttle action or accompte. His repudiate wyfe is now maryed to Stewarte, the pretended Erle of Arrane. He is Bushop of Cathnes, and Prior of St Andrewes.

GLENCARNE.

JAMES CUNNINGHAM, is a man aboue xxx yeres of age; not well-thought of since the troubles in Scotlande, aboute the remouinge of the late Duke; wherein he was suspected not to haue delte sincerely. He is of reasonable good lyvinge, if yt were freed of the morgages, wher [with] some of his auncestors haue entangled a good parte thereof. His power is reasonable greate, by his surname and frendes; and in religion thought to be well affected.

EGLINGTON.

HEW MONGOMERY; a man about L yeres of age, inclyned to quiefnes, and of no greate action or capacitie. He is thought to fauor the [blank in M.S.], and deemed in affection, to be Frenche; and in religion not throughly assured. His sonne hath maryed the Lorde Bwydes [Boyd's] daughter.

ARRANE.

JAMES STEWARTE, seconde sonne to the Lord Vchiltree ; a man from nothinge sodenly rayсед to the state he is in, by the fauor of the late Duke, for the good seruice he did, in accusinge and persecutinge the Erle of Moreton to the deathe ; a man of more wytte than courage, but of no fayeth, conscience, or honestie ; insolent where he preuayleth, and of a restlesse and troblesome spiryte ; suspected of all men, and neuer fauored or trustyd of any but his like ; of no power, frendes, or welth, but that he hathe by his vsurped Erledome of Arrane.

CASSILLS.

JOHN KENNED, an infant ; his mother was sister to the Lord Glannis. He possesseth a greate countrie, and hathe many frendes in Carrich and Gallowaye.

GOWRIE.

WILLIAM RUTHNEY, L. RUTHNEY, [Ruthuen,] Treasurer of Scotlande, lately created Erle of Gowrie ; a man whose courage and power hathe bene well tryed, bothe in former actions againste the Quenes partie, etc. ; and of late, the Erle of Ruthney againste Lennox. He is greatly hated by the Quene ; as well for his fathers action in the slaughter of Dauid, as for his owne doughter suire againste her and her frendes. He is in religion well-affected ; inclyned to the amitie of Englande, but since his enterteyninge the frendshipp and

service of Sir Robert Meluin, his vnder-treasurer, he is fallen into some jelousie with the better sorte.

MORETON.

JOHN MAXEWELL, Lord MAXEWELL, late created Erle, after the forfeiture of the laste Erle Moreton, and Regent, whose brothers daughter, sister to the Erle of Angus, he maryed ; his mother be-inge one of the three doughters of the olde Erle of Moreton, a follower of the late Duke of Lennox : A man vnsetled in religion ; Frenche in affection ; of reasonable power and frendis, vpon the borders, but of no greate gouvernement or iudgement.

BOTHUILLE.

FRANCIS STEWARTE, the son of the Lord John, Prior of Col-disham, one of the base sonnes of King James the Vth., and of this laste Erle of Bothuille's sister. A man not paste xxj yeres of age, well trauayled, and of goode wytt and gouvernement. His wyef is sister to therle of Angus, that was wydow to the Larde of Baucolugh, [Buccleugh,] by whome he hathe greate welthe. He is well geuen in religion, and in speciall frendeshippe with therles of Angus and Marr.

ARGILE.

COLINE CAMPBELL ; a man of fortie yeres and aboue ; of a greate house, lyuinge, and power, cheifely of Hilandmen. He is now Chauncellor, and by inheritaunce Cheife Justice. Religious, and of

good nature, but weak in iudgement, and ouermuche ledd by his wyef; a man very sickely, and not like to lyue longe.

ANGUS.

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS; a younge noble man, of an honest and curtuous nature; religious, fauoringe the best parte; and of greate power, and lyuinge in the heicher partis of Scotlande. Vnhappy in his mariage: his firste wyef was sister to therle of Marr, and dyed without issue; his laste, a woman touched in her honor with therle of Mountrois, and therefore abandoned of her husbände: is daughter to therle of Rothés. Himself is the first Baron in their Parliament, Huntley the second, and Argile the thirde.

LORDES, OR BARONS OF PARLIAMENT.

LOUET.

HEW FRASSER, a childe of xij yeres of age; sonne to her that is now Lady of Arrane, and auncient house, and of good power of Highlandmen in the North.

SALTON.

ALEXANDER ABIRNETHIE, an auncient Baron, but no great lyuinge or pæwer; a seldome curtier and medler in any faction.

FORBES.

JOHN FORBES; a man aged, betwixt whome and the house of Huntley hathe ben longe and greate feude. His landis and frendes lye cheifely in Abirdeneshire; himself estemed to fauor religion, and encline to the beste parte.

INNERMYRE. [INNERMEATH.]

JAMES STEWARTE; aunciente, but nether of greate lyuinge, power, or enterprise.

GLANNIS.

JOHN LYON, an infant, vnder the charge of his Vnele, the Master of Glannis, [Glamis,] who mainteyneth the feude with therle of Craufourde, for the slaughter of his Lordis father: his liuinge, power, and frendis greate; and the man his Vnele, a man religious, wise, and valiante.

GRAY.

PATRICQ GRAY, an aged man, estemed to come of English bloode, that came into Scotlande with the Lady Somerset, wyef to King James the Firste. In religion suspected; of no greate power or frendes. His eldest sonne maryed therle of Gowries fathers sister, and his other, the doughter of Lord Glannis.

OGILUY.

JAMES OGILUY; a man of no greate lyuinge, but of a good num-

ber of landed men of his surname, which makes his power in Angus the greater. His sonne maryed therle of Gowries doughter. Himself was an earnest fauorer of the Duke, and is demed Frenche in affection ; and vnsettled in religion.

METHUEN.

HENRY STEWARTE, an infant ; his father was slaine in the cyuill warres, by the shott of a canon out of the Castle of Edenburgh. He is sisters sonne to therle of Gowrie. A new house, and of no great lyvinge or power.

OLIPHONT.

LAWRENCE OLIPHONT ; a man paste L ; an auncient Baron, and of greate lyvinge, but his landes lye dispersed. His sonne maryed Locheleuins doughter ; a younge gentelman of good valure and accompte. Himself maryed therle of Arroles sister.

DRUMMOUNDE.

DAVID DRUMMOUNDE, maryed the laste Erle of Craufourdes doughter, of an auncient house, and hathe a Iland of frendes in Stratherin. Himself vnhabable in his hearinge, and is presently in Fraunce.

LYNDSAY.

PATRICQ LINDSAY ; a very auncient Baron, of good lyuinge, frendeshippe, and power, cheifely in Fife. A man that hath shew-

ed himself stoute and constante in the cause of religion, and service of the Kinge againste his Mothers partie. His eldest sonne hath maryed therle of Rothes doughter.

SAINT CLAIRE.

HENRY SINCLAIR; discended of the olde Erles of Orkenay; a man of good nature, but of small lyuinge, and lyttle action.

ELPHINGSTON.

ROBERT Lord ELPHINGSTON, made Lord in the dayes of King James the iiijth, by the maryage of an English lady called Barlow, that came into Scotlande with his Quene. Himself not wyse: his sonne a proper younge gentelman, dependinge partely on therle of Huntley, and partely one therle of Marr, beinge nere cousin to them bothe. His lyuinge and power is not greate, and his religion lyttle valued.

LEUINGSTON.

WILLIAM LEUINGSTON, a man of no great judgement, or lyuinge, but of an auncient house, and many frendis of his surname; in religion outwardly well affected; in affection Frenche. His sonne departed out of Scotland into Fraunce with the Duke.

FLEMINGE.

JAMES FLEMINGE; a youth of xv yeres of age; his house aun-
cient, his lyvinge small, and himself in muche debte and troble by
his fathers doingis, whilst he held the Castell of Dumbreton.

SOMERVILE.

HEW SOMERUILE ; an auncient house, but of no greate lyuinge or power. He maryed the Lord Setons sister, and dwelleth in Clud-desdale.

SIMPLE. [SEMPLE.]

ROBERT SIMPLE ; a youth of xvj yeres of age ; his lyuinge not greate, but of an auncient house. He hath lately married therle of Eglintons doughter.

BOYDE.

ROBERT Lord BOYDE ; a man past LX yeres ; he is accompted wyse, and of good welthe and power. His auncestors were greate in the dayes of King James the Seconde. Himself hath putt of many stormes. He is a fauorer of the Douglasses, and alwayes hated of the house of Lennox.

VCHILTREE.

ANDROWE STEWARTE, the successor of the Lord of Auendale ; himself a man aged ; hauinge to his seconde sonne this Erle of Arrane, and some others of ill gouernment. His owne lyuinge and power of lyttle value.

CATHCARTE.

ALLANE CATHCARTE ; an auncient name and house, and of some

good frendis. He is one of the Masters of housholde to the Kinge. His lyvinge and power not greatly valued.

HEREIS.

WILLIAM MAXEWELL; a younge man of xxvj yeres of age; he married the Abbot of Newbottles daughter. His mother was heretrix to tholde Lord Hereis: his father a man of good wytt and service; himself of good reputation, but of no greate power.

HUME.

ALEXANDER HUME; a younge man of xvij yeres of age; of a greate lyuinge, and many frendes, althoughe they all follow him not. Himself of no very good gouvernement or hope. His mother is doughter to the Lord Gray, and now wyfe to the Master of Glannis. His surname and power vpon the Borders is very greate.

BORTHUICH.

JAMES BORTHUICH; a childe of xiiij yeres olde, yet married to the Lord Zester's daughter. An auncient name and house, but greatly decayed, by the laste Lorde, who was of yll gouvernement, and dyed in Edensburgh not past two yeres since, of the Frenche decease.

ZESTER.

WILLIAM HAY; a braunche of the house of Arroll; of good lyuinge and power, but no courtier, or partaker in any factions. His sonne married the Lord Hereis sister.

SETON.

GEORGE SETON ; an auncient baron, and of reasonable lyuinge, which lyeth all in Lothian, within 6 or 7 miles of Edenburgh. His power is not greate, nor his frendis or followers many. He hath ben alwayes Frenche in affection, and is in harte a Papiste, though he dare not aduowe it. Of a nature busye and curyous ; of more speche than iudgement ; a principall instrument [of the] Sc. Quene ; and a harbourer of Jesuitis, and fugitiues of a countrie, and enemye to a peace.

TORPHECHYN.

JAMES SANDELANDE, an infant ; brothers sonne and heire to the laste, and first Lord of that Barony, which being before the house of St Johns was erected into a temperall lordeshipp by the Quene that now lyeth. His mother is sister to Mr James Murray, and hath now maryed Mr John Graham, a seruante of therle of Argile, to the greif and mislike of her best frendes.

THE PRINCIPALL OFFICERS OF THE STATE
OF SCOTLAND.

ARGILE.	The Chauncellor, and Cheif Justice, by inheritance.
GOWRIE.	The Lord Treasurer of Scotlande.
BOTHUILE.	The Admirall.
ERROLL.	The Constable of Scotland, by inheritance.
MARSHALL.	The Erle Marshall.
LENNOX.	The Greate Chamberlaine.—The place was hereditary to the house of the Lord Fleming, but translated from that name since his forfeiture.

WARDENS ON THE BORDERS.

Lord HUME.	Warden one the Easte Marches.
Lord SESFURDE.	Warden of the Middle Marche.
Larde of JOHNSTON.	Warden of the Weste Marche, by prouision.
DUMFERMLING.	Secretary of State.
FENTON.	Comptroller of the Kinges housholde.
BLANTIRE.	Lord Priuie Seale.
A. HAY.	Clerk Register.
BALLANDINE.	Justice Clerke.
DA. MACGILL.	The Kinges Aduocate.

PRINCIPALL FAUORITES, AND OF THE KINGES CHAMBER.

The Collonell Stewarte.

The Prior of Blantire.

Dauid Gglass.

THE LORDES OF THE SESSION.

CHURCHMEN ORDINARY.

The Lord Prouane, President.	Mr William Baillie.
The Bushope of Orkenay.	Mr Adam Bothwell.
The Abbot of Dumfermling.	Mr Robert Pretarie [Pitcarne.]
The Deane of Murray.	Mr Alexander [Arch ^d .] Dumbarre.
The Parson of Menny [Menmure.]	Mr John Lyndesay.
The Abbot of Cullws [Culross.]	Mr Alexander Colluile.
The Parson of Winton.	Mr Patricqe Vass, Lard of Barneborrowe.
The Provost of the Quenes Colledg.	Mr Robert Punt.

LAYMEN ORDINARY.

The Chauncellor.	Therle of Argile.
The Larde of Ledingston.	Sir Richarde Mateland.
The Larde of Segie.	Mr James Meldrom.
The Larde of Quhittingham.	[Wm.] Douglas, brother to Archibald.
The Larde of Ledingtons sonne.	Mr John Mateland.
The Clerk Register.	Mr Alexander Hay.
The Kinges Advocate.	Mr Dauid Macgill.
Mr Thomas Ballandine.	

LAYMEN EXTRAORDINARY.

The Treasurer.

The Lord Bwyde [Boyd.]

KIRKEMEN EXTRAORDINARY.

The Abbott of Newbottle.

The Abbott of Balmerinoch.

INSTRUCTIONS
FROM HENRY III. KING OF FRANCE,
TO THE SIEUR DE LA MOTHE FENELON,
AMBASSADOR AT THE COURT
OF SCOTLAND.
M.D.LXXXIII.

PART FIRST.

K

COPIE DE CE QUE LE ROY TRESCHRESTIEN A COM-
MANDE AU SIEUR DE LA MOTHE FENELON, L'EN-
VOYANT EN ESCOSSE.¹

QU'IL ayt a faire de la part de leur Majestés treschrestiennes la plus honorables salutation et visite au Serenissime Roy de Escosse, leur bon frere et nepueu et petit fils, qu'il luy sera possible.

Et luy bailler leur lettres qui sont in placart, et telles quelles luy escripuent de leur mains, avec grande expression de la parfaicte amitie et singuliere affection que leur dictes Majestés luy portent, et d'en rapporter la response.

De regarder aux choses qui sont prez du dict Serenissime Roy,

¹ La Mothe Fenelon arrived at Edinburgh, 7th January, 1583, as Ambassador from Henry III. King of France. The interest which Queen Elizabeth felt with regard to his mission, may be seen from her Letter, dated 13th January, to Bowes and Davidson, her Ambassadors at that time in Scotland, [Murdin's State Papers, p. 372;] the latter of whom had been sent to accompany La Mothe, with the evident design to watch his motions, and counteract his proceedings as much as possible.

It appears that the real object of La Mothe's embassy to Scotland was to move King James "to accept of an association in the government, with the Queen his mother;" although no hint to this effect is contained in these Instructions, the copy of which, as here printed, seems to have been that given to the persons who were appointed to confer with him, "and crave his demands *in writing*."

a ce que sa persone ny soyt en aulcun danger, mais tressongneusement conseruée.

Et qu'il ne soyt empesché en l'honeste liberté qu'il doit auoir, ny enuironé d'autres plus grandes, ny plus estroittes gardes qu'il n'auoit accoustumé.

Qu'il ne soit pareillement empesché en l'autorité que Dieu luy a donné du Roy et Prince Souerain sur sesdictes subiectes, pour pouoir ainsi librement ordonner et commander en ces affaires, et aux affaires de son royaume, avec son Conseil ordinaire, comme il auoit accoustumé de faire.

Que ceux de sa Noblesse, et de bonnes villes, et communaultez de son royaume ayent tout libre acces a sa Serenissime Majesté, et sans que par crainte et soupeon de plus grandes gardes, ou de plus de gens armes pres de sa personne que de coustume ils soyent intimidés ou empeschés d'en approcher.

Que le dict Sieur de la Mothe Fenelon ayt faire dessus a parler librement et franchement au dict Serenissime Roy, et a ceulz de son Conseil, de requerir le restablissement de ce qui pourroit estre changé ou alteré.

Et qu'il sache si les principaulx de la Noblesse, et les aultres gens de bien des villes et communaultes de royaumes, conuiennent et sont contentes de la forme du present gouuernement qui est prez du dict Serenissime Roy, a fin que s'il y en auoit de malcontentez et diuises

qu'il mette peine de les accommoder ensemble et les reunir et accorder, et qu'il ne s'en retourné sans en rapporter certitude.

Et s'il entend qu'il y ait en aucuns qui ne se soyent si reuerement portés vers leur dict Serenissime Roy, leur souerain Seigneur, comme le debuoir de leur obeissance le requiert, qu'il prie de la part de la Majesté treschrestienne le dict Serenissime Roy son bon frere et luy donne conseil d'entierement oublier, et qu'il les exhorte a eux de bien le rabiller et luy porter doresnauant tout respect, avec l'obeissance et fidelle subiection qu'ilz luy doibuent.

Que si le dict Sieur de la Mothe Fenelon trouue le dict Serenissime Roy soit en quelque estat plus contraint de sa personne, de son autorité, de sa liberté, et de la disposition de ses affaires, qu'il ne sentoît et qu'il ne conuient a sa dignité du Roy et Prince souerain d'estre, Qu'il mette peyne par toutz moyens decentz et honestes de le remettre, et qu'il y employé ce que peut le credit de sa Majesté treschrestienne vers la Noblesse et subiectes de ce royaume, et que peut son nom, et le nom de sa couronne vers toute la nation laquelle il aym et se confie d'elle comme des propres Francoys.

Et qu'il tesmoigne audict Serenissime Roy, et aux Sieurs de son Conseil, et a tous la Noblesse et aultres principaux personages du royaume, comme sa Majesté treschrestienne veut continuer de sa part en la tresancienne alliance et confederation qu'il a avec le dict Serenissime Roy son bon frere et son royaume ; le priant, et ceux de sa Noblesse et ses principauls subiectes, d'en perseuerer de mesmes, et

de perseuerer en tous bonne intelligence et amitie avec luy, ainsy que de sa part il la leur veult inuiolablement garder.

Au surplus, entendant sa Majesté treschrestienne que le Serenissime Roy son bon frere auoit agreable le Duc de Lennox, et son seruice, le dict Sieur de la Mothe auoit chargé de supplier sa Majesté Serenissime, qu'il peut demeurer prez de luy a son contentement, Esperant qu'il entretiendroit de tant plus volontiers les poinctes de l'amytie et confederation d'entre leur Majestés et leur royaumes, qu'il estoit tout subiect de toutes deux; et s'il ne pouuoit demourer sans quelque alteration de la tranquillité de l'estat, qu'il se peut retirer dans sa maison dans le dict royaume, et y estre en seurté, ou s'il vouloit s'en retourner en France, qu'il le peut faire en seurté.

Plaira a sa Majesté Serenissime faire cesser les empeschement et difficultes qu'on a mis de nouveau a la frontier, a ce que les naturelles Francoys puissent entrer librement au ce royaume, comme ils auoyent accoustumé.

Et qu'il ne soit tenu propos diffamatoire, ny parle en aultres termes que bien honorables du Roy treschrestien, en ce royaume, Ainsi qu'on ne parle si non bien honorablement du Serenissime Roy d'Escoce en France.²

² Calderwood, who inserts in his MS. History a translation of these Instructions, (which has been printed by Dr Robertson, in the Appendix to his History of Scotland,) remarks, that the French Ambassador "had another head to propone, which he concealed till a little before his departure, to wit, that the Queen, the King's mother, was content to receive her Son in associatione of the kingdom. By this, (says the historian,) all things done since the King's coronation, either in religion or policie, should have been shaken loose, and so whosoever had susteined the King's cause should be holden as traitors."—Vol. III. p. 210.

THE HEADS OF
A CONFERENCE BETWEEN KING JAMES VI.
AND SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,
AMBASSADOR TO THE QUEEN
OF ENGLAND,
SEPTEMBER, M.D.LXXXIII.

THE CHEIF HEADES OF THE CONFERENCE BETWIXT
THE KINGS MAJESTIE AND SECRETARIE WALSHING-
HAM, AMBASSADOR TO THE QUENE OF ENGLAND.¹

HIS Majestie assured him that he was resolved to harme no man, nor put at any man farther, in bodie, landes, or gudes, for the public fact at Ruthen, they behaving themselves as duetifull subjects hereafter, not having delt with na other priuie practises against our person, wele, suertie, nor estate; The which we doubt not but the Quene, our dearest Sister, will both allow and assyst vs in triall taking, and punishing of the same.

As for any put at presentlie upone just triall of their innocencie in others their priuie practises and dealings prejudiciall to vs, as saide is, they finding such noblemen cawsion and answerable for

¹ This paper is indorsed on the back, "Chefe Heades of the Conference betwixt the K. and Sir Francis Walsingham, as the K. hath sett them downe, xv°. Septembris, 1583." In the same volume is a paper, professing to contain "Suche Greeues, as Secretarie Walsingham, hir Majesties Ambassador to the King of Scotts, is directed to requier Satisfaction of, at the handes of his Hienes. September, 1583;"—the Answers to which, in the King's name, are preserved in Calderwood's MS. History. The nature of these Grievs are such as intimate the pretensions of Elizabeth to interfere in the most minute particulars of James's government. From a monarch of a more independent temper they would have received a very brief answer.

them whom we can like of and trust into, that they and ilk ane of them salbe answerable to vs in doing their duetic and obedience, we will vse our former clemencie, as to our gude subjects.

We are content at our next Parliament, accordinge to our dearest Systers aduise, to assure all our guid subjects, that we mynd to call, accuse, nor harme na man herefter for the public causes by past, as the cyuell troubles taken vp by act of Pacification, as likewise the public fact at Ruthen, excepting allwaies the thre murders, and other priuie practises before mentioned, as they are or salbe tried herefter.

We haue resolved, at our next Parliament, efter our Estates haue proponed to vs ane number to chuse one, as salbe most meet to giue vs aduise and counsell, to elect suche as are best affected to Religion, suertie, and tranquillitie of our estate, and best likes of the amitie betwixt vs and our dearest Syster.

We require that the said Secretarie¹ be ane gude instrument in halding forward the treatie for renewing of the peace betwixt both the Realmes, as also for Commissioners meting anempt the affaires of the Borders.

That there be such ane person chosen, whom by, their maie at all tymes, priuie and sure intelligence passe betwixt vs and our dearest Syster, for the more full entertayning of amytie and gude loue amongst vs.

¹ "Alwise Secretar Walsingham got hastie dispatch, and was weel pleased, the Lords of the Interprise expected that things would have fallen out otherwise than they did, but the end declared the Queen of England would not cast off the King for anie man's particular pleasure."—Calderwood, vol. iii. 259.

NOTES

PRESENTED BY MR JOHN COLVILLE,

TO LORD HUNSDON,

M.D.LXXXIV.

The first of these is the fact that the human body is a complex of many parts, each of which has its own function and its own development. The second is the fact that the human body is a complex of many parts, each of which has its own function and its own development. The third is the fact that the human body is a complex of many parts, each of which has its own function and its own development. The fourth is the fact that the human body is a complex of many parts, each of which has its own function and its own development. The fifth is the fact that the human body is a complex of many parts, each of which has its own function and its own development. The sixth is the fact that the human body is a complex of many parts, each of which has its own function and its own development. The seventh is the fact that the human body is a complex of many parts, each of which has its own function and its own development. The eighth is the fact that the human body is a complex of many parts, each of which has its own function and its own development. The ninth is the fact that the human body is a complex of many parts, each of which has its own function and its own development. The tenth is the fact that the human body is a complex of many parts, each of which has its own function and its own development.

NOTES TO BE PRESENTIT TO MY SPECIALL GOOD LORD
 MY LORD HUNSDON, ANE OF HIR MAJESTIES MOST
 HONORABILL PRIVY COUNSALE, BE HIS HONORS
 HUMBILL ORATOUR, MR COLVILE.¹

FIRST, concerning the approbation of the Raid of Ruthven, and declaratioun of his Majesties contentment and good lyiking of the actouris thair of.

HIS Majestie confirmit the same be Act of his Secreit Counsale, and be the Assembly of his Estatus; his Grace causit the Ministeris declair his contentment wnto the pepill, for thair satisfaction, and proclamations wer publesit throuhout the hoill cuntre for that effect. To Sir Georg Cary also, hir Majesties ambassador, both secretly and openly; his Majestie confirmit the same to Mr Robert Bowes and Mr William Davesone; and Mr Colvile wes sent him allone to England, to certifie hir Hienes thair of. Lyik as Colonell Stewart, joynit with the said Mr Colvile, wes at ane other tyme directit to the same end. And thocht theis wer sufficient argumentis of his Majesties contentment, yit the moir to werifie the matter, his Grace

¹ On the back of this paper, which is the scroll copy in Colville's hand, is written "Copy of my Notes, gifin to my Lord Hondsden, the xv. of Jvlij, 1584, quhen he passit to intreit with Arren in the Scottis matteris." Sir James Melville has given an account of this interview between the Earl of Arran and the Earl of Hunsdon, which took place on the Borders.—Memoirs, edit. 1735, p. 315.

hes writtin sundry letters, all of his awin hand, confirming the same, bayth befor and efter the lait alteratioun at Sanct Andrus.

And for the pretendit allegiance of captivite. It may be ansuerit, that his Majestie wes nocht so captyve bot that he mycht ether haif spokin or writtin with the said Sir Georg Cary, ambassador, with Mr William Davesoun, or Colonnell Stewart, at his awin plesor, gif any discontentment had bein in his hart. And quhair thai alleig that the Actis of Secreit Counsale, and of the Estatis, approving the interprys forsaid, is bot conditionall, the ansuer is, That gif thair be ony condition expressit in the said Actis, all sall be confessit trew that is objectit agans the distressit.

Secondly, concerning Colonell Stewart legation and myne.

THE said Colonell at his cumming to England semit weill content, bot efter he had insistit eirnistly for that heritage quhiche apertenit to his Majesties grand-father, becaus sic ansuer wes nocht giffin as plesit him, (albeit the said ansuer wes moir nor in resone we culd haif wischit,) he changit purpos; affirming, be the way, in our return, mony absurditeis, contrarius to the advancement of religion, his Majesties honor, and amite betuix the tuo Crownes, as in a speciall collection I haif notit; quhairunto, becaus I opponit myself, alleging him to be ane inprofitabill servand to his Majestie, our Maister, and wnfaithfull to the Estait of England, and to all the Nobill men that had best servit his Majestie in his youth, he consaut wrath agans me, and finally did so muche at his Majesties handis, that, without ony tryall, I wes committit to vard, and so injustly vsit as never wes ony

subject in Scotland ; and eftervart, be degres the hoill nobill men, that ar this day distressit, wer persecutit in suche sort as now to the varld is manifest.

Last, gif thair meaning be vpricht, your Honor will persaif be this tryall.

THAI say in generall thai will deill moir invartly with hir Majestie nor with ony other foren prince, and follow hir advys in governing thair estait.

Gif so be, lett thame declair quhat deling his Majestie hes with his Mother, quho ar the instrumentis, as weill in England as Scotland, that makkis intelligence betuix thame, and quhat privy moyen haif thai for convoying of thair letters to and fro. Lett the letters quhich passit betuix his Majestie and his Mother be producit. Of all theis thingis I knaw your Honor is resonabill weill informit, without thair knowleg ; gif thai dissimill with your Lordship in ony of thir pointis, then thair lait promises wilbe no surer nor the former.

Nixt, lett thame be vrgit to declair quhat privy deling thai haif with France ? quhat dois the Lord Setounis long abode thair signifie, and his frequent conferancis with the Bischopis of Glesgo and Ross, with the Spans ambassador, Popis nuntios, and Scottis Jesuitis ? quhairfor wes Sir John Seton his sone sent into Spain, and ane othir alredy agane directit thidder, or ellis to go verey shortly ?

And, in governing of thair estait gif thai will follow hir Majesties advys, then quhat is the caus moving his Majestie to promot and favor all thois that ar recommendit be his Mother, or ony foren

Prince saving hir Majestie, howsoever thai haif behavit or behavis thame selfe in religion, or othervyis? and that thai quho ar recomendeit be hir Majestie can find no kynd of fauor, bot extrem persequution be dethe, imprisonment, or banishment?

And gif it may pleis your good Lordship, heir my foolische opinion. Suirly I can nocht think that thai quho hes violat in tyme past promissis, handvrittis, and instrumentis meid in the vord of a Prince, ar so far chargit as to keip better in tyme cumming nor thai haif done heirtofor; and supposing for a quhile thai suld keip promissis, thair is no question the same is moir for perticular commodite to thair self nor for ony fauor thai haif to the estait of England, and rather to prolong tyme till thai may be strenthenit to work sum greter mischeif aganis your freindis in Scotland; yea, and perhappis aganis your awin estait, nor for ony other good caus. I reid that fraudfull Hannibal maid farest offeris to the Romanis, quhen as he wes makand grettest preparation aganis thame; and the vyis Grekis outwardly pretendit lest hostile aganis the Troians, quhen the fatall hors wes in preparation; and the tratorus Sinon gaif smoothest wordis to the said Troians quhen he wes evin at point to vork thair ruin, quhiche the said Troians had escapit gif thai had nocht trustit the said Sinon. My Lord, I culd nominat to your Honor four or fyue deceitfull Sinons, werey neir his Majestie, quho ar as gret enemies to the estait of England (quhiche I pray God to blis) as Sinon wes to Troy; quhiche I dar, be Godis grace, affirm aganis ony of thame ether be resone, or ony other vay that gentill men suld deill with otheris; thairfor I pray God thai be not trustit, quhiche beand, thair is no thocht or sourty to be had of thame.

THE MANNER AND FORM
OF THE EXAMINATION AND DEATH OF
WILLIAM, EARL OF GOWRYE.
MAY, M.D.LXXXIV.

PART FIRST.

M

THE MANNER AND FORME OF THE EXAMINATIONE
AND DEATH OF VMQUHILL WILLIAME, ERLE OF GOW-
RYE, LORD RUTHUEN AND DIRLTOUN, AND GREAT
THESSAURER OF SCOTLAND, THE 3 OF MAY, 1584.¹

BEING upon the Thursday brought from Kinneill² to Stirling, he stayed before he was brought to Judgement thre dayes ; having conference with soundry, depute be his Majestie to confer with him. Upon the Monenday very erlie, he was conveyed to the Lady Marr's

¹ William, fourth Lord Ruthven, a nobleman of great power and influence, during the minority of James VI., was appointed Lord Treasurer of Scotland in 1571, and created Earl of Gowrye, 23d August 1581. He was the only person concerned in the Raid of Ruthven who submitted to the King, and obtained remission, after James had escaped from the hands of the confederates in that enterprize. But the Earl soon had cause to regret a step which condemned himself and his associates as guilty of treason, and which excited the jealousy of his former friends, while it had no effect towards conciliating the King's affections, or securing to him any personal advantage.

This account of the trial and execution of William, Earl of Gowrye, is copied from a MS. in the Cotton Library, Calig. C. VIII., fo. 28. In the same volume is contained another account of the trial, which differs in many respects from the present narrative, while it is full of gross blunders, owing to the illiterate person who has transcribed it. Several other copies of the same account are known, but the only one which approaches to accuracy, and from which we have supplied various corrections, or omissions in the present copy, is preserved among the Harleian MSS. (No. 291, fol. 96,). It is indorsed,—“ A Discourse of the Deathe of the Erle of Gowrie ;” but the title of the paper itself is nearly the same as above.

² The introductory paragraph in the Harl. MS. is as follows :—“ Beinge brought from Edinbrough with the armie, he was conveyed to Kinneile, be Sir William Stewart

house ; and after the repaire of the Judge and noblemen who were upon his assyse, the clerk proceded to the proces in this maner :—

“ WILLIAME, ERL OF GOWRYE,³ you ar indyted of tresoune, treteruslie committed against his Majestie, notwithstanding the innumerable honorris you have received off his Highnes, as be the augmentatione off your rent, and also in challenging to be of his Majestie's blood, is manifest ; and lykways be the remissione off yowr former tresoune, when ye deteaned his Majestie's persoun in your

of [Houston], knight. There he remained fyve dayes, till the tyme he was brought to Sterling ; and the fourth day thereafter, was accused in these words,” &c. :—

After the Earl of Gowrye's seizure at Dundee, we are told he “ was brocht to Halyproudhous upon the xvij day of Aprile, partlie by sea and partly by land,” (Moy-sie's Memoirs, MS.) ; and from the Privy Council Record, 24th April, 1584, it appears that Gowrye was committed to the keeping of James Earl of Arran, “ in the hous of Kynneil, the Castle of Blackness, or sic uther hous as the said Earl shall think maist suir.”

³ In the MS., the name is usually written “ Gaury,” but we have adopted the Earl's own method of writing his name. The following letter, written while the King was residing at Ruthven, “ To the Layrde of Barnbawrache,” is here printed from the original, in the possession of his descendant Lieut.-Col. P. Vans Agnew of Scheuchan and Barnbarroch.

“ Brother, eftir maist hertly commendationis. At last the Kingis Majestie, with aise of his counsall, hes resolvit upoun the halding fordward of the justice courtis in this tyme of vacance, appoynting to everie commissioun, sic as he thinkis sall be maist hable for his service in that pairt, having a verie gude opinioun of your self, as a man affectionate to further the punischment of offendouris, to quyet the cuntrey, and procure his hienes commodetie : And seing a pairt of the releif of my greit and wechtie burding consistis in your diligence and gudwill, I will effecteouslie requyre you to be myndfull thairof ; and to be upoun a reddiness to pas fordward to the journey of the North, for halding of the courtis there agane sic tyme As my Lord of Thirlastane sall gif you advertisement ; quha is presentlie tayreit upoun sum courtis, that the Duke haldis be commissioun, sua that I think you may spend ane greit pairt of this moneth in your

hous of Ruthene; yet, notwithstanding of all this, you have entred in more dangerus and deiper tresounes sen syne." The clerk having ended, he answered,—“ Forsamikle as be his Majesties licence, I was

awin effairis, befor he can be reddy. Alwys, I will pray you to be on a reddiness, as he advertseis, for, as I put you to paynis, sua sall ye fynd me na les reddy to do for you, quhairin my trawell and paynis may awaill. The court of Drumfreis is continewit to the xx of October, quhere my Lord of Arran is appoynted to be Lieutenant, sua that ye will have sufficient tyme to accompleis your journey in the North, and returne thereto againe in convenient tyme. I ressavd nevyr word fra you sen your hame passing, albeit I wrait laitlie fra Edenbrough with ane boy of your awin, bot I understude be the Clerk Register, that ye past to Drumfreis beleifand the court hald hadin there, quhereof I was sorie that ye suld have maid sic waist trawell. The Clerk Register sayis, that the lettre come ane moneth eftir the daiting thereof, to his handis. The Kingis Majestie is heir presentlie at my house, and pas heirfrom ane of thir tua dayis to Athoill to the hunting, and is to be ewiss they partis, and about Glasgw befor the end of this moneth. All thingis heiraway continewis in gude quyet; and sua hertlie desyring to understand of your weillfair, I ceis for the present, committing you to God. At Ruthven, the sext of August 1582.

*Y^r Loving C^t friend,
Gowrye.*

Another original letter from the Earl of Gowrye, written to the Lord Burghley soon after the Raid of Ruthven, and evincing his attachment to the English party, may likewise be here introduced: it is preserved among the Cotton MSS., (Calig. C. VII., f. 68.)

“ My very gude Lord, Efter my very hartlie commendatioun, having gude oportunitie of this gentilman, directit to the Quenis Majestie be the King my Souverain, I am movit be the gude report quhilk I have always hard of your Lordships vpricht

to depart out of this countrie, and resting to [in] Dundie to depart, I entered in shipp, as the balzeis and publik notars of Dundie can record, but the wind being not in the way, I stayed. In the meane tyme was I assyld be a privat commissione, procured be my adversarie, writin be his own hand,⁴ I having his Majesties letter of protectione under the Great Seall. But now to answe: As for the Raid of Ruthene, I haid remissione for it; and God is my witness,

meanynge to the continuance of the amitie betwix the contrayis, and now laitlie of that gude will and faorable meane, quhilk ye have kythit to the furth setting of this godlie and gude purpos, quhilk we had heir in handis, to wishe and drawe on be the present, some gude occasioun and ouverture, of a further acquaintance and intelligence betwix ws in sic thingis, as may serue to the weill and standing of baith our Souueranis and their estatis.—Praying your Lordship verie hartlie not to weary of your wountit meanys and gude offices, quhereof baith the realmes have had sic happy pruiif, In-during your charge, and handling of effaris withlin that contray, and quhairas your Lordship sall heare of any craft or opin *sorte*, meanit in any part of Christindome, to the diuisioun of the countrayis, quhilk sa mony gude respectis hes knit vp in gude amitie and freindship, That it may be your Lordshipis pleasour to mak me in particular acquaintit with it, that with commoun consale and concurrence we may the better withstand it, and disapointe their practises, that sall pretende to worke that inconvenient to any of the contrayis, As I sall be found ready to meit it with the lyke intelligence, quhair any sic occasioun sall fall out of my vnderstanding in thir partis, as I have willit the bearer to declair and certife your Lordship at greater lenth; quhome praying your Lordship to credite in my behalf, I commit your Lordship to Goddis protection. From Halyrudehouse, this xxix of December, 1582.

Your Lordshipis richt assureit freind at power,

GOWRYE.

⁴ In the Harl. MS. it is here added,—“ And upon a sudden, my servants and freinds being from me departed, I was pursued, and beseged by all manner of hostilitie, though I was under his Majesties protection, and having his great seal for my warrant. But to answer now to that whereof I am accused,” &c.

it was never mened against his estait, persone, or authoritie.⁵ sA touching the honors that I have receved of his Majestie, yow know what service I have done in his minoritie ; and, as in chalenging his blood,⁶ treulie, albeit I be not a Steward, nor a discever of this countrie, bringing nather the king nor his comonewell in hazerd ; yet, am I als neir in sibnes, and hath donne better and offer service thane he who thirsts for my blood, be this couerdlik revenge. Would to God this wer to be debated betuix me and my malicious adverfflar, bodie for bodie.”⁷—“ Be patient,” sayeth the Judge. The Erll sayd, “ My Lord, I speak not this of any malice, but of my intent to defend my inocent lyf, which is unjustlie sought for.” —“ My Lord, (sayeth the Judge) yow sall heir the rest of the accusation : answer shortlie and directlie, whome will your L. have prelector for yow ?” The Erll replied, “ I sé none heir except the Advocat, who will excuse him self, for he is to accuse me. It [is] very hard for me, not being acquainted with the feir [forme] of the law to dispute of [for] my lyf, with ane experimented and practysed advocat, the tyme being so short, and so sudden : yet, Justice-Clerk, I protest be this Instrument, thought yow be under the bound and yoke of the court, that my answeres be wreatin all atentie ; and

⁵ “ But for his welfare,” is added in the Harl. MS.

⁶ The Cotton MS. reads inaccurately, “ as in chanaling to be of blood.”

⁷ Calderwood says, that “ Gowrye was trained to the shambles ; for Arran craftily induced him to confesse diverse things under promise of pardoun.” He adds, that “ they had layn in wait before for his life, partly by poisons, which brake forth in fleeks, partly by violence, shrewdly threatened against him, when the King was at Saint Johnstoun, by Aubigny and his fellowes, howsoever after craftily they colloured the matter.”—MS. History, vol. iii. p. 340.

⁸ In the margin of the Harl. MS. it is said, “ And these words he spake with an assured modestie.”

yf they be informall, extem it rather to have proceidit from the laik of experience and practyse of the law, then from the weiknes of my cause. Then, I say, I should not [have] bene accused this day, because whosoever is to be accused of any cryme is to be sommondet : yff for tresoune, upon fourtie days, yf for any uther cryme, upone fyfteine ; but it is so with me, that first I was apprehendit, and now accused, before ever I was sommondet." The Advocat replied, " That the answer was not relevant ; for a theif stelling ridhand and *actu ipso* may be taken, without sommonds, meikill mair he in tresoune, when he is with ridhand of the cryme." The questione was referred to the Judge, Mr Jhone Gryme, and his assessionaris, the Mr. of Livynston, the Lard of Lochinwar, the Lard of Airth, who said, It was not sufficient which my Lord hade answered.

Thene they [the Clerk] proceidit, " Ye ar to be accused for the intercommunung with Mr David Home and Mr James Eskin,⁹ servantes to the Erll of Angus ; and met undernyght, where ye devy-sed, for the better bringing your tresones to pass, it was most neces-sare that ather the toune of Sanct Jhonstoune or Sterling shuld be taken, or both." My Lord said, " I [see I] ame to be accused for

⁹ In March 1584, in order to bring about a change in affairs, a plan was concerted by the Earls of Angus, Marr, and the Tutor of Glamis, to surprise the castle of Stirling. Doubtful, however, whether it was prudent to trust Gowrye in this affair, David Hume of Godscroft was sent by the Earl of Angus, to confer with him, " that he might trie and sound his minde as narrowly as he could, and report to him what he found." Accordingly, having proceeded to Perth, where the Earl of Gowrye was, he found him " in words, in countenance, and in gesture, (says Godscroft,) greatly perplexed, solicitous for his estate, besides the affaires of the country, and greatly afraid of the violence of the courtiers. So that looking very pitifully upon his gallerie, where wee were walking at that time, (which he had but newly built, and decorated with

these thingis which I rewelled upone houpe of my lyf, and for the Kings Majesties promiseis; for ye, my Lords of Mountroes, Doun, Sir Jhone Maitland, Sir Robert Melvin, the Colnell, and the Captane of Dumbartane, came to me very oft, and urget me with the declaratiōe of the treuth in this maner: my answeare was to you, that I was not so baislye as to pane [pen] my awin accusatione; nather would I. Ye replied, that be this meane the King shuld be offend-ed, and have the juster cause of wrath against me; but for that tyme, other wayes ye could not persuade me to doe. At last, you come unto me, shewing me, that it stood not with his Majesties honor to capitulat with me, his subject, be writ; ye left me, and thene come agane and suere unto me, that the Kings Majestie suare unto you, that he hade granted me my lyfe, yf I would disclose the truth of these thingis wheirof I was to be demandet off: I yeilded unto the condition, and wreat all these pointes,¹⁰ wherof I see my selfe now accused. Therfore, this mater shuld not be laid to my charge, in the respect of the promiseis." The Advocat said, it was not in the noblemens pouer to promes lyf. "Yea, (says he) the King promised unto them, which they avoued unto me be ther oath."

pictures,) he brake out into these words, having first fetched a deep sigh.—'Cousin,' sayes he, 'is there no remedie? *Et impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit? Barbarus hæc segetes?*' Whereupon he was perswaded of his upright meaning, and at his retorne perswaded the Earl of Angus thereof also."—*History of the House of Douglas and Angus*, edit. 1644, p. 377.

¹⁰ Spotiswood says, that hopes were given to the Earl, that he should find favour if he would discover the conspiracy, and what the rebels had intended to do; with the promise, that what he declared should not be made an indictment against himself. The confession "set down by himself in writing," is printed by Spotiswood, (*History*, edit. 1677, p. 331,) and by Crawford, (*Lives of the Officers of State*, p. 388.)

"Ask them," says the Advocat. He inquired of theme, [but] they denyed that such promeis was maid be the King to them, or by them to his L. "What, my Lordis, ye will not say so? ye maid fayth to me be your honors otherways: I refare it to your oath and conscience:¹¹ I am assured ye will not deny it." They sware it was not so. "This is a strange mater, (says my Lord) that neither promise nor lawe avail; yit, my Lords, I derect my speech unto yow all, I pray yow [go] to the Kynge, to know his mynd towardis me;" which they refused, after consultatione. Then he prest every one severallie, and the Erll of Arran him self. He could not prevaill.

Then the clerk proceedit,¹² accusing him, "That he [had] conferance with the Erll of Angus servant, the 7 of Apryll; to whome he sent lykways his speciall dependant Mr Patrik Whytlaw: the end and some was to troble the countrie." "I deny it! yea, I diswadit him, for I said, I knew they would bring no moe, than they would doe at the first instant. And yet, why is it not lawfull that the noblemen may assemble themselves, they seing ther lyf and landis

¹¹ One or two palpable errors in the MS. (such as 'conference' for 'conscience,' 'sare' for 'sware,' &c.) are here corrected.

¹² In the Harl. MS. it is stated, that the clerk proceeded, asking first what answer made he to the last accusation, he said,—“I denie it all, for I know not Mr David Hume.” The following passage, in a letter from Mr P. Galloway, the King's Minister, to James Carmichael, dated from Newcastle, 21st Dec. 1584, evidently refers to another David Hume, then the Laird of Godscroft, and may have been the person here alluded to. “As for news, David Hume, who was left be the Lords, captain in Stirline, is hanged for reading of a letter sent be one of this company to his tennents—his head is put on the Nether Bow, to the great wrath and out-crying of the people,”

put at by them who ar gredie of both, alswell as the burgeissis? they ar in no war cace than they."

The [clerk then] accused him to have kept his hous in most feirfull and wairfull manner, thrie houres after the sight of the Kingis commissione. "My Lord, (said he) I thocht that a particular wretting procured and writtin by my enemie, was not of sufficient fors to derogat to the letter of protectione and the King's Great Seall; and yet I obeyed. I hade bene long away before, yf I had not bene stayed be the King, who directed one [David Murray] over to cause the skipper found suertyes, under pane of ten thousand pounds, that he shuld not land ather in England, Irland, or Scotland, which he could not doe; so, when the wind wes fare I was stayed, and when I could not mak saile I was aprehendit."

The clerk proceeding to the fyft point, accusing him for canceling the tresonable conspiracie, as he confesed him self, devysed against the Kings Majestie, and the Quene, his most deirest mother, for the distructione of theme both: His answeare was, with this distinctione, "The concealing of it is no tresoune, but the revealing a benefeit; and it concernes no nobleman, nor uther persone in this countre."

Then, "You ar accused for witchcraft, in conferring with sorse-
 rers."¹³ His answeare was, (that he thocht they mened not to mew¹⁴
 with him; and shawin lykwyse that it was well knowen how
 he served his God.) "This is no just accusatione, but a mali-

¹³ In the Harl. MS. he is said to have conferred with "one Macklene, a sorcerer."

¹⁴ That is, "They meant not to jest with him."

cious slander, and I know be whom devysed. I will tell yow the truth : there come to me 'a tenand of myne, duellyng by Dunkell, who speak with a womane, asking him, How I did? he answered, Well. No, sayes sche, ther is some ill fallen to him, that he knows not : the Kings fawor is withdrawin frome him, and be the Ladie of Arran ; and yet [there] may be remeid for it, yff my Lord list ; which I refused. Yff the woman war heir, I would be content sche wer brunt, and I would be the first would confess to it. Yff ther be any witchcraft used, I thynk it be more neir the court."

The Syse beyng called, and ther names read, sic as the Erll of Huntlie, whome he excepted because he was under xxv yearis ; Argyll, Craford, Arran, Montroes, Eglintone, Glancarne, Marshall, Doun, Saltoun, Ogilbye, . . .¹⁵ Mr of Elphingston, and the lard of Tillieberne, he desyred them, to purge them selfis by oath that they gave no particular advyce or confirmatione to the King's Advocat to accuse him. Every one swere severallie they did not so ; then it befell the Erll of Arran to speak, [who, rising upon his feet, said,] " Though yo' L. think the name of a sudert infamous, yet I think it great glorie to have bene one : I confess mair ; ye have bene a good frend to my fatheris hous, but in particular frendship, I have bene as gretful as ye have bene : I speak in presence of the gryt God, I loved yow alsweel as my awin saull, and ye knew when ye [had] to doe against the lord Oliphant,¹⁶ how I counterfited the Kingis handwreat for the advancement of your cause. As for the

¹⁵ A blank in the MS.

¹⁶ The affair alluded to is thus mentioned in Calderwood's Manuscript, (vol. ii. p. 643 :)—" In October, 1580, Lord Ruthven coming from Kincardin, where he had

wreating off that commissione to apprehend yow, I will not deny it, seeing it was donne be my maisteris desyr : for his Majestie esteeming more of me than of them of the commune sort, and reposing more fidelitie in me nor in them, he imployed me in that point ; and [who] thinkis that I have done more than my dutie in this, I ame to maintaine the contrary both be deidis of handis and word." So, after the purging him self, [he sware he informed] not, nor ever gave consell to the Kings Advocat in his contrare. He was admited to go on his assysse ; yet, before he arose to go to the innerchamer, with the rest of the Jurie, the Erll [of Gowrye] spak the Erll of Arran, desyryng he would remember the good deed was done to him the last yeir, in his house. The uthter ansuered, " It was not lawfull, for

been at the Erle of Marr's marriage, as he returned to Perth, his way lying a litle from Duplin, a place belonging to the Lord Oliphant. The Lord Oliphant, offended that he sould ride so near his dwelling-place, inimitie standing betwixt them for a certain feud, the Master of Oliphant rushed furth, and chased the Lord Ruthven with a few horse, and some harquebussiers, the foremost flying, the rest followed in such misorder, that they could not be recalled be the Lord Ruthven's cry, whereupon he fled himself also. Alexander Stewart, a brother of the house of Traquare, his kinsman, staving behind the rest, partly to conferre with them, and mollifie their rage with fair speeches, was shott with a harquebutt, and slaine by one that knew him not, to the great grief of the Master of Oliphant. The Lord Ruthven cites the Master before the Justice-General. He had married Margaret Dowglas, daughter to William Dowglas of Lochlevin, therefore, now pursued of his life, was assisted be him. The Erle of Morton would gladly have reconciled them, but could not effectuat the agreement, and therefore was forced to assist the partie persued, whereupon the Lord Ruthven was not a litle offended at the Erle of Morton. Mr John Matland, and Mr Robert Melvil, who depended upon him, blew the bellows. The Stewarts were no less offended for assisting a man accnsed for the slaughter of a Stewart. The Erle of Lennox nunderstood very well that he was jealous of his courses, which were generally suspected be all men to tend to the overthrow of religion."

my Lord, yow ar accused for tresoune, and I was no tratour ; besydes my lyf was saif." ¹⁷ The other smyled, and called for a drink. At the syse departour, when I hard him (being behend him) request a gentill man, cause his frendis conceall his death from his wyff ¹⁸ till scho were of mor strength ; being weakned through [her] child's last delyverie.

The Jurie re-entring, convicted him of four pointis, to the 2, 3, 4, and fyft, passyng from the first and last. His answer was, with a smylling countenance, " My Lordis, I am willing to losse my lyf to bring the King contentment, as I often before did hastored [hasard it] to do him service. But the noble men who were upone my syse in condemning [me], hasard ther awen saulls ; ¹⁹ and God [grant] that my

¹⁷ In the Harl. MS. this passage is,—“ The other answered, ‘ The cause was not alike, for he came not to his house as traitor, although, my Lord, ye be accused of treason, and my life was safe or ever ye saw me.’ So that openly the Erle of Arraine denied his request,” &c. Arran here alludes to the manner of his escape from the party who lay in wait to apprehend him, when on his way to the Earl of Gowry's house, the day of the King's seizure by the nobility concerned in the Raid of Ruthven, the particulars of which may be found in Spotiswoode's History, (edit. 1677, p. 320.)

¹⁸ Calderwood relates, “ That as the King and the Lords were going a-foot to the Tolbooth, (where the Parliament was held,) with the honours before him, the Lady Gowrie came to the King to have spoken with him, and sat down on her knees, crying for grace to her, and her poor bairns, who never had offended his Grace. But Arran would not suffer her to come near unto the King, but thrust her down be force on the street, and hurt her back and her hand. She fell a soun, and lay in the high gate till they were in the Tolbooth ; then was she taken up and carried to an house. She was in great perril of her life. This was the reward she got for saving Arran's life at the Raid of Ruthven.”—MS. History, vol. iii. p. 527.

¹⁹ In the Harl. MS. we are informed that, ere he began, he was interrupted a little by the Judge, who said to him, “ My Lord, the King's Majestie hath sent down his chaplein for the expedition of justice.”—“ Well, my Lords, since it is the King's con-

blood be not wpon the Kingis head. The longer that I live I sould bene involved in the greater care, and wreiped in the more miseryes ; and now, fred from the firre ferryes of the court, whereof I would [have] acquyted my self langsyne, yf I could, I remit my adversars, and commit my revenge to God. My Lord Judge, the pointis whereof I am condemned ar but small oversightes, and so it will be knowin afterward ; I pray yow to mak not the mater so hay-nous, as to punishe it be the penalty of forfaltrie. My sones ar in my landes [manye yeares since ; and failing the eldest] the second is confirmed in all his rightes be the Kings Majestie." The Judge excusing himself because he was condemned of tresoune, so it be-huived him to pronounce the ordinarie punishment :²⁰ which being pronounced, he said, " I pray God that my blood may satiat and extinguish the yre of the purseoures [courteours], and set this countrie at quyetness." So kissing his hand to these that were about him, and commending him to them all, called for the minister, and went to his privat prayers ; after to the scaffold and place of executione, which was covered with lynnyng cloth, then sand, nixt cloth, then scarlet. After a litill pausing, he speak in this maner : " Bretherin, this spectacle is mor commone then plesant unto yow. I am condemned

tentment that I lose my life, I am as willing now to do it, as I was before sene oft to hazard it to do him service ; and the nobils who hath been upon my sise will know the matter better hereafter. And yet, in condemning me to die, they have hazarded their own soules, for I had their promise."

²⁰ According to the Harl. MS. the form of the sentence pronounced was as follows : " In respect of these crymes, whereas WILLIAM ERLE OF GOWRIE is convict, it is given for dome, that he shall be taken to the Market-place of this brough, and there his head stricken from his shoulders."

to die; and God is my witnes I never offendit his Majestie, nather do I ask Godis mercie for any offence that ever I did against him; and the Lord condame me yf I was not mor cairfull of his welfare, than I was of my owin wyf and childrine." Then after his prayers, he adrest him to the pepill,²¹ saying, that he forgot something to speik to them, quhilk was, that ther wer [many] bruitis spred of him, that he shuld be the accuser of many noblemen: he prayed them not to believe such fals lyes: he accused none; he knew of none, but such as had takene the fault upone them; so badd the pepell feirwell, and lowsed his butones, knit with his owin handis the handkurscher about his eyes. He desyred Sir Robert Melvill to content the hangman for his clothes, and gave them to his page, so smylinglie pat his head under the aix; and his body and blood keiped in the scarlet was put in the chist, and conveyed to his ludging [and] his head thereafter set to his shulder. He was buried bysydis my lord Chancelare my lord Glames, in Sterling; borne be the Secretarie Sir Robert Mellving, the Justice-Clerk, and Sir Robert Stewartt of Traquhair, the third day after his executione, to his buriell.

²¹ A more correct and detailed account of the Earl of Gowrye's Declaration on the Scaffold, is given in Calderwood's MS. History, and is here annexed; along with Queen Elizabeth's overture to King James in behalf of the Earl's "poor wife and thirteen fatherless children." The sentence of forfeiture was afterwards remitted by King James, and the estates and honours of the Earldom of Gowrie restored to the family by an Act of Parliament, dated the 10th of December, 1585.

In the Records of Privy Seal is an Act, dated at Falkland, 6th June, 1584, "To inbring and deliver the escheat guidis of William, sumtym Erl of Gowrie, to the Erl of Arran."

THE DECLARATION MADE BE THE EARLE OF GOWRIE,
UPON THE SCAFFOLD, THE 2^o OF MAY, ANNO 1584.¹

IN the first he gave his confession that he was an offender against God sundrie ways, for which his offences God did bring him to be corrected and punished after this manner, the which he doubted not should be in his mercy, and not in his justice ; but protested that he had been a faithfull servant to his Prince, and had never offended against his Majestie, so that he deserved not to suffer death at his hand ; That he was innocent of any evil meaning towards the King's person, his estate and common weale, affirming, that ever he preferred his Majesties wellfare and standing to all things in the world, yea, to the care and wellfare of his wife and children ; and that, if he had been as carefull to advance God's glory as he was towards the King's estate, he had not suffered that day, and therefore desired the whole people to learn, by his example, the instability of this unhappy world ; not to depend or put their confidence in kings or princes, or any worldly kingdom, power, or promotion, but only to depend and put their care upon God. He regrated that he, being

¹ Sir James Melvill says, " At his death upon the scaffold he shewed himself a devout Christian, and a resolute Roman, much regretted by all who heard his grave harangue, and did see his constant end."

under the King's Majesties protection, was surprised craftily, and used beside all kind of good order and equity, the which he imputed rather to the malice and invy of such as were about the King's Majestie, than to his Grace ;—which persons, he declared, he forgave them from his heart, committing always the revenge of his innocency unto God. And further declared, seeing it hath pleased God to grant unto him the benefit of life in this world, the which for sa meikle as it was the King's Majesties will to take it from him, that he was as willing and ready there to render the same unto God again, as ever he was joyfull to bruick it ; and that he feared not for the flesh, wishing at God as well that his innocent blood were not laid to his Majesties charge, as that the thirst and cruelty of the procurers thereof might be satiat and slakned therewith ; so that they attempted no further ; and herefor prayed to God to send the King's Majestic such a counsel as should be more carefull of God's glory, and of his Majesties standing, than of their own promotion, by seeking noblemens blood, whereof the practise they might see in his person. He requested all friends that were there to make intercession to his Majestie, to be good and favourable to his wife and children ; and through remembrance hereof, takeing himself somewhat altered in his stout countenance, and therefor desisting to speak hereof, further prayed his friends, in few words, to recommend him to them, desiring all the people finally to pray to God to be mercifull unto him. Moreover, in the end he called to mind this point following, pretermitted almost as he said be him, namely, that concerning the accusations laid to his charge, whereof the process will bear witness in

the examination of him thereanent, and confession given by him thereupon, he had delated nor slandered no person, erle, lord, barron, burgess, nor minister, to be guilty and participant of any point whereof his accusers had accused him : And therefore protested, that his declaration should stop the mouths of any thereafter that should otherways alledge in his name ; and so recommending himself to their prayers again, he humbled himself upon his knee, and made his prayer unto God, which he read upon a book, intituled, the *Enemy to Atheism*. And after that he had spoken with sundrie upon the scaffold with him, and had taken his leave from them, declareing constantly and stoutly that he was no ways feared for the flesh, or was affraid for the present death,—he then presented himself to the heading-stock, his eyes being covered with a napekine, or cloath, be the Justice-clerk, his sark neck removed be him, and doublet neck laid down over from his shoulders, by the handling only of the Justice-clerk. Finaly, with prayer to God, he rendered up his life unto him at half hour to nine, or thereby.

OVERTURES FOR QUEEN ELIZABETH HER REQUEIST TO THE KING
FOR THE HOUSE OF GOWRIE, IN DECEMBER, 1584.

RIGHT High, &c.—Understanding the long and faithfull service of old of your trusty cusine, umquhile William, some time Earle of Gowrie, who, as he was one of the chief instruments to put the royal crown upon your head, so did he constantly persist, without shrinking, in maintaining of that cause, against the murtherers of your dearest father, grand father, and uncle, of noble memory; and in prosecution whereof not only lost the Lord Methven, his brother-in-law, in the civil wars betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, and George, his brother-german, at Stirline, in rescuing your grand father from the hands of George, umquhile Erle of Huntly, Claud Hamiltoun, and Pharnihirst, but also many other landed gentlemen of his kinsmen, and hazarded his own life and his friends at sundrie times; as he was always most ready to doe at your pleasure. We are the rather, of pity and conscience, moved to interpone our credite, earnestly to sollicite that your ire, incensed against his poor wife and 13 fatherless children, may be aswaged with his own execution; and to extend your royal clemency and compassion towards them, whose offence, as it could not merit, so could not their innocence bear your indignation, nor their youth be thought worthy your wrath; that they being restored to enjoy their father's lands, rents, and possessions, under your obedience and protection, some monument of that ancient house may abide with the posterity, and that name be not rooted out from the face of the earth, through the private craft and malice of their privat adversaries, contrar your good nature; for we would be very loath to hear your name slandered through satisfying with any part of his lands and goods, whose eyes could not otherways be satiat but by his blood and death, as natural affection to your own, tied so near by kindred and consanguinity to your self, and remembrance of their father's tedious travels in all your civil wars; for maintaining whereof, and satisfying your creditours, at your command he did ingadge almost his whole lands, will be no hinderance to this our requeist. So, wee hope his earnest affection well known to the promoting of true religion, and good liking to the continuance of the amitie betwixt us both and the people, shall be no small furtherence to the accomplishing thereof, according to your good pleasure. So, reposing upon your gracious and favourable answer, we take our leave.

THE APOLOGY
OF MR PATRICK GALLOWAY,
MINISTER AT PERTH,
WHEN HE FLED TO ENGLAND,
MAY, M.D.LXXXIV.

PATRICK GALLOWAY was chosen to succeed Mr John Row, as minister of Perth, Nov. 14, 1580. By his mode of preaching he gave great offence to the courtiers, and especially to the Duke of Lennox, who, it is said, 'purchased' that "he should be discharged the pulpit and toune of Perth, so long as the King was in the toune : but he avowed he would not remove till his flock refused him, but would present himself into the pulpit untill they discharged him to come furth." In allusion to the free and bold manner in which he inveighed against the corruptions and the licentiousness of the Court, Montgomery, the well-known author of *The Cherrie and the Slae*, addressed him in the following Sonnet :—

Sound, Galloway, the trompet of the Lord !
 The blissit brethren sall obey thy blast ;
 Then thunder out the thretnings of the word
 Aganst the wicked, that away are cast.
 Pray that the faithfull in the fight stand fast,
 Suppose the Divill the wicked's hairts obdure,
 Yit perseveir, as in thy preichins past,
 For to discharge thy conscience and cure.
 Qubhat, justice sauld ! qubhat, pilling of the pure !
 Qubhat, bluidy murthers ar for gold forgivin !
 God is not sleipand, thocht he tholde, be sure :
 Cry out, and he shall heir thé from the Heuin.
 And wish the King, his court and counsell clenge,
 Or then the Lord will, in his wrath, revenge.

The following paper contains his Apology, or statement of the causes which forced him to leave his pastoral charge, and seek for

safety in England. But Galloway did not always continue thus steadfast in 'the true faith;' and it is matter for reflection, that he, who at this period was so closely connected with the first Earl of Gowrie, should have so easily credited, and so zealously entered on the subject of a conspiracy, which, in a few years after, proved so fatal to the House of Gowrie.

This change in Galloway's conduct may possibly be traced to his being brought more immediately in contact with King James, and his attendants. On the change of affairs, he returned to his charge at Perth, in November 1585. In June 1589, he was appointed one of the Ministers of the King's Household, and continued to officiate as such till June 1607, when he was translated to one of the churches of Edinburgh.

APOLOGIA M: P: G. MINISTRI PARTHENSIS.

VNDERSTANDING my self to haiff bene injustlie detractit and calumniat be malicious persouns, and that som in thair wrytings, alsweill as in speachis, hes nocht sparit to traduce me, and to charge me with divers odious misraports, agans the trewth and thair awin conscience; I thocht meit to notifie, and mak knawin my innocencie in that behalff; for better resolutioun off the godlie, and stopping of the mowthis off wikkit and godles persons, enemies to the trewth, and to the prechours and professours thairoff; and to that effect hes, in this schort treatis, declarit the weritie off all things, that euer at anie tyme touchit that mater quhairapon thir misraports ar proceedit.

First, in the yeir of God I^mv^lxxxij, in the moneth off Junij, the Kings Majestie cam to the toun off Perth, quharin I was, be the apointment off the Generall Assemblie, at the earnest sute and desyre of the Magistrats and hail Inhabitants of that towne, establisst Pastour and Minister; and in his Grace companie wer divers Nobilmen and Counselours, and amang others the vmquhill Duke off Lenox, quha than had the chieff steir and credit in court, preferrit to all others in dignitie, autoritie, and rewle off the affaires off the realm; quha professit nocht onlie the religioun with vs, bot sub-

scriyvit with his hand the Articlis of the Faith, and the publik forme set downe in Parliament, for obedience to the word, sacrements, and ecclesiasticall discipline ; and comunicat at the table off the Lord divers tymes, for better attestatioun off his zeale and affectioun to the trewth, professit and establissit in the countrey. At the tyme forsaid, he had in his companie Mr Robert Montgomrie, quha having left his flok and congregatioun of Stirling destitut of a pastour, without advys off the Kirk, or of his awin flok, did accept the Bischoprik of Glasquo, the title quhairof the said Duke had procurit to him, that he having the name of Bischop, and aucht hundreth merks money for his living and sustentatioun, the haill rents, and other dewties off the said benefice, nicht com to the Dukes vtilitie and behove. Quhilk being signified to the brethren off the Ministrie, he was, according to the word off God and rewle off charitie, admonissit to desist from that office off a Bischop, quhilk was nocht lawfull to him to accept, becaus, be the apointment of the Generall Assemblie, he was placit minister to another congregatioun ; as als that the ordour and degrees of Bischops, as than they war vsit, war be publik and vnanime consent off the Generall Assemblie, off the haill Ministrie, commissioners of the Kings Majestie, schirrefdoms, and burrowis within the realm, apoynted to haiff na place nor autoritie, but to expyre and to ceas ; to the quhilk the said Mr Robert Montgomrie him selff had nocht only consentit and subscriyvit, bot in his sermons had allowit and approvit the same act ; and efter his admonitioun had solemnitlie promisit, in presence of the haill Assemblie, neuer to accept anie sik charge, or cure, as to be a bischop ;

and did protest that he repentit, and was fra his hart sorie, that he had done agans his knowlege and conscience alredy, in consenting to the Duks desyre in that mater ; and tharfore, that he wald obey the censure and will of the rest of the Ministrie in that poynt. Quharthrow I, at his awin desyre, did sute at thair hands to bring him to thair favour, and my intercessioun avalit sa with thame that he was acceptit and admitted to his repentance.

Bot, nochtwithstanding off all thir promises maid to the Assembly, and the seuerall aithis and protestatiounis maid to my selff, he maks defectioun immediatelie, and agans his conscience, knowlege, and faith, accepts the same, and is efter the forme directit be the Duke, inaugurat his Bischop. For the quhilk defectioun and obstinat persisting in his sin, without signe or will to amend, preaching erroneous doctryne, and wilfull refusing to submitt him selff to the censour of ecclesiasticall discipline, he was adjudgit and ordanit, by decret and act off the Generall Assemblie, to be excommunicat, quhilk sentence was, efter the dew ordour and forme prescryvit in the Buke of Discipline, pronuncit agans him, and he accursit, excommunicat, and cutt off from the societie off the Kirk of God, and of the faithfull members of the same. Quhilk being signified to the Kings hienes, and Lords of his Secreit Counsell, was contemnit be the Duke ; and the said excommunicat Bischop nocht onlie interteynit in his companie and hous, and placit nixt him selff at his table, bot in contempt and despyte off the religiou and professours tharoff, broucht in to the Kings hous, to his hall, and chalmer quhar his Majestie did eate, and to his privie chalmer to quyett conference.

Quhilk quhen I had, according to the word of God; charitable desyrit to be reformitt, it was promisit to be mendit, and that he sold nocht be admitted to haiff access to court, nor to his Hienes presence, nor resaut in his hous. Bot fynding that promis was nocht kepit, and that the Duke reteynit him still in his companie, and in the court, I spak agans the same divers tymes in pulpit; and persaving na signe nor apperance of amendment, I plainlie reprovit the same, as my dewtie was; otherwys I cold nocht haiff dischargit my calling befor God, nor dewtye to his Majestie, nor to the auditour present, to haiff sufferit sa notorious ane abuse and enormitie vnreprovit.

Quharat, the Duke stormitt in sik sort, that I was callit, and chargit afore the Secreit Counsell; and having comperit, was, efter resoning and conference, according to the word off God, dismissit, and na falt imput or found to me; and promis maid that that abuse sold be reformit. Bot the Duke nocht contentit that I was thus lettin depart without trouble, insisting obstinatlie in his proceedings, thinking that quhat euer he did sold be comportit with, did interteyne his Bischop, and favourable did use him, purchasing letters to cause him be obeyit off his Benefice, and mayntening him in his new vsurpit dignitie. Quhen I did speak agans the same, he did plainlie menas me in pulpit, and callit me pultron, villain, meschant, with mony other injurious words, and threatnit to thrust me through with ane rapier, till his Majesties self was compellit to lay his hand on his mowth, and to stay his furie and malicious langage, hard of all that stude in his Hienes seate, and vtterit publiklie before the people.

And efter the sermont was endit, at his passing out at the kirk-dur, in plaine audience, laying his hand on his sword, bosit to haif my lyff, and vsit divers contunelious and reprochefull words off malice and despyte, and in na wyse cold be mitigat nor asswagit, except I war dischargit off preaching in my awin congregatioun during the Kings remayning thair ; quhilk he obteynit exped, and past be som off his favorers in the cabinet Counsell, and sa causit command me nocht to preache any more sa lang as the King taryed at Perth. Quhilk charge was nocht past, nor knawin to the Lords off Secreit Counsell, as I tryed seuerallie be tham selffis : And for farder declaratioun off his malice and hatred aganis me, he causit pen and reid ane infamous libell in the kirk, immediatelie efter the sermont, for better vttering of his anger and wraith ; as the same yit extant, reports.

He perswadit his Majestie lykwys to consaiff evill opinioun of me, and to vow that he sold neuer heir me preache thairefter : and yit I obeyit the charge, and passed to Kynnowle and preachit.

Heirefter, in the samin moneth, his Majestie past to the Hieland huntis in Atholl, and the Duke passit to Dalkeith, to prepare for his Chalmerlayne-ayre in Edinburgh, and his Justice-ayre in Glasquo, at the quhilk alevin off the ministers thair sold haif bene put to death. And his Majestie, in the end of the moneth of August, did returne to Ruthven, quhair apon the xxiiij day thairoff, the Erle of Mar, with his freyns, the Erle of Gowrie, and som others off the nobilitie, did place tham selffis abowt his Majestie, and causit apprehend the Erle off Arrane, quha was com thither, to haif convoyit his Majestie

to Kynneill, quharin thair sold divers of the Nobilitie haif bene apprehendit, that favorit the religioun, and the Kings weifare and estait.

Bot this being preventit, as at length is declarit in the Apologie set out for the said Nobilmen,¹ the Kings Majestie cam again to Perth; and thair, in my sermont, I desyrit his Hienes to consider the dangerous estait quhairin he was of before; and that he aucht to praise God that he was delyverit and fred off sik pernicious persons, as had bene about his Majestie this quhyle by past, quha socht nathing bot the ouerthrow and subuersioun of his estate and religioun, with the trouble of the Comounwelth. I lykwyse exhortit the Nobilmen thair present to prosecute that guid and godlie cause with constancie, zeale, and feare of God; and to studie, to the advancement of Gods glorie, the weifare of the Kings Majestie, and quyetnes of the cuntry;—albeit his Hienes was nocht weill pleasit with this forme of doctryne at that tyme. Efterward I was send for to Stirling, quhair, in my sermons, lykwyse, I gave the lyke admonitiouns and exhortatiouns; and som quhat touchit the imperfectiouns of thaise quha hed misgovernit the estait in tyme bypast; quhairthrow his Majestie did mislyk mair of me nor afore. Efter this his Majestie being com to Halerudhous, in my sermont preachit in the Abay-kirk, I did vse the lyke exhortatiouns, with earnest desyre to his Hienes, and

¹ This was printed at the time under the title of "Ane Declaratiorn of the iust and necessar causes, moving vs of the Nobillitie of Scotland, vthers of y^e Kings Maiesties faithful subiectis, to repair to his Hienes presence," &c. ¶ Derectit from Striuling, with special command and licence to be prentit. Anno M.D.LXXXII. 8vo, 16 leaves.

the Nobilitie, to be cairfull for the advancement off Gods glorie, and mayntenance of vertew, with punissing of vice ; and I did speak aganis som abusis and enormities that had reignt in court, quhilk I wissit now to be amendit ; bot that did discontent his Majestie greatlie, being movit thairto be som ill persouns in his companie, quha suspectit me to haif knawin off the Raid of Ruthven, becaus I was Minister of Perth, quhair of the Erle off Gowrie was Provest.

The Erle off Arrane, efter his apprehensioun, being put in the place of Ruthven, to remayne, quhair he was honourable and courteslie intreatit, at divers tymes entered into conference with me, and opnit to me the vnhappie deceincts and complots intentit and purposit to haiff bene practisit be the Duke off Lenox, for wrack off the religion, and of divers Nobilmen and Ministers ; and alteratioun off the present estait and governement off the realm :— quhilk at that tyme, with monie attestatiouns and solem aithis, he affirmit to me that he mislykit in his hart, as repugnant to Gods trew word, and to all humaine societie ; And becaus he knew that throw his behaviour bypast, he had maid him selff to be thought off a corrupt lyff and suspect religioun, he trauellit with me, and studyed to perswade me, to deale publiklie and playnlie with the Kirk in his favour, to move thame to consaiff guid opinioun off him, and to lyke off his conversioun and zeale for the trewth :—and to remove anie ill lyking consaiffit of him afore, quhilk he sold in tyme cumming amend, and be a maist zealous favorer and advancer off Gods glorie and the trewth professit :—Bot I, being movit be monie guid reasouns nocht to give haistie and facile credit thairto,

thought it a mater hazardous to deal in, except I had seyne better prove nor his nakit wordis, quhilk oftymes, in tymes bygane, had bene accompanied with few guid effects; and thairfor, he persaving my slawnes to promis that quhilk he desyrit, he consaiffis agans me ane inward malice and hatred, quhilk than he did craftely dissemble, but hes sensyne maist evidentlie vtterit, as his procedings agans me beris record.

In the moneth of Julij, efter the alteratioun maid at Saint Androis, be removing the Erles of Mar, Angus, Bothwell, and others, weill affectat to the religioun, out off his Majesties companie; and others quha favorit Arran's proceedings, and consentit to ane vnquyetnes and trouble off the religioun and countrey, being chieff courtiours; the Kings Majestic directs his missive lettres to ane greit number off the brethren of the ministrie to com to Saint Androis; and ane lettre was send to me, amang the rest, to that sam effect. Efter the resait quhairoff, another lettre was send to me, to com thither aucht dayis before the day apointed to the rest; and, according to the will thairoff I obeyit; and being com thither the Coronell, Sir Robert Melvin, and the lard off Segie, entrit in conference, giff they micht haiff entysit, or any wyse movit me, to disalow off the act of the Generall Assemblie, maid anent the subscriyving of generall bands for mayntenance off the King's weillfare, religioun, and to the quyetnes of the countrey; quhairin the hail Synodall conventioun had found, that the Nobilmen had done guid service to God, the King, and Realme, that had removit ill counsellours fra his Majestic, and had preventit the greit evillis that otherwys had fallin

out, giff thair pernicious intentiouns had nocht bene stayit, as the said act beris. Bot they could nocht move, nor induce me, in anie sort, to yeild to that thair purpose. Thairfore the Erle off Arrane thairefter, apon ane nicht, in his awin privie chalmer, enterit in conference with me a lang space, to the same effect; bot fynding me constantlie to abyde at the said act, and to dissent fra the rest off my brethren in na sort, he nocht onlie consaiffs a malicious hatred at me, bot movis his Majestie to alter his favour and countenance far aganis me; in so mekle, that becaus I wald nocht applaud to the appetytes off thay pestilent counsellours, I was altogether mislykit, and out off favour off the court, partlie becaus the tyme forsaid, the yeir preceding, I had reprovit the abusis and enormities croppin in the court, and had spokin agans the vyces and imperfectiouns off thame quha bare chieff rewle; and partlie becaus I wald nocht aganis my conscience agrie to the present proceedings, quhilk tendit to the wrak of the religioun, corrupting of his Majesties tender yeris, and affable eare and inclinatioun; and to the ouerthrow and ruine off all guid and godlie Nobilmen, and others that socht the advancement off God's glorie, weifare off the King, and quyetnes of the comounwelth; quhairthrow I was altogether out of credit, and was brocht in malgrace of the courteours.

The Kings Majestie having reteirit him self fra Fyff to Stirling, and thairfra to Edinburgh, to mak his residence all that wynter, did assemble ane conventioun off the Estaits, quhairin the alteratioun at Ruthven was found treasoun, and sik as was thairat, appointed to tak remissiouns for the same, as a cryme of lese-majestie

and haynous conspiracie ; quhilk off before, was found in ane mair ample conventioun, guid and necessair service, for the weifare of his Hienes awin estait, the religioun, and countrey ; and be this new act, all men war broucht in ane vnsurtie and dispair of thair estait ; and all promises, in effect, war brokin, that of before war maid to the nobilitie and the ministrie. The Erle of Gowrie, resident at Perth, access to court being denyed him, because his Lordship resortit daylie to my sermons ; Arrane had som of his flatterars and pyke-thanks present thair to note my teaching and his Lordship's behaviour ; quha nocht onlie send daylie advertisements to court, falslie and calumniouslie agans the trewth, and thair awin conscience concerning his Lordship, bot did maliciouslie lie of my self, and inventit fals raports, quhilk I neuer spak or mentioned ; that I sold haiff exhortit his Lordship and the people, to mak insurrectioun agans his Majestie ; and that I affirmitt they nicht justlie tak armour on thame ; and that his Hienes had declynit fra the trewth ; and that I neuer prayed for his Majestie att my sermons. Althocht in presence of God thay did manifestlie lie of me, and spak agans the trewth and thair awin knowlege, yit thir misraports beinge thus brocht to his Hienes eare, did daylie move his mislyking to increas agans me ; becaus the raporters war nocht knawin, bot suspectit be me, and onavowit ; sa that I cold nocht haiff the moyen, to bring my innocence to tryell.

And thairfore in the moneth of December, quhen his Majestie directit the Erle of Rothes, the Lards of Caprintoun, Coluthie, and Mongo Graham, to Perth, in commissioun to the Erle of Gowrie,

to command him, in his Majesties name, to tak a remissioun for that alteratioun at Ruthven, and to condem that fact as treason : The said commissioners had iu speciall directioun, to enter with my selff concerning the forsaid reports, as they did ; to quhom I declarit my innocencie in that matter, and the malice of thay liers, quha had thus surmysit aganst me, and durst nocht avow the same. They had directioun to trye the same be the Erle of Gowrie, quha nocht onlie assurit thame off the contrare, bot be his letter, and be som gentilmens off guid credit, send to his Hienes, resolutit him that thair was na sik thing trew, and preassit to haiff that mater tryed ; bot it cold nocht be had. Yit Arrane persisting in his malice, and having na way, bot be misreports and lies, to mak me odious to the King, he movis his captours still secreitlie to insist in thair former lies and advertisments ; and he raports thair as trewth to his Hienes, nocht onlie for my harme, bot to accumulat hatred and mal-grace to the said Erle of Gowrie, then absent fra court ; sa that his Majestie did account thay raports trew, and was mindit to haiff causit charge me to compeir before the Secreit Counsell for the same. Bot Arrane knowing my innocence, and that the tryell thair off wald turne to his awin schame, stayed that ; and thocht in the moneth off Merche thairefter, quhen I cam to Edinburgh for som of my awin particular affaires, to haiff causit apprehend and imprison me without tryell, war nocht I, being advertisit thair off be freynds, reteyrit my selff hame, and so eschewit that present inconvenient.

Thus his Majestie having bene movit be the Erle of Arrane and sik others his adherents, as war in his Majesties companie, to tak

up a cours, repugnant to that quhilk be act off Conventioun of the Estaits in the moneth off [October,] anno 1582, was establissit, and found guid service; and be the act off the Generall Assemblie, was on the sam maner allowit and approvit. Becaus nobilmen, and manie others, quha favorit the religioun, war thairthrow brocht in ane unsurtie; and impietic and daylie vyce began to abound in the court and realm;—as the text ministrit occasioun, som ministers did reprove the enormities that reigned, and thairfore war nocht onlie mislykit off and hatit, bot captours war privelie apointit in everie notable congregatioun, to advert quhat was prechit and taucht toward the abus and misgovernment off the country; and som off our brethren was commandit silence, others war banissit fra thair flocks, and som war chargit afore their Secreit Counsell, and, amang others, that notable instrument in the kirk of God, quhais lerning and qualities ar manifestlie approvit and knawin, Mr Andro Melvin, was commandit to prison to the Blackness; fra quhilk he sold haiff bene brocht to his death; quhairoff he being secreitlie advertisit, according to the rewle prescryvit be our Maister, Christ, for saiftie off his lyff, he was forsit to eschew thair hands, and fle out of the coun-trey; quhairat Arran and his associats consaivit sik rage and passionat wrath, that they procurit an act to be maid, that thairefter thair sold neuer ane minister be chargit be lettres to compeir before the Secreit Counsell, but sold be apprehendit, and hands laid on thame, to be brocht and presentit to justice for thair doctrine, or any other mater, that pleasit the court lay to thair charge.

Thair was, besyde the publik and manifest contempt off the word

off God, and the prechours and professours thair off, a manifest and daylie testimonie off Atheisme, and evill, vngodlie, and licentious lyff, gevin be tham that had the rewle in court. For, nocht onlie war sik in credit, and brocht in favour, that had bene enemies to the Kings autoritie, and war cheiff favorers off the papisticall and bludie counsell of Trent; bot, avowit papists, and sik as, for papistrie, had bene, and remaynit still excommunicat and accursit, war brocht in to his Majesties company, privie chalmer, and war in favour, and guid estimatioun, and held swey and steir in maters off estait, to the greit greiff and grudge off the ministrie, and all other godlie and zealous servants off God.

The greit hasard off the Kings Majesties persoun, estait, and religioun, and off the comounweill, being thus vnderstand, forseyne, and cleirly persaeffit be dyvers Nobilmen, the preachours and professours of the trewth, to thair greit grieff and regrait, thair appeirit daylie occasioun off greter sorow to all faithfull hearts; for that apostat, Mr Patrik Constyne,² Bishop of Saint Androis, being in Ingland Embassadour, be all possible diligence studied to invent and

² Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews. Robert Semple, in his satirical poem, the Legend of the Bishop of Saint Androis, alludes to Adamson, who was the son of a baker in Perth, having changed his name, which originally was Coustan, or Constyne, and afterwards Constantyne. He speaks of him as

Ane baxters sone, ane beggar borne,
That twyse his surnaine hes mensuorne;
To be called Constene he thocht schame,
He tuke up Constantine to name. . . .
— He changed his surname ouer agane;
Now Doctour Adamsone at last,
Quhairthrow he ower to Paris past. . . .

practise trouble and scisme to be brocht in into the kirk of God ; and was diligent to bring to pas sik instructiouns as he resavit fra Arrane and other godles courteurs, as the effect sensyne hes sufficientlie testified ; quhilk, becaus it is mair nor notorious to all the world, for brevitie I omitt.

The Erle off Gowrie likwys, in the moneth of Apryle, (a pearle and patron of godliness, policie, lerning, and all notable vertewis,) was tresouable, be the craft of the Erlis of Arran, Montros, Crawford, and Coronell Stewart, surprysit and apprehendit in Dondie, and brocht to Edinburgh to be put to death, apon simulat causis, to the greit sorow and lamentable grief off all guid men, and to the evident parrel off the religioun. †Som off the Nobilitie, apon the xviij of the said moneth, assemblit in Stirling for redress of the saids enormities, and saiffetie of his Hienes persoun, religioun, and countrey, from the imminent evillis that hang ouer thair heads, and be thair proclamatiouns made publik attestatioun of that thair intention as maist godlie, necessare, and profitable, for the estait and realm.†

† Advise gif this
pertikle salbe omit-
tit or nocht.†

The Erle of Gowrie being tane, and the enemies off God and his trowth thus trywmphand, and rewland all things at thair plesour, and abusing his Majesties care and flexible inclinatioun, I knowing thair devilis purposis and intentionis, quhilk daylie mair and mair vtterit the selff, prayit to God in my secreit meditatioun for redres heiroff ; and apon Sunday the XIX of Apryle, following in my sermont my ordiner text, quhairin becaus the word ministris apt occasioun thairto, I did open to my flock quhat parrell the religioun and

estait of the trewth was in, and provit, be divers arguments, that thay menit nothing bot subuersioun and wrak off the same.

And becaus I am traducit and misreportit of for that sermont, I haiff insert it here word be word, as I preachit it ; sa that my adversaris can nocht say that I haif in anie thing alterit anie part thair off ; quhairby all indifferent reidars may consider how justlie, in the feare of God, without anie spot of treasoun, I haiff dischargit my conscience according to his word, and how wrangouslie I am calumniat without cause. The sermont followis.³

Into this moneth off Aprile thair was ane Synodall Assemblie off the ministric apoynted to be in Saint Androis, for som affaires off the ecclesiasticall policie, to the quhilk divers off the best lernit and maist qualified of that professioun being convenit, I cam thither lykwyse. Quhair loking that in quyetnes sik things sold haiff bene handlit and treatit, as servit for advancement off Gods glorie, Mr Johnne Graham, Justice-deput, was directit fra court, weill stuffit and replenissit with Arran's informatiouns ; and nocht onlie vtteris in presence off the brethren thair convenit, menassing language and words off reproche agans vs all, with a plaine discharge of our Assemblie, and that he wald nocht onlie be moderator, but commander thairin ; bot in particuler schew me quhat ill opinioun and mislyking was had off me in speciall ; and having prevelie ane commissioun to

³ The Sermon alluded to is not preserved with the MS. The Apology was evidently intended for publication, and the Sermon in that case would have been introduced.

apprehend Mr James Lowsoun, Mr David Lindsay, Mr Andro Hay, [a blank in the MS.], and my selff. Becaus of Mr Andro Hais absence, (quhom he lukit for to haiff resortit thair that nicht,) he defers the executioun of his intentioun that nicht, that he nicht haiff trappit vs all together; bot I being certifyt and warnit thairoff, withdrew that same nicht out of Saint Androis, and cam to Perth to my awin flok on Satterday the xxv of Aprile, and prechit on Sondag the xxvj thairoff, before none and efter none, opening, according to the word of God, my mynd, and discharging my conscience to my auditours, willing thame to convert richtlie to God, and with all humilitie to pray for avoyding the perrillis and plaigis that hang on that countrey and every pairt thairof. Bot I was immediatlie thair-etter maid foreseyne that thair was another charge, direct to the Bailies of Perth, and commissioun send to apprehend me.

Quhairof being advertisit, I past to Dondie to visit som freynds, and eschew that surpyse that was devysit agans me; and quhen I had nocht remaynit twa dayis thair, another commissioun was send to the Magistrats thair, to apprehend me, in lyk maner. For eschewing quhairoff I past to ane freynds hous saxtene mylis distant thairfra, to Robert Guthrie off Lownans dwelling, quhair I had nocht abiddin abone two or three dayis, quhen the fourt commissioun was send to the Schirreff off the schyre, the Master of Gray elder, to apprehend me, quhilk with all obedience he wald not refuse, bot send xvij horse thither for that effect; bot God, quha neuer leavis his awin in thair distres, was cairfull for me, sa that I was certifyt thairoff; and being thus vnnaturallic, and agans ordour off law, hun-

tit vp and downe, was at last forsit to caire for my awin saffetie and relieff, and be Gods providence escapit thair bludie and crewell hands.

Immediatelie efter my departour out of Saint Johnnestoun, my wyff remayning thair desolat and solitair, my hous was maist narowlie socht for me, my servants examined with rigorous words, and threatnit to tell quhair I was ; and the beds off my house stoggit with swords, to haiff bereft my lyff giff I had nocht thus eskapit. Thair-efter, they pat sa extremelie at my wyff,⁴ that sho was compellit to by my escheat fra thair thesaurer, and to depurs mair money thairfore (onlie for saiftie off my buks) nor the comoun custome of sik merchandris was wont to be valewit at, albeit I had bene ten tymes richer nor I was.

Besydis this rude and barbarous dealing, thair was all kynd off rigour vsit aganis Robert Guthrie off Lownan, ane gentilman off guid calling, quha fearis God with his hart, to quhais house I cam, and remaynit two or three dayis, I neither being chargit nor sum-mound privatlie, nor publiklie, nor put to the horne. And yit, agans the law of God, of natour, and the comoun law of the coun-

⁴ Patrick Galloway, who died in 1624, left by his wife, (Mary, daughter of Mr James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh,) a son, Sir James Galloway of Carnbie, who, after holding various high offices in the state, under James VI. and Charles I., was created Lord Dunkeld, in 1645. His grandson, James, third Lord of Dunkeld, followed the fortunes of James VII., and having been outlawed after the battle of Killieranky, in 1689, became a field-officer in the French army, and was killed. His only son, the last Lord Dunkeld, died a lieutenant-general in the French service, and his only daughter died in a nunnery.

trey, he was thairfore callit to thair law, put out of his hous ; and the Master of Gray, younger, causit his brother tak his escheat ; sa that to rid him selff out off that trouble, he behovit to pay four hundreth merks, besyde his trouble, and sicknes, and the spolyie of his hous.

FINIS.

RELATION

BY THE MASTER OF GRAY,
CONCERNING THE SURPRISE
OF THE KING AT STIRLING.

NOVEMBER M.D.LXXXV.

A CHANGE of administration, which, in more peaceful countries, is attained by political intrigue, was in Scotland always carried through by force of arms. James Stewart, created Earl of Arran, the unworthy, but favourite, minister of James VI., had been once before driven from the King's presence and counsels, by the insurrection, called the Raid of Ruthven, in August, 1582. The following undertaking, which took place in November, 1585, had the more permanent effect of depriving him for ever of power and consequence.

Patrick, Master of Gray, whose narrative is now first printed, was one of the 'friends at court,' who were most instrumental in bringing about this change. "He was," says Godscroft, "a near kinsman to the late Earl of Gowry, and of the ancient nobility, who did hate Arran, for that he had been author of the death of his dear friend, seized on his lands, and did presumptuously take upon him to govern the whole country alone, being but newly raised to be noble. There was also Sir Lewis Ballantine, of kin likewise to Gowry, an ancient dependor on the house of Angus, and Mr John Maitland, Secretary, who had indeed been an enemy to the Earl of Morton, and was well contented that Arran should be employed to work his ruin ; but he could not away with his peremptory and absolute domineering. These were the actors and great instruments of his fall : Gray directly, and of purpose, the other two by conniving and being

conscious to the plot, yet so as they would have seemed not to know of it; and they did rather give way to it than work it.”¹

By a contemporary writer,² the Master of Gray is spoken of “as a practising papist,”—who, when he came out of Scotland, professed himself a Catholic, and would have been excommunicated for his obstinacy in popery, “if the state of the kirk had not been troubled;” but now, the same writer adds, when he is sent to England as ambassador, he giveth himself out for a protestant; no doubt finding it his interest to profess himself “a protestant *of the King’s religion*.” But, as Wotton, the English ambassador—himself a bold and dark intriguer, wrote to her Majesty, that at this time, “there was nothing but double dealing and deceit in this court;” and Elizabeth, speaking of the Earl of Arran, and the Master of Gray, said, “that they were two cozening knaves.”

The Master of Gray was afterwards a prime agent in procuring the execution of Queen Mary, encouraging Queen Elizabeth to the perpetration of that iniquity, by assurances that James would not attempt to revenge the fact when once committed, though decency obliged him to make an apparent opposition.

¹ Hume of Godscroft’s History of the House of Douglas. 12mo. edit. 1743, vol. ii. p. 357.

² Letter of James Carmichael to the Earl of Angus, 4th December, 1584, in Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 633.

THE RELATION OF THE MASTER OF GRAYE, CONCERN-
ING THE SURPRIZE OF THE KING AT STERLING.

FOR the reformation of matters out of order, both in the Court particularly, and the Government generally, of Scotland, and the removing of some bad instruments (namely, the Earle of Arrane, by whose credite the King was running a course that this state might not suffer,) from the King, it was at last thought expedient to let loose, and turne downe the Lords banished and abiding in London to the Borders.¹

But before they should go down, a partye was first provided for them on the Borders, to joine with them, and secret friends wrought for them in the court, against they should come forward; the chief whereof was the Master of Gray, opposite enemy to Arrane, and as great a favourite of the King as he. These things being rype, the ambassador retyreing himself at the instant, it so fell out, that he arryving at Barwick the xvj. of the last moneth, the Lords were come downe to the Borders the next day after.

¹ Meaning the lords after named, who were exiled from Scotland on account of their concern with the conspiracy called the Raid of Ruthven.

The Lords teamed the Lords of the faction, or banished lords, were these—the Earles of Angus and Marr, the Master of Glamis, the Lords of Arbroth, Pashley, Cambuskenneth, and Dryburgh, and others. The opposite were, the Earles of Arrane, Montrosse, Crawford, Collonell Steward, Sir William Steward, Arrane's brother, and the Lord of Downe, &c.

The first meeting of the banished Lords together was at Kelso, within the midle Marches, and thence divided themselues thus—Angus and his company, the better to gather friends, went to Pebles, not farre from Edinburgh ; Arbroth and his company went to Dumfries, to joyne with the Lord Maxwell, that had been in armes all the summer before, for a particuler against Johnston, the King's Warden ;² and so being severed, appoincted for a general rendezvous, or meeting-place, Faukirk, xij miles from Sterling, the last of the moneth ; where they met together, and were to the number of 8000 horse and footmen.

The Master of Gray in this tyme was gone from the Court to gather friends, and meant to surprise Saint Johnstone, being secretly friends for the Lords of the faction, but pretended to levy all that he

Here all were like to fall in sonder by reason of the Lord Bodwell's wavering.

² The Johnstons and Maxwells had been long divided by a deadly feud. The Johnstones had obtained considerable interest at Court, in consequence of their services in pursuing the Lords concerned in the Raid of Ruthven. The Lord Johnstone, having obtained the Wardenry of the West Marches, was sufficient reason to Lord Maxwell (although a Catholic) to join with the opposite faction. He scandalized his new Protestant allies by assigning the words, *Saint Andrew*, for the watch-word, which was thought, said Godscroft, to smell of his superstitious disposition. But it was rather privately cavilled at than openly reproved.

did for the King, that then purposed to make a rode upon the Lord Maxwell, commanding all men from sixty to sixteen, to go with him. All this tyme Arrane lay at his house at Kenneil, so commanded by the King upon suspicion of the Lord Russell's slaughter;³ but understanding of Mr Wotton's⁴ secret retyre, and the coming of the banished Lords, whom he tearmed rebels to the Borders, he repaired to the court, enformeing the King of all that he heard, persuaदेing him that all this was done with the Master of Grayes privity and knowledge; and therefore desirous that the King should take his life from him, drew him for to send for the Master of Gray with diligence. The Master being sent for, (he was then assembling his friends in the Fife shyre,) was doubtfull what to do, being privily advertised that his life was sought for by Arrane; yet fearing least his absence should overthrow the whole plot, and by giving place to Arrane, hazard the cause, adventured and came to the King, whom he

³ Sir Francis Russell, eldest son of the Earl of Bedford, was killed at a fray which arose at a Border meeting on the Middle Marches of England. Elizabeth insisted that the slaughter was intentional on the part of Sir Thomas Ker of Fairnihurst, the Scottish Warden, at the instigation of Arran, to involve the two kingdoms in war. The King, on hearing that the Lord Russel was slain, said, "It had not grieved him so much if ten thousand men had entered in the country, and spoiled till Edinburgh." To appease Queen Elizabeth, James commanded Arran to ward in Saint Andrews, and Ker in Aberdeen. The former seems to have obtained leave of returning to Kinneil, a house near Linlithgow, being a part of the spoils of the Hamilton family, with which he had invested himself.

⁴ At this period, Wotton was concerned in a plot for seizing James's person. Sir Robert Melville informed the King of the plot; and one of the parties implicated having stoutly denied the charge, Melville offered to verify it by the combat. So soon as the English ambassador heard of this discovery, he fled "in great haste, and without taking leave."

found gracious, and beleived all that the Master had said in his purgation ; which when Arrane and his complices saw, they determined to kill him in the King's presence amongst themselves, or at the least, within the castell.

But whilst they were thus occupied in court, word came that the Lords were marched and come within a mile of Sterling, which gave Arrane and them cause to bethink themselves of defending the towne ; and all the night, the first of November, with Montrosse and the rest, he watched on the walles himself in person.

The next morning, the 2 of November, the Lords marched towards the towne, with purpose to scale the same. But Arrane, knowing all this storme to be bent only at his head, and suspecting falsehood in fellowship and his own deserts, with one man fled secretly out of the towne, over the bridge. The rest seeing him slipt away, retyred all into the castell,⁵ where the King, and Master of Gray, and other secret friends to the Lords were.⁶

The towne thus abandoned made small resistance, but gave entrance to the Lords, who forthwith made themselves masters thereof, by seazing of the Market-place and the Earle of Marr's house.

⁵ Colonel Stewart made some skirmishing with about fifty horse. The town of Stirling was severely used by the South-country men, who broke even the iron gratings of the windows.—*JONSTON Historia Rerum Britt.* p. 102. They plundered the houses of both parties, says Godscroft, sparing neither friend nor foe.

⁶ A very full and interesting account of the taking of the Castle of Stirling, which is here so briefly passed over by the Master of Gray, occurs in Calderwood's unpublished history. A similar account is given by Hume of Godscroft, in his History of the House of Douglas and Angus.

After the breaking into the towne, they went streight and sett up their banners before the sparre of the castell, that was ramde full in a manner of great personages, with the King, some friends, some enemys.

The King the next morning sends out the Secretary and Justice-clerk, to take assurances for such as should come to parle with them.

Which done, the Master of Gray was sent to them from the King, to demand the cause of their coming; and after an houres commoning returnes, and makes an honourable report of their dutifull submission and desire to see his Majesty, and kiss his hands.

The King, reteyning a fear that Arrane had put him in of them, sent them word that if they would have their lands and livings and depart, he would give them all.

They insist still upon entring the castell to see his Majesty, whose favour they sought more then their livings. Whereat the King returning the Master againe to them, propounded three things to them; viz. the safety of his own person; no innovation in the state; and the assurances of the lives of such as he should name.

They made for answer, that for the King's person they never meant harme unto it, but would dye in defence of it. They desired no innovation. But for the third proposition, seeing they were the men that had for so long a tyme bene injured; they desired rather for their suretye hereafter, the persons, as they knew to be then enemys, might be delivered into their guard and hands, together with the fourts and strengths of the realme.

About these two points there was much adoe, and a day spent

in debating : yet, at length, what with the want of victualls for so great a number, the castle, together with the goodwill of the mediator's necessity, enforced to yield unto it, and so were the gates opened, the Lords let in, and admitted to the King's presence.⁷

The first thing after their entry, was the delivery of the persons of Montrosse, Crawford, Rothés, (Earles,) Collonell Steward, Sir William Steward, the Lord of Downe, and others ; Arrane being fled, as said is before.

Immediatly after was Arrane proclaymed traytor at the marquet-place, in the King's name. The King's guard altered, and in the afternoon of the same day, a pacification and remission proclaymed in the Lords behalfe, all faults forgiven, and all things reputed as done for the King's service.

The castle of Dombritton assigned to Arbroth, the chiefe of the house of the Hamiltons, and of right Earle of Arrane. The castle

⁷ Melville has given us an interesting account of James's behaviour on this occasion, which shews his anxiety, in yielding to circumstances to preserve at least his kingly dignity, and give way, with due decorum, to the sturdy petitioners whom he could not repulse :—

“ The Lords, when they came into his Majesty's presence, fell down upon their knees, humbly begging pardon, adding, That the hard handling by Arran, and other partial persons about his Majesty, had compelled them, upon plain necessity, and for their last refuge, to take the boldness to come in arms, for the surety of their lives and lands, being ever humbly minded to serve his Majesty and obey him.

“ The King, again, like a prince full of courage and magnanimity, spoke unto them pertly and boastingly, as though he had been victorious over them, calling them traitors, and their enterprize plain treason. Yet, said he, in respect of your necessity, and in hope of your good behaviour in time coming, he should remit their faults ; and the rather, because they used no vengeance nor crulty at their in-coming.”—Memoirs of Sir James Melvil. Third edit. 1752, p. 338. 8vo.

of Edinburgh granted to the keeping of Coldenknowes ; and other strengths to the rest, as Tomtallon to Angus ; and Sterling to Marre, &c.

And thus hath the good success in court fallen out,^s being well handled off all parties, which giveth hope to the ministers to recover their Sinode againe against the bishops ; and so to restore the discipline of the church, if not better, at least as it was before Arrane's government.

^s Calderwood sums up his narrative of this transaction with the observation, that " The event of this enterprise justified the first conveneing at Stirling, [in 1584, previous to the death of the Earl of Gowrie,] and the authors thereof, that the end of it had been no other if it had had the same success. Justified lykways the ministers who had fled to England, and such as favoured their cause at home, that they followed not traitors, or traiterous enterprises."

THE APPLICATION
OF THREE SEVERAL DISCOURSES
DELIVERED ON OCCASION OF
THE GOWRIE CONSPIRACY.
AUGUST, M DC.

PART FIRST.

S

DISCOURSE ON PSALM CXXIV. BY MR PATRICK GALLO-
WAY,¹ ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF THE KING'S HOUSE-
HOLD.

DAVID the King composit this psalme efter that he had bein freed fra the grit danger of his deedlie enemies. In it he dois thrie thingis especiallie,—[he] settis doune his danger, his delyuerie fra the danger,

¹ This Discourse was delivered at the Cross of Edinburgh, in presence of King James, on Monday 11th August, 1600. On that day his Majesty crossed the Firth, and landed at Leith, when, to use the words of a contemporary writer, "The citizens of Edinburgh were attending upon him in their armes. Mr David Lindsay, minister at Leith, takes him to the kirk, exhorteth him after thanksgiving to performe his vow, made before times, of performance of justice; at which words he smyled, and talked with these that were about him, after his unreverent manner of behaviour at sermons. Thereafter he went up to Edinburgh, and sat upon the merkat Croce, cloathed with tapestry, accompanied with some of the Nobility, where Mr Patrick Galloway made a sermon to the people conveened about the Cross, and the King an harrangue, both tending to persuade the people that Gowrie and his brother had verily conspired the King's death, and were slain in the execution of the interprize."—CALD. MS. *History*, vol. v. p. 393.

This and the other discourse by Galloway have been often referred to by writers on the subject of the Gowrie Conspiracy. It is probable that the first of them contains all that was delivered at the time; and the Sermon, to which the other "harrangue" served as the Application, does not seem to have been preserved.

and his thanckfulnes to God for his delyuerie ; and in sick sort, that almost all the thrie is includit in euerie verse. His danger was this, that he had fallin into the handis of men, and men onlie, naturall men, that had not ane spunk of grace, or of that spreit ; and the thing that agregis his danger is the properties of thir men—crueltie and craft, quhilk becumes rather bruit beistis then men. Their crueltie is sett doune be tua comparisounes, ane taine fra beistis, ane other taine fra the watteris,²—fluidis, proud and suallein, that with thair force caries with them euerie thing that is objected to thair force. Thair craft is sett doune be ane similitude tane fra the fouller, quha be his craft ourcoueris the poore foull with his nett and catchis it. This is the danger Dauid was in !—Or I gang foruard, I obserue ane lessoun, and that for your Majesties vse. Sir, I sie this is not the first tyme that kingis, good kingis, euen kingis quhome the Lord hes chosin according to his auin hert, hes fallin be Godis permissioun, vnto the handis of men,—Men cruell and craftie, and hes bein delyuert also fra thame. But quhairto ? not to the end, they suld leif according to the fassoun of the warld, bot that they suld be new men, and schau ther gratitude to God, as Dauid did, heirop quhilk we sall speick heirefter. As to his delyuerie, it wes not fra man bot fra God, and therfor he opinlie proclames, that excep the Lord had bein with vs, men had suallouit him vp, accor-

² In the manuscript the letter *v* is generally substituted for *w*—thus ‘vatteris,’ for ‘watteris,’ &c. ‘vith,’ for ‘with,’ &c., a peculiarity which it is not thought necessary should be here adopted.

ding to the fassoune of beistis ; and therfor he tackis him to God, quhilk is his gratitude, and ascryves his delyuerie halie to him, quhil he sayis, our help is in the name of the Lord.

This schortlie concerning the danger that Dauid was in, his delyuerie, and his thanckfulnes for his delyuerie. The lyck caus we haue in hand presentlie : our King, our Dauid, our Anointed, has bein in danger deedlie, and is delyuerit, praised be God ! for the quhilk baith he, and ye, and we, hes occasioun to be grate and thanckfull to the Majestie of God, the delyuerer. As to his danger, it is lyck Dauidis, he fell in the handis of men, and men onlie ; for, as to that man GAURIE, let nane thinck that be this tratourous fact of his, our religioun hes ressaut onie blot, ffor ane of our religioun was he not, bot a deip dissimulat hipocreit ! ane profound Atheist ! ane incarnall deuill, in the cot of ane Angel ! as is maist euident, bayth be this tratourous fact, quhilk he had attemptit ; and also be sindrie other things quhilk we have receauit be his familiaris, and the maist deir and neir of his freindis ; as the bookes quhilk he uset,—quhilk preiffes him plainlie to haue bein ane studier of magick, and a conjurer of deuillis, and to haue had sua monie at his command. His maner of liuing out of the countrie, in hanting with papistis, yea the Pape himself, with quhom he had not conferance onlie, bot farder hes maid couenand, and bandis with him ; as appeiris verie weill, for sen his hame comming, he has treuellit maist eirnestlie with the King, and his Majestie hes receaued fra him the hardest assalt, that euer he did, fra him ; I say, to reuolt fra reli-

gioune, at leist in inuaird sinceritie, to interteine purpose with the Pape, and he himself promiseit to furneis intelligence !—Wes sick ane man of the religioun ? Or can onie man say that our religioun is stained be the doingis of sick ane man ? Na not ! He wes nothing but ane man, and our Davidis danger wes that he had fallin in the handis of men. Nou, that ye may knau the danger the better, I sall receite the historie to you euen as it wes befor my God, quha ane day salbe my Judge, as he sal beir me record, and befor my Prince and Soweraine, and befor yow all quha ane day sall stand vp and beir witness agans me, in cais in ony point I lie.

On Twysday last was Alexander Ruthven cam to Facland to his Majestie, and fand him at his pastyme, and desyrit him to ga to St Jonstoun ; and sua he leidis him fra Facland to Perth, as ane maist innocent lamb, fra his palice to the slauchter-hous. Thair he gettis his denner, ane cauld denner, yea, ane veri cauld denner ! as they kend quha was thair. Efter denner, Alexander Ruthven leidis his Majestie up ane turnpeyk, and throuch ane trans, the dore quhairof, sa sone as they had enterit in, chekit to with ane lok ; then throw ane galery, quhais dore also cheket to ; throw ane chalmer, and the dore thair of cheket to also ; and, last of all, bringis him to ane rounde, skairs sax feit breid, and sax feit weyd, and the dore thair of he lokkit also ; in the quhilk their was standing ane armit man, with ane drawin dagger in his hand, to have done this filthie turne, the maist and naturallie, and contraire that dutie quhilk we aw to Princes. Then Alexander coweris his heid, and sayis, “ I am suir thy

hairt accuis the now ; thow was the deid of my father, and heir is ane dagger to be awengit upon the for that deid." Now, judg ye, guid people, quhat danger your David was in ! quhen, as ane innocent lamb, he hes closit wp betuix twa hungerie lyounis, thirsting for his blud, and four lokks betuix him and his freindis, and his servandis ; sua that they nicht neither heir nor harkin him. This was his danger ! but quhat sort of delyverie gat he ? it was holy miraculous, altogether to be ascrywit to God, and no part to man ! and amang mony that occurrit I sall poynt out unto you fyue or sax circumstances quhilk ye will all call and acknawleg to be miraculous : and first his Majestie, standing betuix twa armit men, without all kynd of armour, hawing nathing on but his hunting-horne about his neck, quhen he, at his entry, suld have bein astonischit at the sicht of ane armit man to tak his lyf, yeit, on the contrair part, this man was sa astonischit at his sicht, that he nicht nether moue fute nor hand : was not this miraculous ? But yeit, farder, quhen Alexander had tane him be the gorget, and had haldin the dagger to his breist, not twa vnce fra it, sua that their was skers twa vnce betwix his deid and his lyf, yeit, ewin then, be his gracious, christiane, and maist lowing wordis, he ouercame the traitour. The wordis wes this : " Master ! consider that ye ar ane Christiane, and farder, that hitherto ye haue bein tranit wp in the principallis and groundis of Christianitie !—and then consider, Master, how ye wes brocht up in the schuill quhilk hes send so mony noble and haly youth, the Coledge of Edinburgh, vnder Mr Robert Rollok, that haly man, and maist worthy of all gud memory, quha wald never have teichit yow to put hand in your Prince !—and last

of all Master, suppois ye taik my lyf, nether ye nor your brother will be King efter me ; ye, the subjects of Scotland, will ruit yow out, and all your name !" Thir wordis sua movit the hart of the tratour, that he beguith to enter in conditionis with the King, and maid him sueir (quhilk he also did) that all theis thingis suld be foryeit, and that efter he suld ever be faworable to him and his brother ; and sua he gaid forth to his brother, fra quhom he resafit commissioun to dispach him hastely. He then coming wp agane, brings ane pair of silk gartanis in his hand, and efter he had lokkit the door, sayis, "Tratour, thow maun die, and thairfor lay thy handis togither, that I may bind thé ;" to the intent, na doubt, that he being bund thei nicht haue stranglit him, and castin him in a coif, or pit, quhilk thei had preparit for that vse, that na blud being found, his freindis nicht miss him without suspicioun, and not witt quhair to seik him : Now heir is the Thrid miracle. The King answeris the tratour, " I was borne ane frie prince, I have lift hetherto ane frie prince, I sal never die bund !" With this every ane of them greips to vtheris gorgetis quhill in warsling the King ouercoms, and getis him under him : Now is not this miraculous ? Will ony consider it ? the Master of Gourie, ane able young man, in comperisoun with the King, I am assurit had strenth doubill, yea and threfald greiter, nor the King, and yeit is ouercome and castin vnder. Quhill thei ar thus worsling, up comes John Ramsay, be the black turn pyk, and at the Kings command, gives the Master ane deid straik : Now yeit ane miracle ! My Lord being in the close quhen he hard that the Master was slayne, sa he had bewichit the hartis of thir people of Parth,

be the counterfeit vertews he had begun to kyth amang them, that gif he had cryit, My brother is murtherit, the same people had saikit that same haill hous; bot yeit, sa the Lord derectis be his Providence, that he coms vp the steir immediatly with aucht with him; And mark, how that same word quhilk thei had preparit to be ane word for the keiping clos of their knavrie, God vsit as ane mein for the preservatione of the Prince; for thei had appointit this for their wachword,—‘The King is gane to the Vnce;’ quhilk word his servandis heiring, ran about to meit his Majestic in the Vnce,³ and going by the window, quhair the King and the Master was worsling, hard the Kings skrieche and cryis, quhilk hes tane sic impressioun in their hairt, that, sa long as they leif, will never gang out of them, and is heir sitting to beir witness to it. The cry was, ‘Tressoun, fy! help Yearle of Marr, I am murderit!’ The Kingis servandis heiring his cryis, incontinent cums vp this black turnpyk,—Now yeit ane miracle! Into the chamber with the King is only four, twa ladis and twa men, and ane of the men mutilate; my Lord, ane man weill exerceisit in his arms, coms vp, and aucht with him, and at the first cals vp all thir four in ane nuik, and never stayis quhill Jone Ramsay chancit to cry, “Fy upon thé! cruell tratour,—hes thou not done evil anuch ells; thou hes gotten the Kingis lyf ells, and wald thou have ouris to?” At quhilk speiche he drew ane lytle bak; and in bak going, he gat the straik quhairof he deid. This is the vary[trewth] of the fact, quhilk I have resauit, (not be the Kingis Majestic,) bot be him quha

³ ‘The Vnce’—the Inch at Perth.

suld have bein the doar of the turne :—He is livand yeit, he is not slaine ; ane man weil anuch knavne to this toune, Andro Hendersonne, chamberlane to my Lord of Gourie. This day I resavit ane letter fra him, wrytin be his awin hand, snbscryvit be his awin hand ; ony man that wald sie it, come to me and sie gif thei can know his hand-wryt for their satisfactioun. The tennour of the letter is this : ‘ It is of treuth, that on Twysday last I was commandit be my Lord of Gourie to ryd with his brother to Fakland, fra the quhilk he send me bak againe to tell my Lord, that the King was comming, and to bid prepair for his comming. My Lord commandit me to put on my secreit, and my plait sleif, and to wayt on the Master, and do quhatever he bad me. At the Masteris lichting, I went to him, and tauld him of my Lordis command, quhilk I had resawit. He taks me with him up a turnepyk, throw ane trans, ane galrie, and chamber, and loks me in into the round that gois aff the chamber, at quhilk doing I beguith to grow fleit, and suspect sum evil agans the King ; and then I tuik me to my kneis to pray, that it wald pleis his Majestie never to suffer me to be imployit to sick ane turne ; and quhill I was setting on my kneis, Mr Alexander come in to the round [with the King in his hand.’ The rest of his narration differs almost nothing from this ⁴] quhilk ye have hard according to the Kingis informationne ; this only he schew the maner how he chappit [escapit]

⁴ In the MS., which is in a contemporary hand, with a few corrections, apparently by the author, some words are illegible ; but are supplied from Calderwood, who has inserted both of the Discourses by Galloway, in his History —MS. Hist. vol. V.

to have bein thus,—Quhen the King and the Master war worsling, he opnit the dore and gaid doune be the blak turnepyke,—be the quhilk the Kingis servands came up, and saift him.

This is the verity, quhilk will satisfy ony gud subject, for as for thir romuris that gois that the King was ane doar, and not ane sufferer; ane persewar, and not persewit, it is not true, nor lickly,—for think ye, hawin sick ane turne in his hand, he wald go to thair towne, in quhilk he was sa meikle esteimit, accompanyit with sic few folks, only ten persouns; and sic men, quha as I am asurit wald have bein content to have bled their hail blud with my Lord of Gourie, and it had not bein in ane actioun agans the King; the Duik his good brother, the Yearle of Mar his good father, quha, at that unhappie and cursit tyme he was baptizit, gave him the name. As for sik, as will not be satisfeit with this, let them perisch in their incredulitie, their is evidencis anuch of the verity. Now, quhat am I that speikis thir thingis? Ane, (as I will protest befor God,) quha lowit the Yearle of Gourie better nor ony flesh in the Eirth, acceptis his Majestic.³

³ Calderwood mentions, that after the foregoing "harrangue" was ended, they sung the 124th psalme—and makes the following remark:—

"Mr. Patrick Galloway his harangue, (he says,) did not perswade many, partly, becaus he was a flattering preacher, partly, becaus others were named befor Henderson to be the armed man in the studie, to wit, Oliphant, Leslie, and Younger, who was slaine." Henderson is described as "a man of low stature, rudie countenance, and brown bearded," and the King himself being asked "by the goodman of Pitmillie, whether Henderson was the man?" answered, That it was not he, he [the King] knew that smaick well enough."

EXTRACT FROM A SERMON ON THE CONVERSION OF
ZACCHEUS, LUKE, CAP. XIX. BY MR WILLIAM COW-
PER, ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF PERTH.¹

.
QU^UHAT sall we doe then, bot haue our recourse to that grace of
 Jesus Christ, that onlie is able to change vs ? and especiallie let vs
 seek it at this tyme, that now we abyde not in the hardnes of our
 heart, quhen the Lord, both by his word and works, is sa fast call-
 ing for our repentance ; and I think, amongst all the works of God
 that seru^us to humble vs, this last miserable euent is one of the first.

I know there is mony of yow bot thinks of it as I did my self
 quhen I heard first of it ; thought, indeid, he had sufferit as ane in-
 nocent ; and quhat greif then it wrought in me, my owne conscience
 beareth me record ! The lose of ane earthlie creatur went neuer so neir
 my heart ; and the first thing that ever chiled my affectioun toward
 him, wes ane appeirance that he had gone without the compas of

¹ Preached in St Giles's Church, Edinburgh, Sunday, August 24, 1600. Cowper
 had been sent for, to preach in one of the vacant churches of Edinburgh, after the
 ministers there had been banished from the town, as stated in Mr Bruce's Account
 of his Troubles at that time, which follows.

The Application only of Cowper's sermon has been copied, as being all that relates
 to this transaction. The volume containing it, along with other Sermons, supposed
 to be in his hand-writing, at one time belonged to the late Mr Scott, one of the mi-
 nisters of Perth, who has made particular mention of it in his History of John, Earl
 of Gowrie.

godlines, quhilk maid me then to say thir words vnto my people, "I know," said I, "it is light that first mon satisfie your discontent-it myndis, and, thairfore, the Father of Light send light!"

Bot I am sorrowfull from myne heart, that the light that is maks against him quhom we loued; and if this light break out as it is begunne, we will find our selues disappoyntit of our hope, and that quhilk I spake than vnto thame I speake presently vnto yow: "The light that hitherto God hes discoverit in that matter enclynes to the cleiring of his Majesties innocencie, and layis ane blame on the other." And if ye craue my ressoun, I say, it is the testimony of his seruant, that presentlie is in prisoun, quhilk, in my judgement, is mekle to be regairdit; for I haue knoweu him now this four or fyue yeiris bygane, and can give him no other witnes bot that quhilk both toun and countrie will giue vnto him, that is, the testimonie of a man that feareth God, and delt vpryghtlie with all men.

And quhair as some of yow thinks that he is bot ane suppositius man, and that his depositioun is rather a policie then any verittie, that is mair incredible to me nor any other thing of this actioun vnto yow; and if my testimonie can haue ony credit with yow, I will beare to yow record that it is verifeit vnto me by honest men of our toun, that he wes seene come doun the stair from that chalmer quhairin the King wes, before ony of the Kingis seruants enterit vp, except only John Ramsay, or before my Lord enterit in. And quhat his depositioun is I will tell yow shortlie, etc.

² The Deposition of Henderson is not contained in the Manuscript, but it has been often printed.

Now, [before] I leaue this, there is thrie things I will touche shortlie: The ane is concerning the bretherin of the Ministrie. This doing of myne may seeme to condampne thame in a fault, bot I hope no wise man will thinck so, quhen he considereth that ane preachour may speake that with ane warrand quhilk ane other may not.

The nixt thing concernis his Majestie. We are to craue of God that this wairning may work amendement in him, and a great caire to purge the countrie of the great contempt of the Gospell, and of the innocent blud quhairwith it is defyled; for I saw neuer yet thir great temporall delyuerances fra danger, quhair they wrought not a turning of the heart vnto God, bot they were ay forrinners of ane greater temporal judgement.

And the last concernis yow that are his People. I exhort yow, in the name of God, to thinke reverentlie of your Prince, remembring that Salomon binds your consciences not to speake ill of him, even in your secrete chalmers.

THE APPLICATION OF THE XXX PSALME, PRECHIT BE
MR PATRIK GALLOWAY, THE LAST OF AUGUST, 1600,
BEFOIR HIS MAJESTIE, IN GLASGOW.¹

NOW I suld end, gif I had not to let yow sie, in the Applicatioun of this Psalme, that as Daid and his pepill had than just occasioun to prais God, sa our Daid and we haif now just occasioun to prais God: Daid than in danger, our Daid has now bene in danger; Daid than delyuerit in the heich mercie of God, our Daid now delyuerit in the heich mercie of God. Now, the Lord of Hevin, that is present with us, as he has gevin us proif of the ane, sa mot he gif us the proif of the wther, that we may be thankfull for this great grace; for, concerning the danger, Daid was neuer in gretar danger nor our Daid, his delyuerance neuer mair magnificent than the delyuerance of our Daid; and thairfoir we haif as just occasioun as euer Daid had to prais God. Tak tent then; I think thair is heir

¹ When the King came to Glasgow, there was also "an Oration made to him be one in name of the Town, congratulating him for the delivery out of the late danger, with a commemoration of their service to him and his progenitors."—CALD. vol. v. p. 420. A copy of this Oration is preserved in a volume of Calderwood's MS. Papers in the Wodrow Collection.

na small number that neuer hes hard the danger quhairin the Kings Majestie has bene in ; or gif thai haif hard, than haif thai hard a poysonit wntreuth. Thairfoir to cleir the treuth, I will shaw yow the storie trewlie.

His Majestie, be persuasioun of the Master of Gaurie, was led fra his pastyme to Sanct Jhonestoun, (tak tent that ye may eschew fals informatioun!) Quhen he camis thair, and enteris in my Lordis ludging, efter ane cauld denner, and ane far caulder welcome, his Majestie is tane be the hand be the Master of Gaurie, and led wp ane stair, thre or four durris all lokit on his bak, nather freind nor servant with him ; and thair is sitting a man preparit to joyne with the wther to the tressonabill murthering of his Majestie! Quhen he is set betuix these twa, the Master of Gaurie, a vyll tratour! na soner cumis the King in, but to testifie that all reuerence of a Christian to his God, and of a subject to his prince, was strampit wnder fute, he puttis on his hat, drawis his dager, and sayis, " I sall now be avengit on thé for my fatheris slauchter." But the Lord stayit the dager, that he ducht not stryk with it. Quhen the ire of this tratour was sumthing mitigat be the Kingis modest language, he gois out, leifing the wther man to keip him, appeirandlie to get furdur resolutioun of his brother. Agane he cumis in, as a wod lyoun, and enteris wpon his Majestie, with his gartanis to bind him. Nobill men, and citizens of St Jhonestoun, hard his Majestie cry, " Tressoun ! I am murdreissit !" as the voyce of ane half deid man. Let vyle knavis say athort the cuntrie quhat they will, this is the treuth ! I ken weill thair is mony surmises of the pepill castin in

withal, to breid ane evill consait of the Kingis Majestie in the hairtis of the pepill. I will tell pairt of thame. This is ane: How can it be sik a nobill man as the Erle of Gaurie, sa weill brocht up, culd haif fosterit sik a tressoun?—This wald appeir to carie sumthing with it, but in very deid hes na probabilitie. If the Erle had bidden still in Scotland, and keipit that educatioun quhilk he gat wnder that worthie man, Mr Robert Rollok, he mycht perchance not haif attemptit sik ane tressoun. But quhen he yeid to Padua, thair he studiit Nigromancie: his awin pedagog, Mr William Rin, testifies that he had these characteris ay upon him, quhilk he luifit sa, that gif he had forgot to put thame in his breikis, he wald rin up and down lyk a mad man; and he had thame wpon him quhen he was slane; and as thai testifie that saw it, he culd not bleid sa lang as thai war wpon him. He that this wyse castis of all reuerence to his God, quhat reuerence can he haif to ane eirthlie king? Ane wther questioun, I ken, wilbe muift. Sum will say, Sall we trew that he culd haif devysit his allane sik a tressoun? culd he haif enterprysit sik a work without a bak?—I dout not bot he had ane bak! the Lord discover it—and I am assurit he sall at last discover it! And, as I haif said befor to your Majestie, I say yet, and ye try it not out, ye sall yit sum day mak us all ane sorrowfull morning; if ye rype not wp the fontaine thairof, it is a manifest tempting of God; and I exhort your Majestie and Counsall to do it, as thai will ansuer to God, befor quhom thai salbe countit tratouris, one day, if thai keip up the leist chope of it, quhilk they can try out. But to meit the questioun, It is na mcruell, suppois it be hid, for the Erle of Gawrie

was a man of exceiding great secrecie ; thair was not ane man he wald reuil it to. His awin pedagog, Mr William Rin, said, that the Erle talking of tressoun against Princes, said, that gif the rycht hand wist quhat the left hand was doeand, he was not to be compted a man, and thairfor I trow, indeid, thair was none wpon the foreknowledge of the executioun but the Erle, and his brother, and the Deuill, that led thame bayth. I ken thair wilbe a third question, Is thair nane can beir witnes to it ? God forgiue thame that say the King is a pairtie, he can not be beleuit, and thow war a guid Christian, thow sould rys up and say, I am ane pairtie, and the King, that neuer hes bene a lyar, suld be beleuit him self, and not sik suspicious surmises spred abrod. But I go on : Thair was thair nobill men, his Majesties seruandis, and citzens of Sanct Jhonestoun, quha saw his Majestie carieit thair without ony wapin, but his hunting horne about his craig ; fowr durris all lokkit wpon him ; my Lord Duke, the Erle of Mar, baillieis and burgesses, saw his handis in the Kingis face and throt. If they will not beleue thame, quhom will thai beleif ? fy wpon wncredulous and malicious hairtis ! I say mair for the treuth ; Andro Hendersoun, a man to that hour approuit guid and zealous, and without spot all the dayis of his lyf ; this man perforce is put into the rowme, without ony foreknowledge ; this man yit liueth, euerie man hes acces to him ; this man, as befor he was maid be God ane instrument to saif the King, sa now he is maid ane instrument of the Kingis honour, to tell the treuth. I must speir heir, becaus sum sayis, quhill [untill] we sie him die on the scaffald for it, we will neuer beleif it. Fy on it, that his Majestie sould execut

him that sauit his lyf for thair plesour ! I man say in my conscience, that man is rather worthie of rewaird nor of punishment ; and I trow not a man that feiris God, but he will consent to it. But he was put in be the prouidence of God to be ane instrument of your delyuerance. Now, as ye haif hard the danger, tak tent also how he was delyuerit. As Dauid said, Lord, thou hes exalted me, and not maid my fois to rejoyis ouer me, justlie may your Majestie say, I was in deidlie danger, and thou, Lord, hes luikit on me. Quhen I consider his Majesties delyuerance, I man say, thair was not ane circumstance of that actioun, but ilkane is a wonderfull preseruatioun ! First, quhen the Erle of Gaurie and his brother takis that man, and puttis him in, and sayis to him simplie, Do quhat my brother commandis thé,—they thought he suld haif put to his hand to do the turne ; but God cumis doun fra hevin, and alteris the man. Na soner cumis the King in, but he cryis, “ Allace ! allace ! wo is me ! ” Is not this ane great work of God ? He that suld haif slane his Majestie, is maid ane instrument of his safetie ; and quhen the Master of Gawrie is bringand doun to slay his Majestie, he withhaldis his hand. Thridlie, quhen the master of ane cruel tiger is maid as it war ane dow, saying, “ I will promeis yow your lyf, Sir, gif ye will hald your twng.” Fy, tratour ! quhat had he to do with his Majesties lyf. But he is mitigat be the Kingis modest wordis !—“ Ye and I cum in wnder freindship ; ye are a Christian, brocht wp under that guid man, Mr Robert Rollok, quhy wald ye put handis in your Prince ? ” With this he gangis out, and shortlie cumis in agane, and as a tiger

enteris upon his Majestie. This is a mervell, he was far beyond the King in strenth, and yit the leving God sa strenthened his Majestie, that he gat him vnder his fute. And last, quhen the Erle of Gawrie causit cry, The King is away ! they, running out to follow his Majestie, heir his voyce ; agane, quhen the Erle, and sevin men with him, cumis in against fowr, he himself is slane be these fowr, and the rest of his cumpanie hurt and put to flicht. Yea, had Gawrie bidden still on the calsay, and said ‘The tratouris about the King hes slane my brother,’ all the men of Sanct Jhonestoun had rushit in with him. But the Lord wrocht wtherwys ! And thairfor, as David said, sa suld your Majestie say, O Lord, I will magnifie thé, becaus thow hes exalted me.

Now, becaus it is said, als falslie as the sone shynis not, the King yeid to Sanct Jhonestoun to slay the Erle of Gawrie, (sik is the spreitis of malicious hairtis !) I wald now haif you indifferent pepill, quhen the Master of Gawrie cumis to Falkland and muifis him to come to Perth, I think not threttene in his companie, Judge gif he wald have come to Sanct Jhonestoun, quhilk was Gawries Londoun, thair to haif slane him ! Agane, if he wald haif brocht my Lord Duke, the Erles guid brother, and the Erle of Marr his godfather, with him, gif he had bene myndit to slay him ! Judge last of this, quhen his Majestie is led be the Master of Gaurie, and separat fra all his folkis, put in ane lytill round, haifing nathing but a hunting horne about him ! Let indifferent pepill judge heir, whether his Majestie wald haif bene myndit to slay the Erle of Gaurie or not.

Now, quhen I haif shawin yow the danger, and devyne delyuerance, sie quhiddel our Dauid suld not say, I will magnifie thé, O Lord, becaus thou hes exalted me ; quhair he sayis Sanctis sing praisis for me, sie gif we have not just occasioun to prais God for the delyuerance of our Dauid ; for wofull had bene the estait of Scotland, yea wofull darknes, if the Lord had not wrocht this delyuerance. The Lord gif your Majestie a thankfull hairt, and to ws your subjectis thankfull hairtis for your delyuerance.¹

¹ “ In this harangue Mr Patrick saith, that Mr Alexander drew his dagger, which would seem to be his own dagger, and not the armed man’s standing in the study, as is related in the discourse. But it is certain that Mr Alexander had no dagger. But leaving this speech as ambiguous, it is to be considered, That Mr Patrick doubteth not but he had a back to the enterprize, and prayeth the Lord to discover it, exhorts the King and Counsel to try out the fountain of it. And yet, forgetting himself, he saith immediately after, That the Erle was a man of exceeding great secrecie, and there was no man to whom he would reveal it, and that he believed there was none upon the foreknowledge of the execution, but the Erle, and his brother, and the Devil. The circumstances that are most unlykely, Mr Patrick turnes all into miracles ; but here is need of a true and seen miracle indeed, to make unseen miracles to be believed.”—CALDERWOOD.

NARRATIVE

BY MR ROBERT BRUCE,

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH,

CONCERNING HIS TROUBLES

IN THE YEAR M.DC.

[NARRATIVE BY MR ROBERT BRUCE.]

1600.

IN the begynning of August, ane new storme aryissis. For, on the fyft day of August, quhilk wes on Tyisday, the Erle of Gourye and his brother, in thair awin house ar bayth slane. It wes geuin out to be ane vyle treassoun ; bot quhidder it wes ane vyle murder, or treasoun, as yit it is nocht clearlie reveillit. The brute of this cummis to ws in Edinburgh on Wednesday, the morne efter, be nyne houris. Ane letter cummis fra his Majestie to the Counsall be ten houris, vpoun the sycht of the quhilk we the ministerie¹ wer chargit first befor the Counsall of the toun ; in presens of the quhilk Counsall his Majesties letter wes red wnto ws. It buir that his Majestie wes delyuerit out of ane perrell, and thairfoir that we sould be commandit to ga to our kirkis, convene our pepill, ring bellis, and gif God praisses. As we wer gewand our ansuer, the Counsall of the cuntrey sendis for our Proueist, and sum of the Toun Counsall ryssis, and we are demist with out ony ansuer.

In the mid-tyme, we of the ministrie gangis to the Eist Kirk, and thair we adwyse quhat ansuer we sall gewe ; and be commoun ad-

¹ Besides Bruce, the ministers who are referred to were Mr James Balfour, Mr Walter Balcanquel, Mr John Hall, Mr William Watson, Mr Peter Hewat, and Mr George Robertson.

wyse, it is fund that we could nocht enter in the particular defence of the tressoun, seing the King wes silent of the tressoun in his awin bill; and the reportis of courteouris wairied amangis thame selffis. Be this, the messinger cummis and chairgeis ws befor the Previe Counsall. I wes thair mouth. The Chancellor² desyrit ws to gang to the kirk, and to prais God for his Majesties miraculous delyuerie fra that vyle tressoun. We ansuerit, all in ane voice, We could nocht be certane of the tressoun, and thairfor we could mak na mentioun of it; bot we sould keep the generall, and say he wes delyuerit fra aue greit danger. Or, vtherwyis if thair Lordships wald suffer ws to byde, quhill we mycht haue the certaintie, we sould nocht onlie blais the tressoun, bot we sould be content that his hous sould be made ane Jax. Thay said it suld be sufficient to reid his Majesties letter. We ansuerit that we could nocht reid his letter, and dout of the treuth of it. It war better to say generallye, iff the report be trew;—[but] the Counsall wald nocht haue na condition,—wald nocht haue na *iffis* nor *andis*. With this, Mr David Lyndsay³ come in, and shew that he had bene at Falkland, and begouth to recount the storie of it; so it wes thocht that he, in respect he had harde the treuth out of the Kingis awin mouth, that he should gif to God prais for all; and our consent wes cravit thairto; and as to me, I said, “Sa that ye wald speik the treuth, as he wald ansuer to God, I wes hairtlie weill content.” Sa Mr David, with the hail Counsall, yeid to the Croce, and thair made ane publict thanksgeving. With this, I luikit that the Counsall had bene satisfyit, and that thay sould haue reportit to his

² John Graham, Earl of Montrose.

³ Minister of Leith.

Majestie of ws. Bot be the plane contrair, they reportit to his [Majestie] veray ill of ws ; and said, that we had disobeyit thair charge, and wald in na wayis prayse God for his deliwerie ; and so incensit the King, in so hie ane mowde, that sa sone as he come ower the water, we wer all chairgit be the messenger.

Vpon Tyisday the twelt day of August, we compeirit efter none. The King begouth and speirit at me, in name of the rest, “ Quhy we had disobeyit him and his Counsall, and wald nocht prayse God for his delyuerie ?”—We shew that we had not dissobeyit, bot we wes redie all to haue praysit God (as we did vpoun the Sabboth immediatlie following) for his Majesties delyuerie generallie, bot we could nocht enter into the particular to qualifie quhat sort of danger it wes, in respect we had na certantie.—“ Had ye nocht my letter (sayis the King) to schaw yow the certantie ?”—“ Sir, we saw your Majesties letter :—your letter buire na particular ; it spak onlie of ane danger in generall, and we wes content to follow it.”—“ Could nocht my Counsall (said his Majestie) assure yow of the particularis ?”—With this he addressit him to the President.⁴ “ Assurit ye nocht him ?” sayis he to the President. The President said, “ Yis, Sir ! we all assured thame of the certantie of the tressoun.”—“ Sir, with thair honouris, they had ressaut na informatioun, except David Moysses bill, and Johnne Grahame of Bagonie his report, quho come in the meane tyme that your Lordship wes at the Counsall, and thir twa reportis they faucht sa togidder, that na man could hawe ane certantie of it.” Vpstart the Secritour,⁵ and said they agreit

⁴ Alexander Seton, President of the Court of Session, afterwards created Earl of Dunfermline.

⁵ James Elphinstone of Innereity, afterwards created Lord Balmerino.

wery weill ; and so said the President. I ansuerit, " I had Dawie Moysses⁶ letter to testifie the contrair."

To lewe farder commoning, the King at the last speirit, " How ar ye yit persuadit ? Ye haue harde me,—ye haue harde my minister,—ye haue harde my Counsall,—ye haue harde the Erle of Mar tuiching the report of this tressoun. Quhither ar ye yit frelie persuadit or not ?"—" Suirle, Sir, I wald haue farder licht or I preichit it, and persuadit the peopill ; and iff I wer nathing bot ane previe subject, nocht ane pastour, I could reuerence and rest vpoun your Majesties report, as the rest dois."—" Then ye are nocht fully persuadit ?"—" Yea, sir." His Majestie speiris nixt at Mr James Balfour, " Ar ye fullie persuadit ?" His ansuer wes, " I sall speik nathing to the contrair, Sir."—" Bot ar ye nocht persuadit ?"—" No yit, Sir," sayis he. Mr William Watsoun said siclyke. Mr Walter said, that " he wald affirme all that Mr David Lyndsay preichit into the pulpet in presens of your Majestie yisterday."—" Quhat said Mr David ?" sayis the King. " Mr David foundit him vpoun your Majesties report, and made ane faithfull recounte of your reporte, and sa sall we, Sir."—" Think ye (sayis the King) that Mr David doutit of my reporte ? Quhair is Mr David ?" sayis he. So Mr David wes incontinently sent for, and brocht befor the Counsall. " Dout ye ?" sayis the King—" ar ye nocht certanelie persuadit of this tressoun ?"—" Yis, Sir, (sayis he) I am persuadit in conscience of it."—" Now, (sayis he) Mr Walter, are ye surelie persuadit indeid ?"—" Sir, (sayis he) I wald haue farder tyme and lycht."—" Weill, another of yow !"

⁶ Moyse was author of a volume of *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland from 1577 to 1603*, first printed at Edinburgh, 1755, 12mo. In these *Memoirs* he has introduced the King's Narrative of the Conspiracy.

sayis the King. He speiris at Mr Johne Hall, "Ar ye fullie persuadit?" sayis he. "I wald haue the ciuill tryell going befor, Sir, that I might be persuadit."—"Another of yow!" So he speiris at Mr Peter [Hewat]—"Mr Peter, quhidder ar ye persuadit or not?"—"Sir, (sayis he) I suspect nocht your proclamatioun."—"Bot quhidder beleive ye it or not?"—"The President hard (sayis he) quhat I said the last Sabboth." And so the President begouth to justifie him; bot the King insistit,— "Bot lat me heir himself, (sayis he.) Quhither beleue ye my proclamatioun or not?"—"Sir, (sayis he,) I beleue it."

With this, we wes all demist, and stude thairout ane gude space, till at the last the messinger come for ws, with ane row, [roll] quhairin all our names wer writtin, and ane skoir drawin vpoun Mr Peteris heid and Mr George Robesounes. They twa wer bidden byde still, and the rest (we to wit) wer callit ben vpoun. So we come in. Now the Chancelar pronunceis the sentance against ws, and first, dischairgeis ws preiching, wnder the pane of deid, throwout all his Majesties dominioun; and nixt, chairges ws out of Edinburgh, that we cume nocht neir it be ten myles, and that wnder the pane of death; also within fourtie aucht houris efter the charge. We thankit thair Lordships maist humblie, and said thair sentance wes werray welcome; and so we departit, and remanit that nycht into the towne. And the morne, quhilk wes Wednesday, we gaue in ane new supplicatioun, be commoun consent, quhairin we offerit thir thre thingis: First, to geue God thankis for his Majesties delyuerance maist hairtlie; Secundlie, to mak ane faithfull report, as his Majestie had delyuerit ws, of the haill storrye tuiching that tressoun;

Thridlie, we offerit to speik nathing to the contrarie, bot to do all the gude offices that micht serue to nurish his Majesties credeit and estimatioun into his peopillis hairtis.

All men thoct that this supplicatioun could nocht haue bene refusit ; yit it was refusit, and ansuer gevin vpoun the bak of our bill, That we sould first confes ane fault, and craue his Majestie pardoun maist humblie ; nixt, that we sould esteme the storrye of that tresoun ane wndowtit treuth, and publish it as ane wndowtit treuth to our flokis. We seing our bill refusit, at last we craue ane prorogatioun of our day, that we may haue farder licht ; bot this wes refusit also. Sa vpoun the Thurisday, in the morning, we departit off the toun, and come that nycht to the auld Ladie Quhittingames, and thair remanit ane quhyle, and out of that yeid to Coldinknowes, and out of that to Craillene in Tiwedail, and thair remanit ane quhyle, and come bak to Cowdenknowis, and out of Cowdenknowis to Morpett, and from Morpett to Arnistoun ; and thair, vpoun the Thurisday, quhilk wes the fyft day of September, we ressaut ane new charge, quhairin we wes chairgit, at the mercat cross of Edinburgh, to compeir before his Majestie and his Counsell in Stirling, Mr William Watson, vpoun Tyisday, quhilk wes the nynte day : Mr Johne Hall and Mr Walter to compeir vpoun Wednesday, quhilk wes the tent ; and I and Mr James Balfour to compeir vpoun Thurisday, quhilk wes the ellevint. We wes chairgit to sie farder pwnishment inflictit vpoun ws, and that for our obstinat blindnes, (as they call it,) and for our perswading of vtheris to dout in the partis quhair we come.

Vpoun the morne efter we had ressauit this charge, I raid to North Berwick, and wes in Eist Fentoun all nycht, and vpoun the morne efter we corssit the water at the Erles-fferrie, quhair I wes werry extreme seik ; and efter we had landit, we come first to Mr William Scottis in Carnurie, and thair we gat worde that our brederene wes departit immediatlie befor ws in Innerkething. Sa we remanit thair all the Sabboth day, and on the Mononday tuik our jorney towards Innerkething. And we come to Innerkething, we gat worde thair that our bretherene wes departit immediatlie befor to the Pow-hous towards Stirling ; and I crossit the watter at the Quenes-ferrye, and come to Dundas that nycht. Vpoun the morne, quhilk wes Tyisday, I come to the Kerse at ewin, and on the morne, quhilk wes Wednesday, I raid to Stirling, nane in cumpanie with me except my twa men and my self. My broder Johnne convoyit me to the Sauchin-furde, and thair left me, and went hame. My bretheris, twa of thair dayis being past, Mr Williame Watsoun is commandit first in waird ; bot the morne efter, his humble supplicatioun being gevin in, quhair in he shew he wes resolut, he wes relaxit frome his wairde, and appoyntit to gang to sa mony kirkis to publish his resolutioun. Mr Walter and Mr Johne Hall appoyntit siclik to gang to vther kirkis in the cuntrie to publish thair resolutioun. As to me, in respect I wes nocht fullie resolute, I wes chargit to remane within the place of Airth, vpoun Thurisday the ellevint day of September, and thair to remane quhill the aucht day of October ; and thairefter to depart the cuntrie, and nocht to returne, athir to Ingland or Scotland, till I gat his Majesties licence. Sa as yit we continew in this wairde.

My hert!⁷ I gat nocht lassure quhill now, to write the particularis of this our last comperance. I send yow Mr William Watsoun his bill, bot sensyne he gaiff in his supplicatioun, and he hes gottin his waird releiffit him, and is send to sum kirkis to teiche as the rest ar. As to me, as God in his providence sewerit ws all the way, that I culd never ourtaik thame, sa we ar severit in this sentance. The particulars of my examinatioun is:—The Chanceler, sa sone as I come in, gart me hald vp my hand, and sweir, that I sould speik the treuth. First, he speirit quhair I had bene? I said, I wes in East-Lowdiane. He speirit, gif I wes in ony vther partis? I said I wes in the Merss. Then he speirit, in quhat part of Eist-Lowdiane? I said, in the auld Lady Qubittinghames. Then he speirit, in quhat part of the Merss? I said, in Cowdenknowis. Then he speirit, wes I in na vther part of the countrie? I said, yis, I wes in Tyvi-daill. Then he speirit, quha wes with yow in your cumpanye? I shew him that the Principall of the Colledge, and sum of the Regentis.

Efter this he speirit gif I wes resolutit twiching this last tressoun or nocht? I ansuerit, “I am in the way of resolutioun, bot nocht fullie resolutit.” Sayis his Majestie, “Quhat movis yow mair nor the rest of your bretherene? they say, all they ar fullie resolutit. Mr Johne Hall sayis he is mair nor resolutit; Mr Walter sayis he wes seik quhen the worde first come, bot fra tyme he travellit in Fyfe,

⁷ This appears to be the copy of a letter, written by Mr Bruce to his wife, after his appearance before the King and Council at Stirling.

he become resolut; Mr Williame Watsoun hes gevin in his supplicatioun to the King; and Mr James Balfour, he is ewin now gane furth, saying that he is resolut. And, Mr Robert, ye wes bot thair mouth, quhy sould ye speik vtherwyis nor the bodie biddis yow?"—"Sir, I speik na vther wayis. I wes thair mouth indeid, choissin be thame, sanctifiet be prayer, and luik quhat ewer I spak to the counsall I had thair desyre and voit thairto, and I am persuadit, Sir, that they ar nocht fullie resolut yit."—"Then (sayis he) they spak ane thing to yow, and ane vther thing to me."—"I will not say that, Sir, bot I sall speik the treuth."—"And ye pleis (sayis he) I sall gar thame all cume in befor yow, and say that they ar fullie resolut."

I seing that his Majesties drift wes this, to put ws be the earis this way, I ansuerit—"Weill, Sir, lat thame leiff in thair awin fayth, I mon leiff in myne. As to me, I purpois, be Godis grace, to keip the thing that I speik; sa far as I canne I sall preiche, and farder I will nocht promise. Thair is twa thingis that movis me to enter in the way of resolutioun. Thair is first the depositioun of George Craigingelt, as I hard. I, of eventour, met be the way yisterday, cumming to this toune, ane young man of Edenburgh, callit Robert Car, quha shew me that he wes in St Johnstoun at the executioun of George Craigingelt, and wes vpoun the skaffald, and James Kynneir, clerk to our sessioun, and Robert Askene, tailyeur, quha all hard the said George Craigingelt say, "That he wald nevir have beleiffit that my Lord, his master, had ony enteres in that mater, war nocht, efter he had gane in to the ludging, and fand the twa

croces lying, he tuik vp first my Lordis cross, and then tak vp the Masteris, and laid thame togidder; and with this he tuik ane lang tyme, and weipit, remembering my Lord. Efter this, I yeid, sayis he, to Andro Hendersounes house, quhair I and he lamentit, and speirit at him, gif he knew that my Lord had ony enteres? Andro ansuerit that it [wes] my Lord himself that gart him ga vp to the galerye chalmer, and put him into the rowme. And I wes dressing the dessert, sayis he, quhen I saw Andro ga vp the stair, and wist nocht quhat it menit."—Iff this be trew, Sir, that George deponis this, in respect he deyit sa weill, I will rest vpoun his testimonie as ane. And this same day I haue writtin to James Kinneir, our clerk, and to Robert Askene, that thai may testifie quhidder they hard sick thing or nocht. Sa, Sir, I am als diligent as I can. Nixt, Sir, gif this Andro Hendersoun—if he speik trew, and die with that confessioun, I will be satisfyit for my awin part."

Heir the Controller^s interrupis me—"Will ye trow ane condempnit man better nor the King, and his Counsall?"—"My Lord," say I, "and he die penitentlie, I will trust him: I saw Ramsay, the fals nottar, die werrey penitentlie; and fra tyme that God ressaue the saule, I think that we may ressaue the testimonye." Sayis the Controller, "He saiffit the Kingis lyfe."—"As to that I can nocht tell; bot, and it wer for na mair bot onlie this, that he imployit nocht the quhinger, that he threw out of the Masteris hand vpoun the Master him self, I say justlie he aucht to die. For, I say he sould have strukin the tratour, and nocht haue fauldit it vp in

^s Sir David Murray of Gospetrie, afterwards created Lord Scoone.

his cloik.”—“ Indeed, (quoth the King,) I waitt nocht quidder he fauldit it vp or nott!”—Then, sayis the Controller, “ Qubhat if he gabak of the thing that he hes deponit.”—“ I tell yow, my Lord, his testimonye is the war.”—“ Thairfor (sayis he) it wer the better to keip him alywe.”—“ Na, (my Lord,) ye sould prefer the Kingis honour to his lyfe: ffor it will serve gritlie to his honour gif he die penitentlie.”—Then sayis the King, “ I sie ye will nocht truit me, nor the nobill men that wes with me, except ye try me.”—“ Sir, your will can nocht be constranit. I may weill ley to yow in my mouth, bot I can nocht truit bot efter tryell.”—“ I sie, Mr Robert, that ye wald mak me ane murderar. It is kend werray weill that I wes neuer bloode thristie. And iff I wald haue tane thair lyffes, I had causs anew; I misterit nocht to haue hazard my self sa!”—“ Suirle, Sir, I will nocht mak yow a murderer,—yea, Sir, suppois I knew it wer sa. I will neither withdraw my affectioun nor obedience fra your service. I wald onlie preis to draw yow to repentance, in respect ye ar nocht subject to our punitioun.”

Heir my Lord of Mar spak and said, “ I marwell that ye will nocht truit men that saw his hand in his thrott, and hard the King cry.”—“ My Lord, (say I,) and ye wes thair to heir and to sie, sa ye may the mair easilie credite.” Heir, the Pryer of Blantyre, Mr Edward [Bruce,⁹] and all start vp, “ Qubhy stand ye in ane thing sa cleir?”—“ Becaus, I will nocht haue yow to luike for mair of me nor I speik. I gat nevir ane tyme to try thingis. I hard nevir my Lord of Mar heir, nor my Lord Duik out of his awin mouth, nor, I haue

⁹ Mr Walter Stewart, Commendator of Blantyre, and Mr Edward Bruce, Abbot of Kinloss, two of the Lords of Session.

nocht libertie to ga to Edinburgh, nor to Sanct Johnstoun, to sie, and I can get na full resolutioun without thir thingis." Sa the King takis vp, "Then (sayis he) this is your speiking. Ye ar bot in the way. Ye ar nocht fullie resolut yit."—"Yis, Sir, I am in the way, if thir thingis try trew."

Sa he demist me, and I thoct with ane werrie loving countenance, and luikit certainlie for ane guid ansuer, bot I wes newer callit ben on agane. The first newis that evir I hard, your maister, Archibald Douglas, cummis furth, and he chairgis me to enter in waird within the toun of Airth, and thair to remane quhill the aucht day of October, and efter that, he chairgis me to pass aff the countrey, and nevir to returne, quhill his Majestie geue me licence. I desyrit the chairge in write, and the clerk hes promesit to gif it to Anten Bruce, and to send me. Mr Eduart Bruce come to me affoir we yeid to the counsall, and sperit at me, "Giff I wes resolut?" I assurit him that I wes nocht yit. "I marvell of yow (sayis he,) your haill bretherene sayis, all they ar mair nor resolut." "I assure yow, my Lord, of the contrair. They ar all with me, and I ken thair myndis."—"Bot ye sall trust me (quoth he.) They spak it at large."—"Trubill yow nocht with that, my Lord."—"I know the contrair be thame selfis," sayis he agane. "I assure yow, Sir, (sayis he,) ye will be wrackit and ye be nocht fullie resolut."—"I may nocht do with it, my Lord, (sayis I;) I sall tak it in patience be Godis grace."—"I pray yow, (sayis he,) keip ane gude countenance, and gif ws werray gude wordis."—"That I sall do, my Lord, (sayis I,) be Godis grace."

I hard that Mr Eduart wes instant in the counsall for ane licence to me, gif he wald haif me aff the cuntrey, bot the King wald nocht on na wayis ; bot wald haue me banishit, to the end that my leving nicht fall. The King wald haue had me also in ane vther waird, but heir the Thesaurar interponit him selff, and said, it could nocht be. I behouit to prepair my selff befor I yeid aff the cuntrey.¹⁰ This is my caise, My hert, and, indeid, to say the treuth, iff we had spokin all ane thing, I had nocht bene in this cace. And yit, I wald nocht haue thair cace for all the benefite they haue gottin ; ffor the Court gevis it out that they ar send to mak thair repentance ilkane of thame in sa mony kirkis. And indeid thair act beiris that they sall confes thair errour, and thair incredulitie, and shaw that thay ar fullie resolut. Sa, he makis ane triumphe and ane spectacle of thair ministrie ; and Mr Williame Watsoun shew me that he rewis fra his hairt that he enterit nocht in waird. Mr Peter [Hewat] shew me that he had requestit Mr Patrick Galloway weray eirnestlie to byde my day, and to help me, as he had done the rest. But he

¹⁰ Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, was a younger son of Bruce of Airth. At the time of the above occurrence, he was the most popular minister in Scotland, and his doubting the truth of the Conspiracy, being considered as "the principall cause of the doubt of many of his Hienes sklander," may in some measure have occasioned the treatment he experienced. But his conduct shewed that he was resolved nothing should be able "to staine the glorie of his ministrie." His friends having in vain endeavoured to procure a remission of his sentence, he embarked at the Queensferry, November 3, 1600, and on the eighth of that month arrived at Dieppe, in France, where he resided for some time. Although permitted subsequently to return to his native country, he was not allowed to resume his ministerial labours in Edinburgh, chiefly in consequence of his having so steadily refused to profess a belief in the alleged Conspiracy. He died in the year 1631.

wald nocht byde ane hour, gat out of the toun, and raid away. The Secretar was thair also. Sa, that as I shew yow, this wes ane laid plat for me, say quhat I wald haue said, etc.

EDINBURGI
REGIÆ SCOTORUM URBIS DESCRIPTIO,
PER ALEXANDRUM ALESIIUM, S.T.D.
TEMPORE JACOBI V.

PART II

Z

URBS antiqua jugis surgens acclivibus, omni
Ex aditu, lætas segetes, lætifque propinquos
Culminibus montes, et amicum mercibus æquor
Prospiciens; potis armorum; quaque ultima longe
Scotia porrigitur, superans florentibus urbes
Divitiis; augusta fedet ubi curia regni:
Nota Puellarum prius ARX, quam nomine dicunt
Nunc EDINBURGUM: templis domibusque superba,
Tutaque marmoreis excelsæ molibus arcis;
Gens humana, DEUM, puri castissima ritus,
Christus ut instituit, summa pietate veretur;
Maxima ubi semper colit observantia regem, &c.

HADR. DAMMAN. Schediasmata. *Edinb.* 1590, 4to.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

DURING the interminable wars between the Scots and English, Edinburgh remained a place of small extent and importance; as the protection afforded by the vicinity of the Castle, then deemed impregnable, was insufficient to preserve the town from being frequently plundered or burned in times of predatory warfare. Such a calamity, however, seems at that period to have been but lightly regarded; and a passage in a contemporary historian, relating to the invasion of Scotland by the Duke of Lancaster, at Easter, in 1384, intimates, that the inhabitants of Edinburgh, upon the approach of the English army, conveyed their goods and cattle beyond the Forth, and even carried away the straw roofs of their houses, as some security against a conflagration.¹

In the following year, (August 1385,) Richard II., at the head of a considerable force, taking advantage of an inroad which the Scots had made into the Northern parts of England, advanced towards Edinburgh, and having resided there a few days, consigned the town to utter destruction. According to Froissart, at that time

¹ "Ad quam cum venissent, nihil præter domos vacuas invenerunt, et non tantum vacuas, sed omne stramentum tectorum depositum propter incendium, et detractum." (Walsingham, Hist. Angl. p. 308.) Edinburgh owed its preservation at that time to the Duke of Lancaster, who allowed the inhabitants three days to carry off their goods "into the forests beyond the Forth;" so that, (says Holinshed,) "when the armie came thither, they found nothing but bare walls, which grieved the soldiers not a little."

“ the Kyng of Englande, came and lodged in Edenborrowe, the
 “ chefe towne in all Scotlande, and there taryed fyve dayes, and at
 “ his departyng, *it was set a fyre, and brent up clene* ; but the cas-
 “ tell had no hurt, for it was stronge ynough, and well kept.”²

Froissart, in the account he gives of the reception of Jehan de Vienne, Admiral of France, with the French troops which came to Scotland in the year 1385, to assist Robert II. in his invasion of England, has preserved a brief but not uninteresting notice of Edinburgh ; which, although the metropolis of Scotland, was not, in his opinion, to be compared with some of the subordinate towns in France. “ Edenborough, (says the historian, in the words of his “ translator,) though the Kynge kepte there his chefe resyden-
 “ and that it is Parys in Scotland, yet it is nat like Tournay or Valencennes, for in all the towne is nat foure thousande houses ;
 “ therefore, it behoved these lordes and knyghts to be lodged about
 “ in [the neighbouring] villages.” The French, it seems, “ founde
 “ a wylde countrey of Scotland ;” and we are presented with a deplorable account of the poverty and rudeness of the people, and of their most uncourteous reception of their allies ; for we are informed they “ dyde murmure and grudge, and sayde, Who the
 “ devyll hath sent for them ? What do they here ? Cannot we
 “ mayntayne our warre with Englande well ynoughe without their
 “ helpe ? We shall do no good as longe as they be with us. Let
 “ it be shewed unto theym, that they may retorne agayne, and that
 “ we be stronge ynough in Scotland to mayntayne our warre with-
 “ out theym : and therefore we wyll none of theyr company. They

² Froissart's Chronicles, translated by Lord Berners, vol. ii. fol. iii. and fol. xi.

“ understand not us, nor we theym ; therefore we cannot speke to-
 “ guyder : they wyll annone ryffle and eat up alle that ever we have
 “ in this countrey : they shall doo us more dispytes and damages
 “ than thoughe the Englysshemen shulde fyght with us ; for *thoughe*
 “ *the Englysshe men brinne our houses, we care lytell therefore ;*
 “ *we shall make them agayne chepe ynough : we axe but thre dayes*
 “ *to make them agayne, if we maye gete foure or fyve stakes and*
 “ *bowes to couer them.*”

During the fifteenth century, Edinburgh must have made great advances in improvement, as may be inferred from existing remains of public as well as private buildings of that period. The ancient collegiate church of St Giles, destroyed by the English in their devastations in 1385, had been rebuilt in a style of greater magnificence, with many other churches, monasteries, and chapels ; and the suburbs of the town, laid out in gardens.³ To add also to the security of the inhabitants, against the invasion “ of ovr ald ene-
 “ myis of England,” James II. granted the community, by charter in 1450, the privilege of fortifying the city and surrounding it with a wall ; with “ full license and leiff to fosse, bulwark, wall, toure, “ turate, and uthir wais to strength our forsaidis burgh.” A few years later (in 1478,) Edinburgh is styled a place of opulence ;⁴ its importance having been greatly increased, when it became the seat of government and of the supreme courts, as well as the usual residence of the Scottish monarch.

³ The lands to the south of the Cowgate were mostly laid out in gardens belonging to the Convent of Black Friars, and Church of St Mary in the Fields ; while the grounds farther to the west were in a similar manner laid out by the Grey Friars.

⁴ “ Ditissimum oppidum.” Contin. Ann. Croyl. (Fell, Script. Hist. Angl. p. 563.)

In considering the state of Edinburgh at an early period, it may be remarked, that the town seems always to have been stigmatized for want of cleanliness; probably owing to the confined accommodation which the inhabitants enjoyed within the walls of the city. Thus, for instance, in the reign of James IV., the poet Dunbar exclaims against the merchants of Edinburgh for their inattention to external appearance, in a curious and hitherto unpublished satire, of which we shall quote a few verses :—

I.

QUHY will ge, Merchantis of renoun,
Lat EDINBURGH, your nobill toun,
For laik of reformatioun
The commone profeitt tyne and fame!
Think ge not schame?
That ony uther regioun
Sall with dishonour hurt your name.

II.

May nane pas throw your principall gaitis,
For stink of laddockis and of scaittis;
For cryis of carlingis and debaittis,
For fenfum flyttingis of defame:
Think ge not schame?
Befoir strangeris of all estaitis
That sic dishonour hurt your name.

III.

Your stinkand seull, that standis dirk,
Haldis the lycht fra your parroche kirk;
Your foirstair makis your houses mirk,
Lyk na cuntray bot heir at hame:
Think ge not schame?
Sa litill poleisie to work
In hurt and iklander of your name.

IV.

At your hie croce, quhair gold and filk
Sould be, thair is bot crudis and milk;
And at your trone but cokill and wilk,
Pansches, pudingis of Jok and Jame:
Think ge not schame?
Sen as the world sayis that ilk
In hurt and felander of your name.⁵

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The following account first appeared in 1550; and, although probably written at that time,⁶ it may be considered as descriptive

⁵ Dunbar's Works, vol. i. now in the press.

⁶ The author, Alexander Alesius or Alesse, was a native of Edinburgh, and born 23d April, 1500. From his having embraced the reformed faith about the time when

of the town during the earlier part of the reign of James V. Being the earliest known description of Edinburgh, it is matter of regret that the account is so meagre and concise; it may, nevertheless, serve to illustrate the accompanying plan, which also is presumed to be the most ancient delineation of the city now extant. The original sketch is preserved in the British Museum,⁷ and may, from various circumstances, be assigned to May 1544,⁸ at which time, it is well known, Edinburgh was exposed to complete devastation by the English forces under command of the Earl of Hertford,⁹ the city having been set on fire, and continuing to burn during three days; "so that neither within the walls, nor in the

Patrick Hamilton, the first Scottish martyr, was brought to the stake, (1527), our author, who was threatened with a similar fate for heresy, left Scotland in 1532, and appears never to have revisited it. After a short abode in England, where he was patronized by Cranmer, he went abroad, and was appointed Professor of Divinity at Francfort, and afterwards at Leipzig, and held that situation till the time of his death, which took place the 17th March, 1565.

⁷ MS. Cotton. Augustus 1. vol. ii. Art. 56. The lithographic fac-simile is executed with great accuracy, and coloured in imitation of the original drawing, by Messrs Engelmann, Graff, and Coindet, London. The colouring perhaps may indicate that the roofs of the houses in the city were covered with tiles, while those in the suburbs were only thatched.

⁸ The name given to Holyrood ("the Kyng of Scottes palais,") evidently denotes the sketch to have been made by an Englishman; and such a name it may be supposed to have still retained, although at that time (two years after the death of James V.) there was no "*King of Scots*." The approach of the English army from Leith, and their entering by the Water-gate at the lower extremity of the Canongate, correspond with the narrative of the Earl of Hertford's progress.

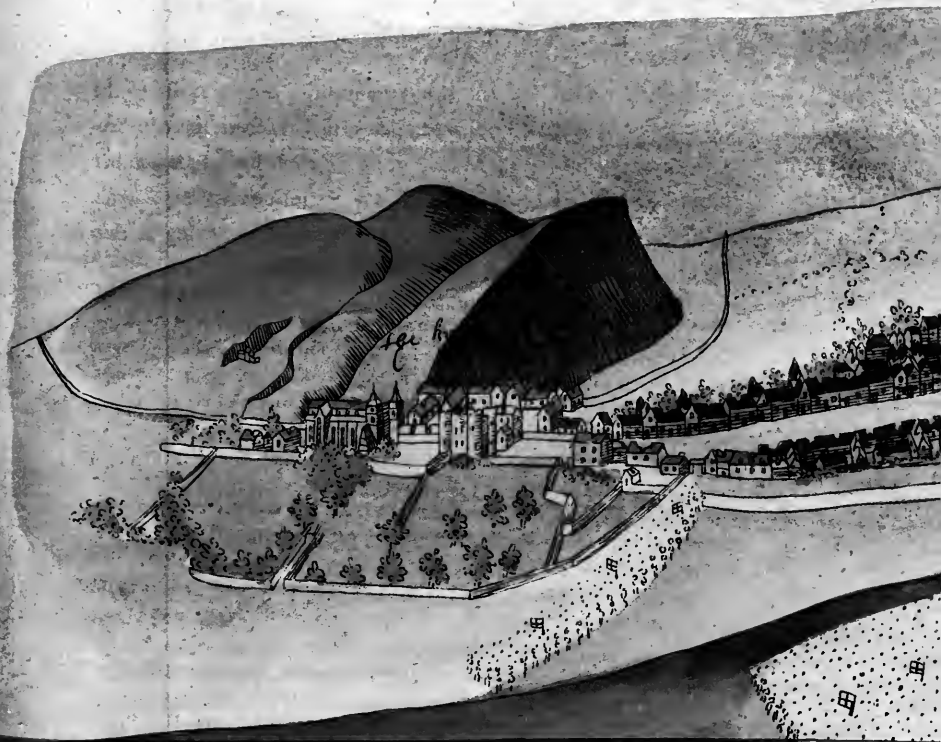
⁹ From the contemporary account of the Earl of Hertford's Expedition in May 1544, we learn that the English army was deterred from laying siege to the Castle of Edinburgh, but that the town itself was entirely destroyed by fire. With regard to

"suburbs, was left any one house unburnt." As the walls of the houses remained, the city would appear to have been speedily repaired; and, in Patten's history of the Expedition of September 1547, under the Duke of Somerset, we are told that "My Lord's Grace, for consideracions mooving hym to pitee, having al this while spared Edenborowe from hurt, did so leave it."

the castle, we are told "the situation is of such strength, that it can not be approached but by one waye, whiche is by the hyghe strete of the towne; and the strongest parte of the same lyeth to beate the sayde strete: . . . And consyderynge the strength of the sayde castell, with the situation therof, it was concluded not to lose any tyme, nor to waste and consume our munition about the siege therof, all be it the same was courragiously and daungerously attempted; tyl one of our peices, with shotte out the sayde castel, was stroken and dismounted.

"And, finally, it was determyned by the sayde Lorde Lieutenant utterly to ruyn-ate and destroye the sayde towne with fyer; which, for that the nyghte drewe faste on, we omytted thoroughly to execute on that daye; but settinge fyer in thre or iiij. partes of the towne, we repayred for that night unto our campe. And the nexte mornynge, very erly, we began where we lefte, and continued burnynge all that daye, and the two dayes nexte ensuinge contynually, so that neyther within the wawles nor in the suburbs was lefte any one house unbrent, besydes the innumerable botyes, spoyles, and pyllages, that our souldyours brought from thense, notwithstanding habundance which we consumed with fyer. Also, we brent thabbey called Holy Rode-house, and the pallice adjonyng to the same."—The town and harbour of Leith shared a similar fate.

On this occasion, the English ravaged the country so completely, that for several miles round Edinburgh "they lefte neyther pyle, village nor house standynge unbrente, nor stakes of corne; besydes great nombres of cattayles which they brought dayly into the armye, and met also with much good stuffe, whiche thinhabitanes of Edenborough hadde, for the savetie of the same, convayed out of the towne."



EDINBURGI REGIÆ SCOTORUM URBIS
DESCRIPTIO, PER ALEXANDRUM ALESIIUM, SCOTUM,
SACRÆ THEOLOGIÆ DOCTOREM.¹

EST Edinburgus in provincia Laudoniæ sita ad austrum miliario Italico a brachio maris, in quod influit amnis Fortha, ab occidente veniens. Habet autem civitas ipsa duos montes ad orientem; australior vocatur Cathedra Arthuri,² et qui respicit aquilonem, Collis Apri. Ager undique fertilissimus est, amœna prata, sylvulæ, lacus, rivuli,

¹ This description of Edinburgh was communicated by the Author to Sebastian Munster, for his *Cosmography*,—a singularly curious volume, printed at Basle, 1550, folio. It is here given from that work, compared with the republication in 1572.

The same description, with some unimportant variations, was republished anonymously, (about the year 1580,) in Braun's *Civitates Orbis*; a well known work containing Views and Plans of the principal Cities of the World, among which is one with the title "EDINBURGUM." Any person, however, who is acquainted with the localities of the place may easily perceive that this plan has been delineated by a foreign artist from the information contained in the printed text, and not from any actual survey or sketch; and consequently is of little interest or value. The small wood-cut view of Edinburgh, contained in Munster's work, is altogether imaginary.

² In the original 'Arthmi,' (in Braun, 'Arithmi,') evidently a typographical error, as the hill of Arthur's Seat is not known to have been ever so called: The Calton-hill in Braun is also styled Collis Apri, the hill of the Wild-boar, but on what tradition cannot now be discovered.

arces plures quam centum³ per circuitum urbis, intra unum miliare Germanicum. Ad septentrionem intervallo Italicī miliarii, ut diximus, est brachium maris, juxta quod situm est oppidum Letha, in cujus medio constructa est porticus, in qua simul videre licet centum magnas onerarias naves.⁴ Habet brachium maris ibi ad aquilonem in latitudine septem miliaria. Est et ex altero latere aquilonari oppidum et nova porticus extracta.⁵ Porro Edinburgus sita est in monte instar Pragæ, habetque in longitudine miliare Italicum, in latitudine dimidium. Longitudo accipitur ab occidente in orientem. Ab occidente urbis affurgit mons, et alta rupes, atque arx in rupe, sub qua undique est profunda vallis, nisi ea parte qua respicit urbem; quare arx est inexpugnabilis nisi ex urbe,⁶ nec quisquam ad eam scandere posset etiam scalis, tam præceps et dura est petra, in qua

³ A similar statement respecting the number of gentlemen's seats in the vicinity of Edinburgh, is made by Fynes Morison, in 1598, and by the Duke de Rohan, who visited Scotland at the same period.

⁴ Here the importance of Leith is certainly exaggerated; yet, when the English army, in 1544, "brake down the peire of the heauen of Lythe, and brent every stycke of it," and had "set fyre to every house in the town, and brent it to the grund," we are told that Leith was "founde more full of ryches than we thought to have founde any Scottishe towne to have been."

⁵ The word *porticus* in the text is evidently misapplied, or mistaken for *portus*.

⁶ At this period the Castle was deemed impregnable, and inaccessible, except by the Eastern approach from the High Street. The description which follows may partly be owing to the author's writing from distant and faint recollection:—he may perhaps have formed an exaggerated idea of the height of the Castle rock, from having attempted to clamber up when a youth; and indeed it is related, that he had a miraculous escape on some such occasion. (Mackenzie's Lives, ii. 144.)

In a subsequent part of this publication, it is intended to insert an account of the Siege of the Castle by the English forces, in May 1573, accompanied with a plan, and copies of several original letters of the period relating to that event.

vultures nidificant. Harum avium nidos depredantur juvenes audaciores, ex arce in sportis demissi. Hæc arx vocatur Castrum Puellarum, clauditque urbem ab occidente. Cæterum ad orientem urbis est augustissimum monasterium Sanctæ Crucis,⁷ habens annexum palatium regis et amœnissimos hortos,⁸ quos claudit lacus ad fundum montis Cathedræ Arthuri. In hoc monte inveniuntur prætiofi lapides, clara die radiantes, adamantes præcipue. In urbe sunt duæ magnæ viæ ab Arce Puellarum usque ad monasterium et regium palatium, lapidibus quadris stratæ, præsertim Regia Via. Est suburbium ad occidentem, dimidio miliario longum, vocaturque Via Sancti Cuthberti.⁹ Sunt in urbe multa monasteria et templa, præsertim Franciscani, Dominicafri, ecclesia Mariæ de Campo, collegium sacerdotum, et aliud Collegium Trinitatis, Hospitale S. Thomæ.¹⁰ Urbs ipsa non

⁷ The Abbey of the Holy Cross, or Holyrood, founded and richly endowed by King David I. in 1128, and by some of his successors. During the English expedition of September 1547, the Abbey was ransacked, and in part destroyed. Patten, in his Narrative of the Expedition, says, "Thear stode southwestward, about a quarter of a mile from our campe a Monasterie, thei call it Holly roode abbey. Sir Walter Bonham and Edward Chamberlayne gat lycence to suppress it; whear upon these commisioners makying first theyr visitacion thear, they found the moonks all gone: but the church and mooch part of the house well couered with leade. Soon after, thei pluct off the leade, and had doun the bels (which wear but ii.); and, according to the statute, did sumwhat hearby disgrace the hous. As touching the moonkes, bicaus thei wear gone, thei put them to their pencions at large."

⁸ The gardens surrounding the Palace of Holyrood appear to have been very extensive, and may have given rise to the tradition, that Arthur's Seat and its environs were once covered with wood.

⁹ The street of St Cuthbert, now called Portsburgh. The port or gate of which was built in 1514, and was long the principal entrance into Edinburgh, on the west.

¹⁰ St Thomas' Hospital in the Canongate, was founded by Geo. Creighton, Bishop of Dunkeld, in the reign of James V. rebuilt in 1617, and finally pulled down in 1778.

est constructa ex coctis, sed naturalibus et quadris lapidibus,¹¹ ut etiam fingulæ ædes possent magnis palatiis comparari. In medio urbis est capitolum,¹² et ecclesia collegiata Sancti Egidii. Habent episcopi, duces, comites, barones, et proceres totius regni, in ipsa urbe sua palatia, quando vocantur ad comitia.¹³ Est palatium regis positum supra monasterium, amplissimum, et superbissimum,¹⁴ et extenditur

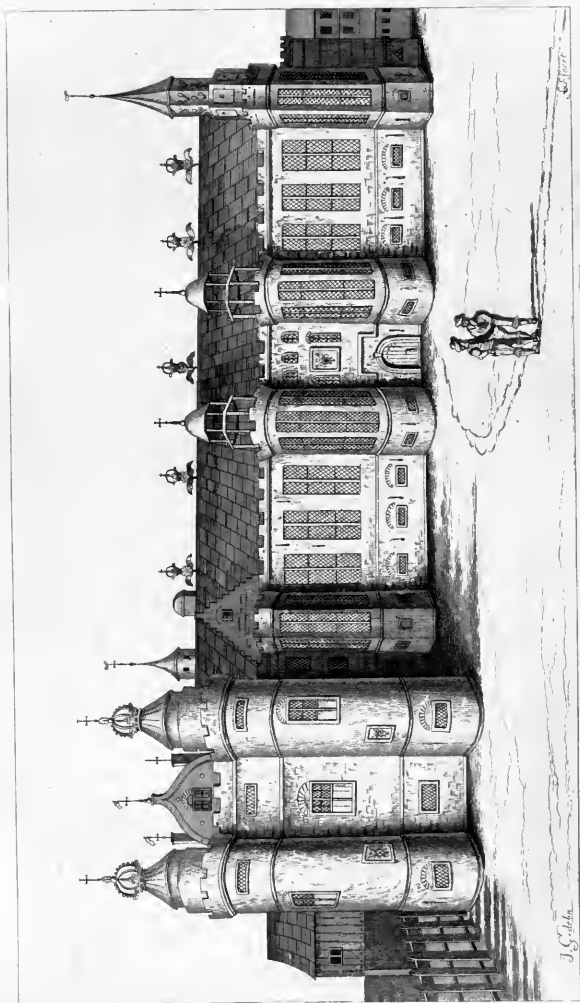
¹¹ Not built of brick, but of unhewn and square stones.

¹² This is rather a doubtful expression, as no town-house (unless the Provost of St Giles's house be considered as such,) or tolbooth is known to have stood in the vicinity of the church, earlier than the year 1561. The Cross is not taken notice of, nor does it appear in the old plan; but, at that period, it may have been a less prominent and handsome building than the octagon which was taken down in March 1756.

¹³ The meetings of Parliament, and of Council and Session, were usually held in the upper rooms of the Tolbooth; which, being ruinous, was pulled down in 1561, and a new Tolbooth erected at the expense of the inhabitants. In 1593, an Act of Parliament was passed for repairing "the Hous of Justice, utherwayis callit the Tolbuith of the burgh of Edinburgh." The building at the west end of St Giles's Church (pulled down in 1817,) continued till about the year 1640, when the present Parliament House was completed, to serve the joint purpose of the high council house and a jail.

¹⁴ The view of the old Palace of Holyroodhouse, here introduced, is an accurate copy of a print, supposed to be engraved about the year 1650, by F. De Witt, a Dutch artist, from a design by James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay. He was the son of Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch; and fortunately had turned his attention to delineating the public buildings, and drawing plans of the principal cities in Scotland. He executed a large and accurate survey of Edinburgh, (also engraved by De Witt, in Holland,) for which the Magistrates, 2d April 1647, granted him 500 merks; while, for a similar survey of Aberdeen, the Council of that city, in 1661, ordered a silver cup, weighing 20 ounces, to be made and presented to him, with a silk hat, and also a silk gown to his wife.

The Palace of Holyrood appears to have been built by James IV., and additions made to it by James V.; the Abbey having served as the occasional residence of some of our former sovereigns. It was plundered and burnt by the English in 1544; but probably soon recovered from the effects of this disaster; for, (as Sir Walter Scott



THE ROYAL PALACE OF HOLY ROOD HOUSE.



ab eo usque ad Arcem Puellarum una perpetua platea, dicta Vicus Regius, sed quæ prope Arcem Puellarum latior, et prope monasterium angustior est: atque hæc Regia Via ex utraque parte habet insignes

remarks) "before gunpowder was much employed, the Gothic edifices suffered little from fire, save the demolition of the roofs." (Provincial Antiquities, pp. 119, 120.)

After the accession of James VI. to the English throne, the Palace had been allowed to fall into decay, and at that time seems, from the following inventory drawn up by order of the Privy Council of Scotland, to have been very completely stripped of all its moveables:—

" On the 9th of Junii, The Lords of Secreit Counsall thinkis meitt, That the Lord " Chancelar and Clerk of Register visite the Palaice of Halyrudhouse, and make inventar of the insicht and plenissing being thairin, and to delyver the dowbell of the " same to John Fenton, comptroller clerk, and Thomas Fentoun, keeper of the said " Palace.

" 10th Junii, 1603.

" Inventar of the movables of Halyruidhous.

" The quhilk day the Erle of Montroise, Chancellair, and Mr John Skeine, Clerk " of his Hienes Register, haveing visit the Paleice of Haliruidhous, and everie particuler " hous of the same, exceptand the gairdrobe, fand na uther thingis by the particulers " underwritten, except sum buirdes, fumes and stuillis, nocht worthie to be inrollit. " In the first, in the counsal hous ane knok: In the over chalmer abone the Quenis " cabinet, twa peicis of tapestrie: In the Master of Warkis outwith chalmar, ane fair " wrocht pend for a bed, wantand the heid, and bak pend with courtingis for the " frontell and the fut; ane chair coverit with purpill velvott, ane coverlet of ane " buird of reid velvot upoun quhyt saiting; ane auld covering of ane bed of chainging " taffatie. Item, lyand in the transe, be the quhilk thai gang to the wyld bestiall, " twa peices of talpestrie, quhilkis ar deliverit to the keeping of Thomas Fentoun, " and he to be answerable thairfor. The saidis Lordis ordanis the key of the chal- " mer duir to be delyverit to the said Thomas Fentoun, quhairintill the bell is hing- " and, with the hail buirdis and daskis that war standing thairintill of befoir."—(Lord Haddington's extracts from the Privy Council Records. MS. Advocates' Library.)

The Palace of Holyroodhouse was eventually destroyed, either by wilfull or accidental fire, on the 13th of October 1650, at a time when a body of Cromwell's soldiers were

ædes, potioresque ex lapide polito constructas. Porro alia oblonga via, quæ vocatur Vicus Canonicorum,¹⁵ est angustior, fejungiturque a Regio Vico muro, porta, et turribus, et reputatur pro suburbio. A Regia Via inter austrum et boream extenduntur infiniti viculi, qui omnes excelsis sunt ornati ædibus, sicut et Via Vaccarum,¹⁶ in qua habitant patricii et senatores urbis, et in qua sunt principum regni palatia, ubi nihil est humile aut rusticum, sed omnia magnifica. Inter majores ecclesias Edinburgi, post monasterii eximiam basilicam,

quartered there. The circumstance is thus mentioned in the MS. Diary of Andrew Nicol, amongst the remarkable events of that year :—"The body of the English army being thus quartered in Edinburgh, Cannogait, Leith, and in several other partes of Lothiane, and a number of the Engliches futemen being lodged within the Abbay of Haly-Rud hous, it fell out that upone ane Weddensday, being the thretene day of October, 1650, the hail royall part of that Palaice wes put in a flame, and brent to the grund on all the partis thereof, except a lyttill." The small part which is here stated to have escaped the conflagration, was the double tower upon the north-west, with the adjoining building, still known as Queen Mary's apartments, the preservation of which was no doubt owing to its having been built in a more durable manner, than the other parts of the edifice. No other view is known to be preserved of the old Palace than this by Gordon, which shows it to have been a very handsome building.

¹⁵ The street of the Canons, or Canongate, was always considered as being in the suburbs; and derived its origin and name from the monks of the Abbey of Holyrood. The Netherbow Port, one of the principal gates of the city, and connecting the High Street with the Canongate and suburbs, was repaired in 1539. The handsome port, with its tower and turrets, pulled down in 1763, was of a more recent erection, and stood farther to the east than the old gateway which is here alluded to.

¹⁶ From this passage it would appear that, in the Author's time, the Cowgate was considered the fashionable part of the town, being the place of residence of the nobility and persons of rank,—a distinction, at successive intervals, transferred to the Canongate, the Castle-hill, and Brown's Square, previous to the migration of the inhabitants to the New Town. The suburbs of the Cowgate were inclosed with the city wall on its extension in the year 1513.

primum locum tenet collegiata ecclesia S. Egidii,¹⁷ constructa in medio Regiæ Viæ. Deinde in vico qui dividit Edinburgum a Via Canonorum et suburbio, est ecclesia magnifica vocata Collegium Reginæ intra Muros.¹⁸ Item inter monasteria Franciscanorum¹⁹ et Prædicatorum²⁰ sita est ecclesia Mariæ de Campo,²¹ ubi quoque est collegium sacerdotum. Et sub rupe Arcis Puellarum sita est nova parochia S. Cuthberti.²²

¹⁷ The old church of St Giles, destroyed by the English in 1385, is said to have been but a mean building. That it was speedily rebuilt, appears from the accounts of the Great Chamberlain of Scotland, in which are recorded various sums contributed by the King, between the years 1390 and 1413, towards the expense of the fabric of the parish church of St Giles or the burgh of Edinburgh. But it is certain that the present building, (which has at subsequent periods undergone a great variety of changes,) was not completed for many years thereafter; and the armorial bearings in various parts of the church, plainly indicate, that it was not finished until the reign of James II. In the year 1466, a charter was procured from James III. by the Magistrates, erecting St Giles into a collegiate church. During the reign of his successor, it had for its Provost the celebrated Gavin Douglas, the poet, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld.

¹⁸ Trinity College Church, on the N.E. of Edinburgh, founded by Mary of Gueldres, Queen of James II. in 1462, but left unfinished, as it now remains, the choir, central tower, and cross of the church only having been erected.

¹⁹ The Franciscan order of Friars, called the Grayfriars. Their monastery stood on the south side of the Grassmarket, with extensive gardens adjoining, including the High-riggs, or the grounds of Heriot's Hospital and Lauriston.

²⁰ Fratres Prædicatores,—the Preaching, or Black Friars, of the order of St Dominic. Their convent, founded in 1230 by Alexander II. on the site of the present High School, and called in their charter, "Mansio Regis," was accidentally burned in 1528, and was not wholly rebuilt in 1559, when the Order was suppressed by the Reformers.

²¹ The Collegiate Church of St Mary in the Fields, the site of the present College, and famous in history as the scene of Darnley's murder.

²² The church and parish of St Cuthbert's were granted by David I. in 1128, to the monastery of Holyrood.



E L E G Y

**ON SIR ROBERT KERR, OF CESSFORD,
FIRST EARL OF ROXBURGHE.**

M.DC.L.



ELEGY ON SIR ROBERT KERR, OF CESSFORD,
FIRST EARL OF ROXBURGHE.

[COMMUNICATED BY SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.]

THE subject of this elegy was distinguished as much in his younger days for courage and activity, as in the latter part of his long life for wisdom and political talent. His life was extended to an unusually long period, as born about the year 1570, he died in 1650. In his early youth he was deeply engaged in the border-warfare ; and in the Memoirs of Carey, Earl of Monmouth, several interesting anecdotes are given of the various bickerings which took place between Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford, which was then his title, and the English wardens. The Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, copied from the correspondence of Bacon, make frequent mention of " young Cessford " at the period when, according to the following verses,

He danton'd England with the Teviotdale spears.

The disturbed state of the borders at this time (1596) is alluded to by Mrs Eleanour Bowes, wife of the English ambassador :—
" My melancholy mood," says she, " being yet unremoved and the daily tidings of new murders, hardships, and slaughters on the borders, still increasing, I say no more at this time, but again and

again pray for us, and God send some better seasons." Again, Mr James Colvil informs Bacon, " that there was great trouble on the borders, which would continue, till order should be taken by the Queen of England and the King, by reason of the two young Scots chieftains, Cefsford and Baclugh, and of the present necessity and scarcity of corn amongst the Scots borderers and riders. That there had been a private quarrel betwixt those two lairds on the borders, which was like to have turned to blood ; but the fear of the general trouble had reconciled them, and the injuries, which they thought to have committed against each other, were now transferr'd upon England ; not unlike that emulation in France between the Baron de Biron and Mons. Jeverie, who, being both ambitious of honour, undertook more hazardous enterprises against the enemy, than they would have done if they had been at concord together."¹

When the border warfare was ended by the union of the Crowns, Cefsford, being created first Lord Roxburghe, and then Earl by the same title, exchanged his habits of a military chieftain for those of a courtier, in which, notwithstanding some deficiency in his early education, he is said to have excelled. James I., who said of him, as we learn from the elegy, that " though no scholar, he was near akin to learning," favoured him, and he enjoyed the smiles of his unfortunate successor. When the civil wars broke out, the Earl of Roxburghe adhered to the King's party, yet not with a conduct so decided as to avoid suspicion. When Montrose was commanded by Charles I. to march southwards, it was with considerable reliance on the assistance which he would receive from the Earls of Roxburghe,

¹ Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1754, vol. II. p. 67.

Home, and Traquair. But as Leslie's troops crossed the border at the same time near Berwick, he detached a party of horse, who arrested both Roxburghe and Home, which Wisheart, the historian of the heroic Marquis, alleges was done by their own connivance. "That cunning old fox, Roxburgh, practised this artifice as a consummate piece of policy; he expected to curry favour with the Covenanters, by having thus voluntarily delivered himself into their protection, and at the same time was in no danger of losing that of the King, as he pretended that he fell into their hands much against his will. Besides, he had influence enough with the Earl of Hume to bring him into the same measures."² It ought, however, to be remembered, that the Earl of Roxburghe was at this time extremely advanced in years, and that Wisheart is a prejudiced witness. Having declared in favour of the celebrated engagement of the Dukes of Hamilton, the Earl of Roxburghe was deprived of his office of Keeper of the Privy Seal by the Presbyterian Parliament of 1649, and died 18th January in the same year.

The verses appear to have been written by one who regretted a deceased benefactor, but his name is unknown. The Epitaph on R. R. occurs in the same manuscript, (which is among the papers of the late Sir Alexander Don of Newton, Bart.) but nothing occurs by which we can trace the subject, although he appears to have been a person of some consequence. Perhaps we ought to read R. K. for Robert Kerr, but the premature death of the elegant scholar and accomplished gentleman to whom the manuscript belonged, prevents us from referring to the original for verification of this conjecture.

² Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose* (Edinburgh, 1819), p. 194.

TO THE MEMORIE OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND NOBLE
LORD ROBERT, LAITTE EARLE OF ROXBURGHE.

MARS and Minerva did agree in one
To make young Selsfurde past comparifone
For witt and manhoode in his younger years.
He daunted England with the Tevydale fpeirs.
As he inadg'd, he inaibled, and rofe
To fouch esteeme, they durft not him oppofe.
No interceffion but that of renowne
Call'd him to court, where he fill'd up his rowme
To admiration; for his worth did mount
Through all degreis, till he was creat Countt.
The Solomon of thir dayes said oft of him,
Roxbrough's no fcollar; yet he's neer a kin
To learning, for his verie natural pairts
Exceed all other fciences and airts.
In points of ftate fo ftayd, and for a tryft
His words arre foft and fmooth, yet fo well fpyfte
With reafon and reproofe, that all men laid,
He always did convince, or elfe persuade.
His wifdom balanced to the change of tymes:
Envy itfelf cannot charge him with crymes.
And for difcourfe, Athens and Rome affords
Patternes of rhetoricke non of richer woords.

His witt, his woorth, his industree, yea more,
His strength still flourished till he was fourscore :
Then with the shield of faith he overcame
Sathan and Sin to triumphe with the Lamb.
I have no pith nor purpose to run over
All his achievements—they require a Homer ;
But for he preffer'd more than I did craive,
Just fix my thanksgiving upon his grave,
And, fighting, say, thaire lies within this shrine
Achilleis valour, Ulysses's ingine.

S. M.

ON R. R.

MY over weighted Muse, so far o'ercome
With grief and wonder, stands amazed and dumb :
First, to behold with grander worth combyned,
Than both in one sad cell to be enshryned.
Who cannot, wondering, see pass from earth's stage
Age crowning honour, honour crowning age ?
When this I eyed, I fondly did assay
This Hero's parts at full for to display ;
But from my hands did fall my dripping quill,
When I perceived my theam outstretch my skill

Not mending, as unlearned limners do,
To draw that beautie they can not reach too,
With trembling blottings spoiling some sweet face,
To which, by vailing, they may adde more grace ;
For what seems suppressed, thoughts might understand,
But might be expressed by some higher hand ;
To which veiled silence I resolve to stay,
And gladly 'd view what quicker wits can say.

A RELATION
OF THE IMPRISONMENT AND EXAMINATION
OF JAMES CATHKIN, BOOKSELLER.
JUNE, M.DC.XIX.



A RELATION OF JAMES CATHKIN
HIS IMPRISONMENT AND EXAMINATION ABOUT PRINTING
OF THE NULLITIE OF PERTH ASSEMBLIE.¹ BY HIMSELF.²

THURSDAY the 3 of June 1619, I embarked in James Broun's schip, in the Panns,³ at 9 houres at night; bot becaufe I was pourposed to have failled sum 10 or 12 dayes befor, and was stayed by contrarie winds, the adversaries took occasion therof to write to his Majestie, and the Bishop of St Androes,⁴ being present at Court.

¹ In the various attempts made by King James to impose the Episcopal form of worship on the people of Scotland, the most remarkable was the arbitrary manner in which certain articles were adopted by the Assembly held at Perth, in August 1618, and which were confirmed by Parliament in 1621. The articles alluded to were five in number:—1. Kneeling in the act of receiving the Sacrament. 2. The observance of festival days. 3. Episcopal Confirmation. 4. Private Baptism. And 5. Private Communion;—all of which were peculiarly obnoxious to the people at large. But King James was so much set upon carrying this measure, that Archbishop Spotiswoode, at the opening of the Assembly, in urging the necessity of a compliance, said, he was persuaded "his Majestie would be more glad of the consent of this Assemblie thereunto, *than of all the gold of India.*"

Cathkin in this Relation (which is preserved in a MS. volume in the possession of ROBERT GRAHAM, Esq. Advocate,) has given a most curious account of his examination by King James and the Privy Council of England, for a supposed concern in the publication of an anonymous tract, in 1619, entitled "Perth Assemblie, &c." without the name of the printer or place, which was written by David Calderwood the historian, and in which the Nullity of the Assembly was argued in no very gentle terms.

The reader will be amused with the princely and dignified style of "Great Britain's Solomon," which seems in part to justify his character as delineated by Weldon.

Upon the which ther was a commiffion directed be Secretarie Coluart, at the speciall command of his Majestie, to seek for me at Mr Bill's⁵ houfe, in London, the fame day that I embarked in Scotland. Bot I not being come, the messenger gave Mr Bill a ftrait command, that howfoon I come ther Mr Bill fould prefent me befor his Majestie.

The 12 of June, being Saturday, at 10 houres, I arrived at London in fafetie, all praife to God ! ; and comming to Mr Bill's befor 12 houres, Mr Bill's mann schew me that his master was not within, bot had left word with him, that quhensoever I come, I fould not go abroad wntill fuch time as his master come in. So I stayed and

² James Cathkin, bookseller and burgess in Edinburgh, in the reign of James VI. appears on several occasions to have shewn great zeal in the cause of Presbyterian discipline. From the depositions in a case which came before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in July 1593, when he and his elder brother, Edward Cathkin (who was his partner, and probably predeceased him,) were examined as witnesses, we learn that at that time he was 34 years of age. It was urged against their being received as witnesses, that in the year 1584 they had been banished the town of Edinburgh for sedition; being the time of Arran's administration, when Lawson, Melville, and others of the Presbyterian clergy, were forced for a time to leave Scotland. The names of Edward and James Cathkin are mentioned on various occasions by Calderwood; (see his printed History, pp. 166, 364, 367, 369, 732, and 748,) according to whom, the writer of this relation, at the time specified in the text, had set out to London "to follow "his lawfull trade;" and "he landed no sooner at London, but he was apprehended "and presented before the King, and tried by questions furnished by the Ministers of "Edinburgh, specially Mr Patrick Galloway. But the Lord assisting him, he professed his nonconformity plainly, and purged himself of other things laid to his charge."

Cathkin died 30th Sept. 1631. In the register of his latter will and testament, the inventory of his property (which included "an immense number of bulks of Divinitie in Latine, of Humanitie and Historie," &c.) amounted to vj^m.j^v.lxxxij. ii. xiiij. s.

³ The village of Prestonpans, a few miles from Edinburgh.

⁴ Archbishop Spotiswoode.

⁵ John Bill, the King's printer.

dyned. After dinner Mr Bill took me to a chamber, and shewed me Secretarie Coluerd's⁶ letter, which was sent to him be his Majestie's direction, for apprehending of me; and therfor said he, 'Yow must go with me presentlie to Court.' So we took boat, and went down to Greenwich. Bot Secretar Coluard was come up to London, and therfor ther could be nothing done that night.

The morne being the Lord's day, 13 June, quhat advise I could gett of Mr Mitchell and Mr Bill I took; and at 7 houres in the morning, Mr Bill and I went againe to Greenwich to court, and stayed all that fornoon without heareing of preaching. The King's fermon being ended, a great courtier come through all the great halls, and cryed, that no mann fould putt up anie sute to his Majestie that day, becaufe he wold not be greaved, be reason he had receaved. I thought it was good for me that he wold not be angrie. In the afternoon, quhen the Counsell was dissolved, the Secretar called upon Mr Bill and me to come up the back staires; and comeing to the chalmer beds, quher the attenders lay, we wer lett in, and stayed ther while the Bishop of St Androes putt by the hanging, and wavit with his hand to come in, quher his Majestie was, in the chamber of prefence. Bot the Bishop letting the hanging close againe, I stayed again while a courtier come and called me, and broght me quher his Majestie was sitting; at whoes sight I kneeled doune, bot his Majestie willed me to come befor him directlie, quher he sate in his chire of estate; and so I did, kneeling down juft befor him at the

⁶ Sir George Calvert, Secretary of State. See *Wood's Ath. Oxon.*, vol. ii. p. 565, edit. 1722.

edge of the footcloath. Bot this kneeling repented me, becaufe his Majestie did tak advantage therof. I might have pleaded ignorance, be reason I was no courtier.

Firft, his Majestie demanded me ‘ quher I duelt ? ’ ; next, ‘ quher I was borne ? ’ I said, “ If it pleas your Majestie, I was borne in Edinburgh, and duells in Edinburgh.” *King*. “ Quhat religion ar ye of ? ” *Cathkin*. “ Of the religion your Majestie professes.” *K*. “ The divell take yow away, both foule and bodie ! for yow ar none of my religion ! yow ar a recusant ! yow go not to the church ! ” *C*. “ If it please your Majestie, I go to the church ; I think no mann will complain of me in that.” *K*. “ Was yow ther on Christmes day ? ” *C*. “ Not.” *K*. “ And why wer yow not ther ? ” *C*. “ Because, Sir, holie dayes have bein castin out of our kirk, and hes ever bein preached against since ever I cann remember ; and we have bein teach’d that it was superstition to keep them.” *K*. “ Ar ye not my subject ? ” *C*. “ I am your Majestie’s most humble subject, to serve your Majestie with my life, goods, and all that I have.” *K*. “ Ar ye not a Christiane ? Sould ye not keep in memorie the birth, and passion, and ascension of Christ ? ” *C*. “ Everie day sould be the

⁷ “ Upon the 10th of Februar 1619, Richard Lawson, James Cathken, and John Meen, merchants and burgesses of Edinburgh, were summoned to compear before the High Commission. They were accused for not coming to the Kirk upon Christmas day, for opening of their booth doors, walking before them in time of sermon, disuading others from going to the kirk, and reasoning against preaching upon that day. They answered, they did nothing of contempt ; their reason was to try what warrant others had. They were dismissed with an admonition to be modest in their speeches and behaviour in time coming.” *Calderw. Hist.* p. 720.

birth and passion day of Christ." *K.* "Bot especially that day. Why obey yow not your pastors, and goe to heare them?" *C.* "I goe and heares them." *K.* "Quhen spak ye with anie of them?" *C.* "If it pleas your Majestie, I spak with Mr William Strudders⁸ the last week." *K.* "Quhat speech had ye with him?" *C.* "About book matters." *K.* "Ye ar worfe than Turkes and Jewes!" and speaking to the Lords that was present, "I cann never gett a order of thir people of Edinburgh. I forgave them the seventeenth day!⁹ The devill ryve ther foules and bodies all in collops, and cast them in hell!" His Majestie being in great wrath and anger, I feared to mak answer.

The Bishop of St Androes, standing hard by his Majesties chaire of estate, asked me, "If I had ane hand in printing of a book schortlie." I asked him quhat book he ment of? *K.* "A book against Perth Assemblie." *C.* "I had nothing to do with that book; I never fold anie of them, nor vented any of them." *K.* "Did yow ever see anie of them?" *C.* "If it please your Majestie, that day I come from Edinburgh, I was in the Bishop of Glascow's house about some money he was owing me, and I did see one of them lying on the Bishop's boord." *K.* "He does bot equivocat with ws. Bot did yow never see anie of them before that time?" *C.* "Yes, if it

⁸ Mr William Struthers, a strenuous supporter of court-measures, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, and author of *Christian Observations*, and other works.

⁹ This refers to the tumult of the people of Edinburgh, on the 17th day of December 1596. See *Calderwood's History*, p. 364. *McCrie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 82. *Cook's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 74.

please your Majestie." *K.* "Quher?" *C.* "I do sell books, and keep ane open booth, and fyndrie have come in with it in ther hand, asking me if I had sik a book." *K.* "Quhat wer they?" *C.* "If it please your Majestie, I did not observe them."

The Bishop having a lang scroll in his hand, quhilk was my ditta, asked me if I did not give out some writts to a scholemaster to be copied? *C.* "Never." The Bishop affirmed that Mr David Calderwood had menn that did write wnto him in my house, and said, "Hes not Mr David Calderwood lyne, and bein entertained at your house?" *C.* "He wold not refave anie entertainment from me, and did ly verie rairlie with me." *K.* "Did he not ly at your house sence he was banished?" *C.* "Pleis your Majestie, verie rarelie." *K.* "Anfwer to me as I speik. Did he not ly at your house?" *C.* "Yes, please your Majestie." *K.* "Hold up your hand, and say, as ye fall answer to God, how schort time it is since yow did speak with Mr David Calderwood?" *C.* "Your Majestie does strait me verie hardlie; I must needs gather my memorie before I cann tell your Majestie." Then his Majestie did swear I was going to equivocate; bot presentlie I did remember my self, and said, "I did speak with him within this 15 dayes." *K.* "We haue found the teade; let ws hold ws here: forfuth, Mr David Calderwood is a good brother and ane good leir-father."¹⁰ And with this his Majestie did rise in a great rage, and went his owin length, and leaned on a table hard by, and presentlie did sitt down again, and said wnto me, "Traitour! thief! how durst thow refave my rebell?" *C.* "He is not your Majesties

¹⁰ 'Leir-father,' a good teacher, or expounder, from here, learning.

declared rebell." *K.* (being in grit anger) "Did thow not know that I banished him?"¹¹ I, being so dafched with his Majesties wrath, forgatt to tell his Majestie that Mr David had gotten ane overfight. Then the Bishop asked me if I knew not that Mr David Calderwood was the author of that book againt Perth Assemblie; and wold have had me to have suorne: bot I refused the oath, and said, I had nothing to do quho was the author of it.

The Bishop proceded in his accusation againt me as it was sett down in his libell, quhilk he kept in his hand, and said, "Ye ar delated here to his Majestie. that ye fould have said, the Tuifday before the communion, that the Assemblie of Perth was ane wnlawfull Assemblie; and that the acts that was made ther was againt the word of God." *C.* "I spak not these words." *K.* "Quhat was it ye spak, then?" *C.* "If it pleas your Majestie, I said, it had

¹¹ According to Archbishop Spotiswoode, in 1617, Calderwood for "carrying him- self unreverently, and breaking forth into speeches not becoming a subject," was committed in the town-house of S. Andrews, and afterwards banished the kingdom. (*Church History*, p. 534.) He returned privately in the year 1624.

Calderwood, who was at that time minister of Crailing, in his History, has given a particular account of the circumstances which led to his banishment. To console him under this sentence of exile, he was told, if he was not content to be suspended spiritually, he should be suspended corporally; and King James, on being urged to prolong the time of his departure, on account of the tempestuous season of the year, answered, *If he be drowned in the seas, he might thank God he hath escaped a worse death.* His fate, however, was neither to be hanged nor drowned; being soon after the re-establishment of Presbytery, in 1638, appointed minister of Pencaitland; and, according to an unpublished Elegy (*"On the setting of that famous and long shyneing light of our Church, the Reverend Mr David Calderwode,"*) he died at Jedburgh, 29th Oct. 1650.—The publication of his larger Church History, from a collation of the original MSS. deposited in the British Museum, would prove a valuable accession to our historical literature.

bein good if our minifters had acquainted the feffion of the Kirk before they had brought in thefe novelties upon ws." *K.* "Farts on yow and the feffion of your Kirk baith ! Quhen I was in Scotland, I kepted Yoole and Pafch in fpite of all your harts ; (and directing his fpeech to the Lords, faid,) See, thir people will kneel to me, and will not kneel to God !" *C.* "If it pleafe your Majeftie, I am no fcholler, and if I wer, I durft not prefume to reafone with your Majeftie ; notwithstanding I have fufficient reafon, quherfor I will not kneel, for fatisfieing my owin confcience." *K.* "Ye are recusants, that will not come to the kirk on holie dayes to heare preachings. The devill a warrand ye will gett in all the word for keeping of Sunday." *C.* "Yes, Sir, ther is warrand for keeping the Lord's Sabbath-day." *K.* "Ye will be a Jew ; that is Saturday." *C.* "Sir, ther is ane command for keeping the feventh day, and your Majeftie has ane law againft all holy dayes, and efpeciallie againft Yule and Pafch." *K.* (Speiking to the Bifhop) "Quhat law is this he fpeiks of?". The Bifhop faid he remembered not fick a law. *K.* "Quhat law is that yow meane of?". *C.* "Ane Act of Parliament of your Majeftie, made in the 90 yeare of God." *K.* "It is not againft preaching on holie dayes." *C.* "It is preaching that makes the holie day. *K.* "Quhat devills errand have ye here ? or how dar'ye come here, or anie the like of yow ? We fall gett ane law, and hes a law againft that law !".

Being difmift, and ftaying in the bed-chamber, Secretar Coluard did fend for me, and asked, if I knew his Majefties will ? *C.* "Not, my Lord." *S. C.* "I muft let yow know his will. Ye muft go to

prison to the Gate-house, and ther remaine close prisoner durning his Majesties pleasure." And presentlie he delivered a warrand to a messenger, quho went all the way with me to the prison, and delivered me to Mr Weiks, the master of the prison, with my warrand. The jailor, how soone he redd the warrand, said to me, " I see yow ar a close prisoner ; know yow quhat that is ? " C. " I know not." He said, " That is to say, yow must speek with no mann, and no mann must speek with yow." So, presentlie he caused one of his menn mak readie a chamber for me, and delivered me to him. How soone I come into the chamber, the mann did close the doore upon me and him, and said, " I must see quhat yow have about yow, or quhat money yow have." I said, " Quhat was that to him quhat money I had ; I could do no harme." He said, " I might cast money out at the windowes to cause doe things for me, and therfor ane close prisoner must have no money about him." Upon the quhilk he riffellit my pockets, so that I was forced to let him see all my money, quhilk was three pounds sterling, the quhilk he wald have taken from me, but I refused at that time to give it him ; bot within ane litle time after, at ten houres that night, he come againe with ane of his companions, quho said, ' their master send them to tak that money from me,' quhilk I deliverit to them, with my knife and my seale.

The morne, being Monday the 14th of June, I was send for by Secretar Coluard, quho with the Bishop of St Androes was depute be his Majestie to examine me again the second time. The jailor send my keeper with me to Greenwich, (quho was ane profane,

graceless, and wngodlie suaggerer); we went along on foot to Billingsgate, and quhen anie of my acquaintance preasit to have spoken with me, he thrust them back, and said " I was close prisoner, and therfor no mann must speek with me;" and coming to Billingsgate, he and his mates fell a drinking of tobacco and botteld ale. In end, we took boat all alone, and come to Greenwich, and presentlie my keeper and his companions ther went to the wine and tobacco, with fuearing and suaggering; and having with him the messenger that convoyed me to the prison, he presentlie took out 6s. and 8d. sterling, and gave him for me of my owin money, for that he spent and drank was of my purs onlie. Quhen he had endit his drinking, he went with me to the Secretar Coluard's lodging; bot becaus the Bishop of St Androes, my accuser, was not cum, he commanded my keeper to tak me to prison again. I complenit to him they had taken my purs and all my money from me, and desired his Lordship to pity my estate, becaus I was ane poore stranger; bot he said he could not help me. So my keeper went and hyred ane boat for ws, and we landed at Westminster itaires, and so to prison againe.

Weddinsday the 16th of June, the Bishop of St Androes sent for me to St Martines lane, quher he was for the time, with Sir William Alexander,¹² and the Bishop's brother, Mr James Spottiswood,¹³ send be the King to examine me. Mr James desired me to tell the truth of the prenting of the book of the Nullitie of Perth Assemblic.

¹² Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, afterwards Secretary of State for Scotland, and created Earl of Stirling.

¹³ Afterwards Bishop of Clogher in Ireland.

The Bishop called for pen, ink, and paper, to pen my deposition, which was presentlie broght him, althocht nothing was written. The Bishop prayed me to tell the truth, and I fould gett favour; and he asked me "If I was partner with Andro Hart in prenting? and if I knew his letter that he had? I fpeir (said he), becaufe it is said that Perth Assemblie was printed in Edinburgh;"¹⁴ for they that hes written to his Majestie affirmes that the book was watt, new come of the preß, quhen they wer found, and that augments the fuspicion that it was done in Edinburgh. If his Majestie knew the printer, he wold not escape with his life." C. "I had nothing to do with the printing of that book; and as for Andro Hart, I was partner with him in printing, bot not this five or fix years; and as for his letter, ther ar manie printers that have letters lik wnto withers." B. "Hes he ane Englishman to his mann? and know ye quher he is?" C. "I think he be about the citie, bot I know not quher." Also he took out a roll out of his pocket, that he had refavit out of Edinburgh, quherin he red that I had given out pamphlets

¹⁴ Calderwood's tract was printed in Holland. In his MS. history is a curious notice how the copies escaped detection when imported. "The booke entituled Perth Assembly was brought hether in Aprile, and were landed at Bruntisland. It pleased God that howbeit Mr John Mitchelson [Parson of that place] was inquisitive to know what books were in the fatt, the customer [the collector of the customs] would not suffer him to medle with them. When they were brought from Bruntisland to Leith, the Bishop of St Andrews comming in immediately after saw the fattes, but took no notice of them, becaus they were laying on the shoar among other fattes brought out of France, containing French wares. The books were keeped closs till the present suspiation vanished." (Vol. vi. p. 474.) The tract referred to is a small 4to, printed in the year 1619, without name of place or printer.

to a schoolmaster to write copies of. *C.* "I never gave anie to copie." Also he red that upon that Tuifday's meeting before the Communion, I said that the Assemblie of Perth was ane wnlawfull assemblie; and that the Acts concluded ther was against the word of God. *C.* "I might well think it, bot I never spak it." *B.* "Quho trow yow be the author of the book?" *C.* "I fufpect Mr David Calderwood was the author of it, be reafon he wrote something against kneeling, and holy dayes, and I heare it is in that book." *B.* "I cannot think he is the author of it, becaufe he was not at Perth Assemblie. Quher mett ye with him laft?" *C.* "In Edinburgh." *B.* "Was it not in your owin houfe?" *C.* "Not." *B.* "Then I muft tell yow a fecret; prefentlie after ye wer committed to prifon, it was a fecret then, bot not now, his Majeftie fent to fearch your houfe, both for Mr David and the book, and if any of them be found in your houfe, it will go verie hard with yow: for we heard he hes bein all this year in your hous writeing."¹⁵ *C.* "He came not mekle in my houfe, bot quhen he took phyfick for his een, and quhen he fpake the Bifhops of Glascow and Caithnes." *B.*

¹⁵ It appears that Calderwood remained for a considerable time concealed after his sentence of banishment in 1617. In reference to the search mentioned in the text, he informs us, "they found neither them (the books) nor the author, Mr D. C., as was "intendit; for the author was in the meantime lurking in Cranstoun, in a secret chamber appointed for him by my Lady Dame Sarah Cranstoun, who was many ways "stedable to him. He removed from place to place as the Lord had provyded for "him, till the 27th of August, that he imbarked at Newheaven, and sailed to Hol-"land." And with regard to the books, he adds, "When the house was searched, "howbeit there was 5 or 6 Perth Assemblies laying above the bed-clothes where Mr "David had wont to lay, they were not perceived." MS. History, vol. vi. p. 475.

"Ye muft crave the King's Majestie's pardon for relaveing him." C. "He was not the King's rebell." B. "He found suretie to depart out of the King's dominions." C. "He had ane overflight." B. "Be my faith, I wold not for ane 100 pounds ye had told the King that, quhen ye was examined." (At which words he leugh as if he had bein kittled, and said,) "Ye muft lay in suretie, both here and at home, to be anfuerable to the 5 articles, for his Majestie hath sent down to tak order with all them that went to other kirkis to the Communion, and left ther owin' pastors." C. "It is ane hard matter to ws to leave the thing that we have bein instructed in, and have continuallie practised this 60 year, being warrandit by the word of God; and this ye wold have ws to embrace is without warrand of God's word. And sould our ministers abruptlie bring them in upon ws, without ever making ws or the fession of the Kirk acquainted therwith?" B. "They did not well of that, for I gave them counsell that they sould urge no mann to kneele, bot to give it to everie mann according as he desired to tak it; and this Mr Patrik Galloway made intimation of from the pulpit the Sondag before the Communion, that non fuld be urged to tak it, bot as they pleased." C. "Bot he did find fault with them that did not kneele." B. "No; the first day ther was a skinner¹⁶ that satt, and he said no more bot 'Sitt ye?'" C. "He was offendit with others that satt." B. "The King's Majestie has promised to root out that toune and the memorie of it, except he gett obedience." C. "I

¹⁶ The name of this skinner was Robert Meiklejohn, and his *sitting* occasioned him afterwards "to be warded" in the Citie "of Dunkelden." *Cald. Hist.* p. 754.

think your self was not resolved at the first in thir things?" *B.* "It is true I made great scruple of holy dayes, and is not well resolved yet. But I think Whitgift¹⁷ will mak that matter cleir; bot for kneeling, I made no scruple in it how sone I did see the forme of it." *C.* "Then how cann I of a suddan be resolved, seeing I have heard so mekle in the contrarie, and so litle for it?" *B.* "Ye are willfull! ye will not hear, nor confer, nor read! Doctor Lindfay¹⁸ hes printed a book, read it, and it will resolve yow." *C.* "I will not refuse to do that; and if I could gett a warrand for my conscience out of the word of God for embraceing of these things I wold be loath to cast my self in a wnnecessar trouble." *B.* "Ye muft ether embrace them or leave the King's dominions." *C.* "I am content, for the earth is the Lord's, and it wer better to do that than to bring ane guiltienes

¹⁷ This must be an error, as John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, died in 1603-4. The person alluded to is probably Thomas Morton, Bishop of Chester, who published a Defence of the Surplice, Crosse, and Kneeling, in the year 1619, 4to; a work, which speedily drew forth an answer from the indefatigable Calderwood.

¹⁸ Dr David Lindesay, minister at Dundee, who published in the year 1621 a full Account of the Proceedings and a Vindication of the Perth Assembly, in reply to Calderwood. The work referred to in the text is entitled, *The Reasons of a Pastor's Resolution touching the reverend receiving of the Holy Communion*, 12mo, London, 1619; which led to Lindesay's appointment, in November that year, to the Bishoprick of Brechin. This work Calderwood answered in an anonymous tract, *The Solution of Doctor Resolutus, his Resolutions for Kneeling*. 4to, 1619.

Bishop Spotiswoode, in reply to a minister who said Lindsay "had shamed himself" by his writings, said, "He purposed to have written no more, were not that knave (meaning Mr David Calderwood), who is now loppen over sea with his purse well filled by the wives of Edinburgh, had written Perth Assembly. It had been good 'it had never been written.'" *Cald. Hist.* p. 750.

upon my own conscience that I could not be quit of." *B.* "It is fore against our heart thir things, bot the King must be obeyed in indifferent things." *C.* "I do not think them indifferent." *B.* "Quhen come ye out of Scotland?" *C.* "The 3 of June." *B.* "Quhat broght ye with yow?" *C.* "Nothing but my chest and sea cloathes." *B.* "Have yow anie books in your chest?" *C.* "Some few that will not sell in Scotland, and therfor I broght them to gett some others for them." Upon the quhilk I give him the key of my chest, and schew him I had some money in it. *B.* "All schall be safe." Sir William Alexander desired the Bishop to write to his Majestie for my releis, and he sould carie it to Tibulls,¹⁹ quher his Majestie was for the present. But the Bishop refused; yet, in end he promised to speak the King himself, how soone he come to Greenwich, quhilk wold be within 3 or 4 dayes; and so he called for my keeper, and bad him cary me to prison again.

Monday at night, 21 June, betwixt 9 and 10, the Bishop's mann come to me to the prison, and schew me that his master had gotten a grant of a warrand from his Majestie for me, bot before I come out I must find suretie to be anfuerable both at home and heir; and that Samuel Hart and James Lawfoun²⁰ must do the like. I knew not that they had bein confined till then. I send the Bishop word be his mann that Mr Bill wold be suretie for ws all, notwithstanding I was delaved, for he refused.

Wedinsday, 23 June, the Bishop's mann, Hew Scrimgeour, broght me a warrand, in the morning, to releife me out of the Gate-house;

¹⁹ Theobalds.

²⁰ Booksellers and printers in Edinburgh.

and thereafter he broght me to the Bifhop, quher he was for the time in S. Martines Lane ; quher I found Mr Johne Hay²¹ with him, new come out of Scotland ; quho did offer me great kindnes, and fo did the Bifhop, and fchew me that he had procured my liberty ; and becaufe Mr Bill had refused to be furetie, he took my promife that I, and Samuel Heart, and James Lawfoun, fould not depart out of London without his Majeftie's fpecial licence. After this we went divers and fyndrie times to the Bifhop, both in S. Martines Laue, as alfo to Greenwich, intreateing the Bifhop to gett ws libertie of his Majeftie to go home ; which he promifed daylie. And after his Majeftie had gone to his progres, I went to the Bifhop in Paules Churchyard, being in Mr Fedderiton's ; I enquired of him, if he had fpoken with the King's Majeftie for our licence to go home ? He faid he had forgotten to fpeak it to his Majeftie, quhen he took his leave of him, bot he had left word with John Murray of the bedd-chamber, to excufe him at his Majeftie's hand ; for he wald tak me in his owin hand, upon that condition that I fould be anfuerable at home to anie thing that was to be laid to my chairge.²² Quherupon he defired my hand and promife. So, being difmiff, I enbarked at Graves-end, 3 Julij, and in the mercifull providence of my mercifull Father in Chrif Jefus, we arrived in Leith, 10 Julij, 1619 ;—and how foone the Bifhop come to Edinburgh, I went to him to Gour-

²¹ Mr John Hay, Town Clerk of Edinburgh, the same person who delivered a most learned oration to King James, at his entrance to Edinburgh in 1617.

²² Calderwood in his MS. History says, "The Bishop of St Androes procured (Cathkin) his liberty that he (Spotiswoode) might be the more acceptable to the people himself at his return from court."

layes lodging, quher he was fitting with our minifters. How foone he did fee me, he did putt furth his hand, and fo did all the reft. I faid, "I was come to fee if he had anie thing to charge me with ; according to my promife, I fould be furth-comming." He faid, "I was welcome, and was an honeft man." And fo I took my leave.²³

²³ In April 1620, Cathkin was "charged to address himself to the countrey and bounds of Cathness within the space of 30 days ;" but he had interest enough to get this sentence remitted. *Cald. Hist.* p. 754, 756. See also pages 802 and 804, where his name appears as taking a leading part in some transactions at a later period.



LETTER
FROM ROBERT OF DUNHELM, MONK OF KELSO,
TO THE PRIOR AND CONVENT
OF TYNEMOUTH.
A.D. M.CC.LVII.

PART II.

E E



LETTER FROM ROBERT OF DUNHELM, MONK OF KELSO,
TO THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF TYNEMOUTH.

A. D. M.CC.LVII.

[COMMUNICATED BY ROBERT PITCAIRN, ESQ.]

THE following account of the discovery of the bodies of King Malcolm Canmore and of his eldest son, Prince Edward, is contained in an original MS. in the Cotton Library, preserved in the British Museum. The genuineness of this MS. seems unquestionable, and its value and curiosity are enhanced, by the circumstance of the volume having been formerly the property of the person to whom the letter by the Monk of Kelso is addressed, and who presented it to the Church of Saint Mary and Saint Oswin of Tynemouth. This appears from an inscription on the 67th folio, in these words:—
“ *Hunc librum dedit Frater Radulfus de Dunham prior, Deo et Ecclesie Sancte Marie et Sancti Oswini de Tineme. Quem qui abstulerit, aut hunc titulum deleverit, aut aliqua fraude alienaverat, anatema sit. Amen.*”

A copy of the same letter, but evidently derived from another source, is inserted in the Additamenta to Wats's edition of Matthew Paris's History;¹ from which such variations as appear to be of any importance are specified in the notes.

¹ Lond. 1684, fol. 1118.

The date of the letter is fixed, by a passage in Matthew Paris's History (himself a Monk of St Alban's), who, under the year 1257,¹ remarks :—*Eodemque anno, inventa sunt ossamenta Regis Scotorum Malcolmi et Edwardi filij sui, cum fundamenta cujusdam structure pararentur, apud Thynemnam Prioratum Sancti Albani.*

The notice relative to the death of Queen Margaret, subjoined to the letter, was most probably written by the Prior of Tynemouth. It agrees with the relation of that event in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

With regard to the period when the bodies were carried to Dunfermline, nothing certain has been ascertained, though it is by no means unlikely to have taken place shortly after their discovery at Tynemouth.

¹ (41 Hen. III.) fol. 815.

REUERENDO patri in Christo domino Radulpho¹ de Dunham Dei gracia Priori de Tyneme,² (et) eiusdem loci sacro Conuentui, Frater Robertus³ dictus de Dunelmo, humilis monachus de Kilchow,⁴ eternam in Domino salutem. Multum regraciam vobis de hospitalitate nobis in domo vestra curialiter exhibit me⁵ scilicet et socio meo.⁶ Placuit curialitati vestre in ipso conuiuio et⁷ confabulatione narrare talia;⁸ scilicet inuenisse vos ossamenta cuiusdam viri magne stature, et alterius minoris, que putabatis⁹ esse ossamenta venerabilis Regis quondam Scotorum Malcolomi, et eius filii. Vnde petebatis a me, vt si in aliquo codice autentico certum aliquo¹⁰ de hoc inuenire potuissẽ, qualiter obierit, vel ubi¹¹ sepultus fuerit, vobis literatoriẽ certificarem.¹² In Danorum historia sic reperi. Rex Scocie Melcolmus et primogenitus filius eius Eduuardus, cum suis exercitibus, in Northumbriam die festiuitatis Sancti Bricij,¹³ a militibus Roberti

¹ R.² Thinemue.³ R.⁴ Kelstona.⁵ Exhibita mihi ?⁶ The whole of this sentence omitted in M. Paris.⁷ "Conuiuio et" omitted.⁸ Talia recitare.⁹ Credebatis.¹⁰ Aliquod?—The words "aliquo de" omitted, and "super" inserted.¹¹ Ubinam.¹² Significarem.

¹³ Festum S. Bricij (13. Novembris). The death of King Malcolm certainly was on 13th November, though various dates have been assigned. Lord Hailes corroborates the date mentioned in the MS. Guthrie says 6th June, and Sir James Balfour 13th December.—*Hailes's Ann.* vol. i. p. 24. *Guth. Hist.* vol. i. p. 204. *Balf. Ann.* vol. i. p. 83.

Northumbrorum comitis occisi sunt. In cuius morte iusticia iudicantis Dei aperte confideratur; vt videlicet in illa prouincia cum suis interiret, quam sepe ipse vastare auaricia stimulante consuevit. Quinquies cum¹ namque illam atroci populacione atriuit, et miseros indigenas in seruitutem redigens, abduxit captiuos; semel, Eaduuaro regnante, Egeliunlino² episcopante Dunelmi, quum Tofti³ Comes Northumbrorum prefectus Rome fuerat; iterum, regnante Wilelmo,⁴ sub eodem episcopo Egelwyno,⁵ et Cliuelande depopulatus est; terciò, regnante eodem Rege Wilelmo, sub Walthero episcopo, usque Tinam progressus, post cedes hominum et concremaciones locorum, multa cum preda reuertitur;⁶ quartò, regnante Wilelmo iuniore, Wilelmo regente episcopatum Dunelmensem, cum suis copiis infinitis⁷ usque Cestriam peruenit,⁸ omnino⁹ intendens ulterius progredi, sed ordinata¹⁰ contra eum militari manu non multa,¹¹ metu ipse¹² citius reuertitur; quintò, cum omni quo potuit exercitu in ultimam deducturus desolacionem, Northumbriam inuafit, sed iuxta flumen Alne perimitur a Morello¹³ milite strenuif-

¹ "Cum," omitted.

² Egelhuulino. "Egelwynum, eum nominat præsul noster Godwinus." *Wats ad M. Paris.*

³ Tostias.

⁴ Gulielmo.

⁵ No blank here in M. Paris.

⁶ Reversus est.

⁷ Infinitus.

⁸ "Inter Dunelmum et Thynam." added in M. Paris.

⁹ "Omnino," omitted.

¹⁰ Adunata.

¹¹ Minima.

¹² Omisso "ipse."

¹³ "Proxima hyeme ab hominibus Roberti (Moubray) Comitis Hunbronensium magis fraude quam viribus, occubuit." *Will. Malmshur.* p. 122.

"Verum illum (Malcolmum) Rodbeardus (Robertus) Comes de Northumbria cum suis copiis imparatum ex insidiis adortus, interfecit. Eum occidit Morelus de Babbaburh (Bamborough) qui fuit Comitibus procurator, et Malcolmi Regis susceptor."—*Gibson Cron. Sax.* fol. 199.

fimo, cum primogenito suo Eaduardo,¹ quem heredem regni post se disposuerat. Exercitus illius uel gladiis confoditur, vel qui gladios fugerunt, inundacione fluminum que tunc pluuiis hyemalibus plus solito excreuerant, absorpti sunt. Corpus uero Regis et cruentissimi carnificis, cum suorum nullus remaneret qui terra illud cooperiret, duo ex indigenis carro impositum in Tinemuthe sepelierunt. Sicque factum est, ut ubi multos vite² et rebus et libertate priuauit,³ ibidem ipse iudicio Dei vitam simul⁴ cum rebus amitteretur.⁵ Ista igitur

"This Morel is said to have been Malcolm's *godsib* or gossip (susceptor), in French *Compere*, that is, Malcolm and he had stood god-fathers together. This created a spiritual affinity in those days, like that of brothers." *Hailes's Ann.* vol. i. p. 395.

"Iste Robertus (de Mumbrai vel Moubray) cum esset vir audacissimus et bellipotens, vicit et interemit Malcolmum Regem Scotiæ, quem de licentia Regis Henrici Angliæ primi, audacter diffiduciavit. Et propter regiam excellentiam, fecit corpus Regis occisi honorificè intumulari in Ecclesia de Thynemue, quam idem Comes construxerat. Scotis tamen postea corpus sui Regis frontosè postulantibus, concessum est et datum corpus cuiusdam hominis plebei de Sethtune: et ita delusa est Scotorum improbitas." *M. Paris (additamenta W. Wats)*, fol. 1118.

¹ "I have said, on the authority of the Saxon Chronicle, p. 199, and S. Dunelm. p. 218, that his eldest son, Edward, fell with him. Fordun, however, lib. V. c. 25, observes, that Prince Edward was mortally wounded in the retreat of the Scottish army, died 15th November, at Edwardisle, in the forest of Jedwood (al. Redwere), and was buried at Dunfermline, in the church of the Trinity, before the altar." *Hailes's Ann.* vol. i. p. 395.

"Eduard, the eldst sone of K. Mal. 3d, Prince of Scotland, in a conflict against the Northumbrians, being mortally wounded, 17 kal. of December (15th Nov.) the 3d day after hes father K. Mal. death, in A°. 1093, departed this lyffe, at Eduardsdyke, in Jedwood forrest, and wes interred in the Trinitey Church of Dunfermlin, before the altar of the Holy-Crosse." *Balfour's Annals*, vol. i. p. 2.

² Vita.

³ Privaverat.

⁴ "Simul," omitted.

⁵ Amitteret universis.

vobis significare curavi, quod corpus eius penes vos¹ constat esse humatum. Cuius anime, si vobis placet, precibus subueniatis; et offamenta in decentiori loco, sicut polliceba . . . ,² locari faciatis.³ Viuenda lete per tempora longa. Valete.

.

Cuius morte cognita, Regina Scotorum Margareta, tanta affecta est istericis, vt subito in magnam incideret infirmitatem. Nec mora presbiteris ad se vocatis ecclesiam intravit, eisque sua peccata confessa, oleo se perungit, celestique munire viatico fecit, Domini assiduis precibus execrans, vt in hac erumpnosa vita diucius illam viuere non permitteret. Nec multo tardius exaudita est; nam die tercio post Regis occisionem,⁴ soluta carnis vinculis, vt creditur, ad gaudia eterne salutis.

¹ "Vos," omitted.

² Proposuiſtis.

³ Here ends the transcript in M. Paris.

⁴ Lord Hailes states that Queen Margaret died 16th Nov. 1093 (vol. i. p. 25), which exactly agrees with this relation; but Guthrie (vol. i. p. 284), and Hay in his *Scotia Sacra* (MS.), assert that it happened on 10th June; probably taking it for granted that she died on the day of the Festival of Saint Margaret (10th June). See also Turgot, *Acta Sanctorum*, 10th Jun. p. 328, &c.

"Saint Margaret died in the Castle of Edinburgh, the 10 of June, her body was carried with royall pompe to Dunfermeling," &c. *Hay's Scotia Sacra*, MS.

In the year 1250, or 1251, Saint Margaret's bones were *translated* by King Alex. III. to a more honourable place of the Church of the Trinity at Dunfermline. *For-dun*, lib. x. c. 3. *Hailes's Ann.* vol. i. p. 45.

"This zeire, (1250) also, in presence of K. Alexander and hes mother, at Dunfermling, wer the bones of S. Margarett the Queine, diged vpe from the wodden coffin quherin the lay, and wer inclosed in grate boxe of golde set with pretious stones." *Balf. Ann.* vol. i. p. 58.

REASONS
AGAINST THE RECEPTION
OF KING JAMES'S METAPHRASE
OF THE PSALMS.
MDCXXXI.

PART II.

F F



THE metrical version of the Psalms, which passes under the name of King James, was a posthumous publication, being first printed at Oxford, in the year 1631. That he had long entertained a design to translate the Book of Psalms, appears from "His Majesties Poeticall Exercises at vacant Hours." With reference to the contents of that volume, printed in 1591, King James thus addresses the Reader: "Rough and unpolished as they are, I offer them unto thee: which *being well accepted* will move me to haste the presenting unto thee of my Apocalyps, and also *such number of the Psalms as I have perfited, and encourage me to the ending out of the rest.*" A volume of Psalms in the Scottish dialect, written in his Majesty's own hand, is preserved in the British Museum:¹ and they are evidently those he describes as having 'perfited'; but they bear no resemblance to the English version.

In 1601, at the General Assembly held at Burntisland, a proposition was made for a new translation of the Bible, and a revision of the Psalms in metre,—which King James (to use the words of Archbishop Spotiswoode) "did urge very earnestly, and with many reasons" "did persuade the undertaking of the work, shewing the necessity

¹ MSS. Reg. 18 B. XVI. They consist of translations of Psalm I. to XXI. inclusive, (except the VIIIth.)—XXIX. XLVII. C. CII. CXXV. CXXVIII. CXXXI. CXXXIII. CXLVIII. and CL.; along with a metrical paraphrase of Ecclesiastes, chap. xii., of the Lords Prayer, and of the Song of Moses.

“ and the profit of it, and what a glory the performing thereof should bring to this Church ; and when he came to speak of the Psalms, he did recite whole verses of the same, shewing both the faults of the metre, and the discrepance from the text. It was the joy of all that were present to hear it, and bred not little admiration in the whole Assembly But nothing was done (at this time, he adds) in the one or the other : yet did not the King let this his intention fall to the ground, but after his happy coming to the Crown of England, set the most learned Divines of the Church a work for the Translation of the Bible ; which with great pains and the singular profit of the Church they perfected. *The revising of the Psalms he made his own labor*, and at such hours as he might spare from the publick cares, went through a number of them, commending the rest to a faithful and learned servant, who hath therein answered his Majesties expectation.”²

It is evident that King James had set his heart on the completion of a version of the Psalms, which, in furtherance of his views to a uniformity of Church-service in both kingdoms, might supersede those which were then in use. The ‘ faithful and learned servant ’ to whom he assigned the work which he found himself unable to execute, was Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, author of the stately ‘ Monarchicke Tragedies,’ who was afterwards created Earl of Stirling. In a letter to his friend, William Drummond of Hawthornden, 18th April 1620, he says, “ Brother, I received your last letter, with the Psalm you sent, which I think very well done : I had done the same long before it came ; but He [King James] prefers his

² Spotiswoode’s Church History, p. 466.

“ own to all else ; tho’, perchance, when you see it, you will think it
 “ the worst of the Three. No Man must meddle with that Subject,
 “ and therefore I advise you to take no more Pains therein.”³ With
 respect to the share which his Majesty had in this English version, the
 Bishop of Lincoln, in his Funeral Sermon, entitled ‘ *Great Britain’s*
Salomon,’⁴ after remarking that in King James was “ observed all
 “ that was admirable in the eloquence of Salomon,” thus quaintly
 proceeds :—“ For, beside his prose, *Iter ad carmen nouerat*, hee made
 “ a verse also when hee pleas’d, and that (as became Buchanan’s best
 “ scholar) *Sanissimi coloris*, of a most dainty and elaborate compo-
 “ sition. An everlasting honour to the Muses ! . . . So the greatest
 “ potentate of all the Earth, may now stoop to a Verse, being the
 “ usual Recreation of King David, together with this first, and se-
 “ cond Salomon. The King our Master . . was in hand (when God
 “ called him to sing Psalms with the Angels) with the translation
 “ of our Church Psalms, which he intended to have finished, and
 “ dedicated withall to the onely saint of his devotion, the Church of
 “ Great Britaine, and that of Ireland. *This worke* (he adds) *was*
“ staid in the one and thirty Psalmes.”

At length, in the year 1631, there appeared, in a small volume,
 “ THE PSALMES OF KING DAVID, TRANSLATED BY KING JAMES.
Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.” A licence for the space of 31
 years for printing this version had been granted to Sir William
 Alexander, 28th December 1627, in consideration “ of the great
 “ paynes already taken, and to be taken, in collecting and review-
 “ ing the same, and in seeing the first impression thereof to be care-

³ Drummond’s Works, Edin. 1711, folio, p. 151. . ⁴ London, 1625, 4to, p. 41.

“fullie and well done.”⁵ This edition has the imprint, “Oxford, Printed by William Turner, Printer to the famous Univerfity, M.DC.XXXI.”; and the following Privilege is engraved under the Royal Arms :—“*CHARLES R.—Hauing caused this Tranflation of the Pfalmes (whereof oure late deare Father was Author) to be perufed, and it being found to be exactly and truely done, wee doe hereby authorize the fame to be Imprinted according to the Patent graunted therevpon, and doe allow them to be fong in all the Churches of oure Dominiones, recommending them to all oure goodde Subjects for that effect.*”

The various “Reasons” againft the reception of this ‘Metaphrafe’ which follow, were apparently drawn up by Calderwood at this time; and they furnifh fome curious particulars derived from the old Church Registers, which, if ftill extant, are not acceffible. But during the interval which elapsed between the publication in 1631, and the 14th March 1637, when a Proclamation was iffued to enforce the reception of this Paraphrafe, it was diligently revifed, and confiderable changes introduced, with additional tranflations. This revifed edition has alfo the title of “The Pfalmes of King David: tranflated by King James. London, Printed by Thomas Harper, 1636,” folio, and is ufually attached to the Scotifh Liturgy, which iffued from the prefs early in 1637. In order to ferve as a fpecimen of thefe tranflations, and of the changes alluded to, a few fhort examples are fubjoined from the King’s original MS., and the printed editions.

⁵ See the Licence, printed from the Register of the Privy Seal, in the Appendix to the Rev. Dr Lee’s Memorial for the Bible Societies of Scotland, p. 36.

THE PSALMES OF DAUID IN MEETER ALLOWED BE THE
 GENERALL ASSEMBLIE, SHOULD BE SUNG IN THE KIRKS
 OF SCOTLAND, AS THEY HAUE BEEN SINCE 1564, FOR
 THE REASONS VNDER WRITTEN.¹

THE reformed kirke of Scotland being subject to no other kirk
 in the world, bot independent and frie, hes power to interpret, and
 apply the word, to hir awin purgation, conservation, and edification.

BE vertue of this power, the pastors of this kirk, at command of
 the great counfall of this kingdome, penned certane heads of refor-
 mation whilk wer allowed and subscryved in Januar 1560.

IN these articles it is expreflie provyded, that men women and
 childrene be exhorted to exercife themfelvis in psalms, that whene

¹ The above "Reasons" are copied from a volume of MS. papers in the Advocates' Library, collected by Mr David Calderwood, which contains duplicate copies of these and some other papers relating to the same subject. Copies of the same papers occur in different collections, but those which have been followed contain a few corrections in Calderwood's hand, by whom they are generally considered to have been compiled. Wodrow has introduced some of them in his *Life of Spotiswode* (MSS. Univ. Glasg. vol. iii.)

The version of the Psalms alluded to in the first paper is that usually known by the name of Sternhold and Hopkins, which, with several alterations and additions, was adopted for the use of the Scottish Church, after the establishment of the Reformation; and which continued in general use until the year 1650, when it was superseded by the present version.

the kirk convenes and sings they may be the moir able together with commoun heartes and voyces to praise God.

IN the General Assemblie convened at Edinburgh in December 1562 for printing of the psalmes, the kirk lent Robert Licprivick printer tua hundreth punds to help to buy irons, ink, and paper, and to fie craftsmen for printing.²

IN the Generall Assemblie holden at Edinburgh in December 1564 it is ordeaned that everie Minister, Exhorter, and Reader, shall have one of the psalme books printed in Edinburgh, and shall use the order therein conteaned in Marriage, Ministration of the Sacraments, etc.

IN the Generall Assemblie holden at Stirline in Februar 1569, the kirk in testification of ther contentment with the works printed be Robert Licprivick did assign to him in pension fiftie punds.

IF anie person or persons had required reformation of the psalmes in whole or in pairt, that mater would have bene done in right tyme and place, *animo edificandi non tentandi*, conforme to the order agried vpon at Glasco, April 1581, and at Perth 1596.

IF the law of prescription, as it is respected be the civil law, the lawes of nations, and the lawes of this kingdome, be a just exception against playes moved efter the expyring of threttie or fourtie yeirs, and if it wer extended, as it should be, not onlie to

² The earliest edition of the Scottish Psalms and Liturgy, was probably completed in 1564, but it has the imprint "Printed at Edinbvrgh by Robert Lekprevik, M.D.LXV." 8vo. The Catechisme which forms part of the volume has a separate title-page, dated 1564.

privat mens rightes, bot to publict faittie and tranquillitie, then all actions moved, or to be moved efter thriefcoir and eight yeirs againt the Scots Pſalmes, receaved and retained vpon ſo good grounds, and ſo profitable and comfortable to Chriſtianes his Majeſties good ſubjects, would be judged moir then void and vneffectuall.

If *decennalis* and *triennalis poſſeſſio*, be law and cuſtome have the nature of a perfite right, wherby things perteaning to the kirk, may be peaceable poſſeſt, then this kirk ſould reteane the poſſeſſion of the Pſalmes, ay and while ther poſſeſſion be lawfullie declared to be groundles and vitious.

FOR forder confirmation of the kirks right and poſſeſſion of the Pſalmes, in the year 1579, it is ſtatute and ordeaned, by our Soverane Lord and his three eſtates in Parliament, that all gentlemen houſe-holders and all others worth thrie hundreth merks of yeirlie rent or above, and all ſubſtantious yeamen, men, or burgeſſes, likwayes houſholders eſteemed worth five hundreth punds in lands or goodes, be holden to have ane bible and pſalme booke, vnder the paines conteaned in the ſaid act.

SUNDRIE Muſicians of beſt ſkill and affection³ for furtherance of the act of Parliament anent the inſtructing of the youth in Muſick, have ſett downe commoun and proper tunes to the whole pſalmes according to the diverſe formes of meteer.

³ Manuscript copies are ſtill preſerved of ſome of the parts of theſe tunes, compoſed by Angus, Blackhall, &c. which appear to have been written for the uſe of the Chapel-Royal. The edition of the Pſalms, printed at Edinburgh, by the Heirs of Andro Hart, 1635, 8vo, is the only one which has the tunes arranged with the ſeparate parts.

BOTH pastors and people be long custome, ar so acquainted with the psalmes and tunes therof; that as the pastors ar able to direct a psalme to be sung agrieable to the doctrine to be delyvered, so he that taketh vp the psalme is able to sing anie tune, and the people for the most part to follow him.

BOTH people and pastors have some psalmes, or parts of psalmes, be heart, as may best serve for ther different disposition and case of conscience, and for the chainges of ther externall condition.

By the lose of that heavenly treasure in ther hart already, they would be farther greived, and prejudged in ther spirituall estate, than they could be hurt in bodie or goodes suffering for retention of ther owne psalmes.

IN other reformed kirks, as England, France, Germanie, Netherlands, etc. ther psalmes in meeter ar not so absolutely perfite, and free of blame that nothing can be censured in them, and yet nether have they, nor will they reject the comelie face of ther owne psalter, for a finall blott, one or mae, bot still reteane what they have had in long continued and comfortable practise.

If it should happen (as God forbid) that our psalme bookes in meeter with the commoun order prefixed unto them, and the catechise following them now printed *cum privilegio regie majestatis* wer removed, it might be justlie feared as the kirk decays in moyane and meanes that the confession of faith, the order of the election of ministers, of the ecclesiasticall discipline, and of excommunication and publike repentance, the visitation of the sick, the buriall of the deade, the commoun prayers, the formes of the Lords supper, of baptisme

and mariage, the booke of fasting, and Calvines catechise, should be supprest to the great hinderance of publick and privat vses.

It were a shameles ingratitude to extinguish the memorie of so many worthie men by whose caire and paines God had vouchsafed to bestow so manie benefites vpon his kirk, and a great testimonie against the pastors and professors of this aige, who having these psalmes and vther meanes, hes gained so litle by them for ther comfort and edification that they are readier to quyte them then to keip them.

IN the Generall Assemblie holden at Brunteland in Maij 1601, the occasion of a certane motion maid be some brether, concerning our vulgar translation of the Bible, the commoun prayers, and the Psalmes in meeter. It wes ordeaned that Mr Robert Pont⁴ sould revise the psalmes, and that his labours sould be revised at the next assemblie, bot as the motion above written proceeded from personall respectes, so it is to be supposed, that if that faithfull man who was both holie and learned had found anie just cause of alteration, nether he to whom the mater was recommended, nor the assemblie who should have taken compt of his diligence would have suffered that mater to be buried in oblivion.

If it had bene found expedient to alter these psalmes, Montgomerie⁵ and som others, principalls of English poesie in ther tymes, as they

⁴ Mr Robert Pont, one of the Lords of Session, and Minister of St Cuthbert's, near Edinburgh. He died in the year 1608, at an advanced age.

⁵ The psalms translated by Montgomery, author of the Cherrie and the Slae, are probably some of those included in the late edition of his works. His offer is again alluded to at p. 237 and 243.

gave ther affayes of som psalmes yet extant, so they offered to translate the whole book frielie without anie pryce for ther paines, ather frae the public state or privat mens purses.

As the kirk refused the offer of these poets as neidles for the private and publict worship of God, so it is statute and ordained in the generall assemblie holden at St Johnstoun in Junii 1563, and in fundrie other assemblies, that no work be sett forth in print, nor published in writ, vnto such tyme as it shall be advyfed and approven be the kirk, conforme to the order sett down be the generall assemblie.

SINCE it hath pleased God to raise some hope of deliverence to the kirks of other countries so long troubled with bloody persecution, and to stretch out the hand of his power against superstition and idolatrie, pietie and compassion, would that we should hold fast what we have, and ferventlie pray to God to vindicat his truth fra the tyrannie of idolators, and to delyver his distressed people fra the craft and crueltie of men that praises may be given to his Majestie be all kirks and persons whom he hes blessed with anie measure of mercifull reformation.

IN respect of the premisses and other reasons to be eiked as occasion shall requyre, the psalmes in meeter as they have bene, and ar vsed privatlie and publictlie in Scotland ought to be reteaned and no wayes suppressed for any thing sein or hard yet.

REASONS AGAINST THE PUBLICK VSE OF THIS NEW
METAPHRASE OF THE PSALMES.

JOHN of Lincolme,⁶ in his fermone preached at the funerall of King James reporteth that he was in hands, when God called him, with the translation of our Church Pſalmes, which he entended to have finiſhed, and to dedicat to the ſainct of his devotion, the Church of Great Britaine, and that of Ireland ; and that this work wes ſtayed in the threttie one pſalme. This controlleth the title. The reſt then wer translated be others ; and the firſt revife be them. [*The people call them Menſtries Pſalmes. Bot we heir that another,⁷ if not others, alſo hath had ane hand in them, and that theſe have revife King James his part. Of theſe, then, we mene in ſpeciall when I ſpeik of the new metaphraſe.*⁸] I have not as zit compared ther translation with the originall, nor confiddered what libertie they have takin in the metaphraſing to add, infert, or degreſſe. Bot ſuppoſe there war na faill in theſe, zit [*I vouch and many ane that*] they can not be ſoong in our kirk, for theſe Reſones following :—

1. Firſt, this labour is vndertakin without direction of the kirk, or offer made to the kirk before. Alex^r Montgomrie had a ſingular

⁶ John Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, ſee the introductory notice, p. 229.

⁷ This report ſeems to receive confirmation from the letter of Drummond of Hawthornden, quoted at page 228.

⁸ The words printed in italic letters, and incloſed in brackets, are deleted in the original MS. copy, but as they contain ſome additional information, it was thought proper to retain them.

vaine of poefie, zit he tuik a more modest courfs, for he tranflated bot a few for a prooffe, and offered his travells in that kynde to the kirk. Iofeph Hall⁹ metaphrafed alfo fome few pſalmes, and offered his endeavour to do the lyk in the whole, if he ſould be employed be authoritie. [*Bot our new metaphrafts endeavour to have the whole metaphraſe of there making empoſed vpon the kirk without direction or employment of the kirk, or offer made efter proof before.*]

2. Nixt the people ar acquainted with the old metaphraſe more than any book in ſcripture, zea, ſome can ſing all, or the moſt pairt, without buik, and ſome that can not read, can ſing ſome pſalmes. Therfor our kirk wold not accept of anie other. Howbeit ſome pairts might be bettered, zit they would not admitt that the whole ſould be changed. Bot in the Aſſembly holdin at Bruntland, anno 1601, appointed Mr Robert Pont, a man ſkilfull in the originall tounge, to reviſe [*the tranſlation of*] the pſalmes in meeter, and ordeaned that his travell ſould be reviſed at the nixt Aſſembly. And for the ſame cauſe, it appeareth, Iofeph Hall's offer was not accepted. And this ſame new metaphraſe is rejected, as we heir, be the cheef biſchops in England. Nether can they accept it without conſent of ther Convocation houſe. [*Theſe new metaphrafts have had ſuch a ſpite at the old metaphraſe, that they have not left nothing*

⁹ Iofeph Hall, author of the well-known Satires, printed in 1597, and afterwards Biſhop of Exeter and Norwich. The Pſalms he tranſlated are printed in the collected edition of Biſhop Hall's works, (Lond. 1628, fol. vol. I. p. 151—160,) under the title of "Some few of Davids Pſalmes metaphraſed, for a taſte of the reſt." They are addreſſed "to his loving couſin, Mr Samuel Burton, Archdeacon of Glouceſter."

of it for mans memories, even wher ther was no necessitie of a change, when they could not avoyd the words, as Psal. 1, v. 2., Bot of the Lord he on the law, for the old / Bot in the law of God the Lord.]

3. Thridlie, it is a discredite to the clergie [*and the kirk, that the psalmes shold be soong in the kirk translated in meeter be a courtour or commune poet*] when ther is no such raritie among theme of learned men, skilfull both in poesie and the originall tounge; yea, gif such war not be found, the most famous amangst the saincts for holines, wisdom, gravitie, shold be appointed be the kirk to that effect. [*For courtours ar commonlie suspected be the people as prophane, becaus they imploy often there vane on bad purposes as often as on good, and both tounge and pen agaynst the best of God's servants: a courtour like Abadiah or Nehemiah is als rare as a wedg of gold.*] The papists casts in the teeth of the professors of France, that they sing the psalmes translated be Clement Marot, a courtlie gentleman, who translated onlie fiftie.¹⁰ [*Sall we suffer the lyk to be cast in our teeth, and suffer God's service to be loathed.*]

4. Fourtli, this work of metaphrasing the psalmes is holie and strict, and abydes not anie youthfull or heathenish libertie, bot requireth hands free from prophannes, loofnes, affection, sayeth Joseph Hall. Scultingius, a professor in Colene, in his Anacrisis, and the author of the book intituled Caluino Turcifinus, jest at the commendation made be one of Clement Marot that he was so wele sene in

¹⁰ The writer of these cogent reasons seems not to have been aware that Thomas Sternhold, 'the chief author' of the old version, for which he expresses so much zeal, was himself a courtier, being groom of the robes successively to Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and other poets, as gif, fay they, the elegancies and pleasant conceats of prophane poets might be broght in into fo grave and auftere a work. Have we not fuch heathenifh libertie and poeticall conceats in this new metaphrafte? Tak thefe for a tafte :¹¹ Pfa. 69. 7. And with the hue that bluflies die / flame covered hath my face. Pfa. 72. 6. Or like foft pearles of quickning fhowers / on earth that num'rous fall. Pfa. 78. 20. Loe, wounded rockes gave cristall blood / which ftraight a torrent roar'd. Pfa. 89. 1. The mercies of the Lord I ftill / will fmg, with fared rage. Pfa. 104. 26. There walke the fhps amidft the floods / where captiu'd aire commands. Pfa. 105. 32. And in their countrey ominous flames / like fatal fires did burne. Pfa. 147. 16. He gives the fnow like labour'd wooll / whofe liquid threds oft turne. Pfa. 148. 3. You flaming Lord of light / and with the ftarres in ftate / pale Lady of the night.

5. Fyftlie, the people muft be firft taught to vnderftand thefe and the lyk French, Latine, and hard Englifch tearmes, and harfh phrafes following, before they can fmg with vnderftanding :—as, regall / oppofites / vaftnes / various / vindicate / invoke / torrents / brandiflit / vſher / guerdoned / obloquite / appall / gratefullie / finiftrous / verdure / billowes / fite / cite / deprae / portend / portentuous / prodigies / divulge / tumide / exorbitant / vilified / dignified /

¹¹ Calderwood, in a ſeparate paper, made a more extenſive ſelection, to diſplay the ‘poetical conceats,’ ‘harſh and thrawn’ phraſes, &c. occurring in this verſion. Theſe he afterwards condensed, and entitled “A Taift,” &c., but thoſe given above will probably be ſufficient to answer that purpoſe. Several of the lines objected to are rendered in more homely terms in the revised text.

rayes / impetuous / accumulāt / emulate / exhilarat / refide / fpheares / vases / shelves / liquid / declind, for crooked / harmonious rounds / cristall rounds / &c. Our awin metaphrase hath non bot such as may be understood, except tuo or three that war wele knowin to that tyme when the psalmes war translated in meeter, and may be easilie changed. Bot to bring in a number of words which have need of a dictionarie in the end of the metaphrase, is to mak worfe and not better. As for harsh phrases, tak for example Psa. 9. 6. Destructions vastenesse now my foe / a period still doth bound.

6. Sextlie, our kirk fall be infected with the error of the local descent of Christis faull to hell, be the metaphrasing of the 16 psalme if this new translation shall be allowed, [*which is sufficient to reject the whole: for fall we be so stupid as to honor the works of such as ar erroneous, or entertain error?*]

7. Seventlie, it fall mak vther kirkis call vs light-headed Scotts, inconstand and vnsetled in our orders, changing without anie necessitie, if we will put quit down the metaphrase which was recomendit to all the professors be the Generall Assemblie, and sett vp another.

Others have observed that there is a whole double verse wanting in the 43 psalme; and another psalme hath tuell lynes in the double verse.

REASONS AGAINST THE PRIVATE VSE.

The verie privat vse aucht to be suppressed, First becaus some perhaps will labour to have them by heart, who sould rather labour to have these in memorie which ar soong in the church; for who will

studie to both? And therfor a metaphrase of the psalmes different frome that which is vsuall in the church is the most vnprofitabill work that may be; yea, prejudiciall to that which is publictlie receaved, onless it be in Greek or Latine, which ar not, nor can not be vsed in publict. Therefore, ye see the lyk doth not occur in any vther reformed church, French, Dutch, or Italian. A learned paraphrase vpon the psalmes is permitted to any that hath the gift, and is commendable. Bot another metaphrase is nevyr convenient, bot prejudiciall to that which is vsed in the kirk and serveth onlie to mak people glaik. Nixt, [*the printing of this book cum privilegio, and*] the allowing of it to be red in privat importeth allowance of the error above mentioned. Thirdlie, it may justlie be feared that in schort proces of tyme it may pass frome private vse to publict. For have not some alreadie vsed this new metaphrase when the congregation wer singing the old. A door shold not be opened to such light heads and prophane hearts.

A CAVEAT FOR THE BURGHS.

We can not deeme that the burrowis will commit such ane absurditie as, for the recommendation of vsurping bischops, medle with that which the Convention of the three Estates wold be loath to medle with, and which belongeth to a frie and right constitute Generall Assemblie. Can they appoynt some to try? or whome will they appoint? or will they receive without triall? Then may they luik for the new service to be recommended to them, the nixt day the organes, &c. Bot we hope better things.

REASONS AGAINST THE RECEAVING OF THIS NEW
METAPHRASE OF THE PSALMES.¹²

FIRST, it wanteth both the direction befor, and the approbation efter, of a Generall Assemblie, which is the onlie meeting that representeth the bodie of our kirk, and not a meeting of pretendit bishops and minifters not freele chosin be presbytreis.

Nixt, the people hath beene so long acquainted with the old meeter, that some can sing all or at least many of the psalmes without buik. Howbeit that excellent poet, Mr Montgomerie, gave a prooffe of his skill in some, yet the Generall Assemblie holdin at Brunteland, anno 1601, wold not admit a chang, bot ordeaned that metaphrase which was in vse since the Reformation, to be revifed be Mr Robert Pont, a man skilfull in the originall toungs, and his travells to be revifed at the nixt Generall Assemblie. Joseph Hall offered his travells in that kind to the kirk of England, and gave a prooffe of his gift in some few psalmes, yet the kirk of England wold nevir accept of his offer. Our new metaphrafts have caried such a despyte at the old, that they have not left a verse vnaltered; for which cause, suppose ther wer no other, this ther work is to be rejected.

Thridlie, the papists cast in the teeth of the professors in France,

¹² These Reasons are chiefly condensed from the former, but it was judged better to give them as a separate paper, although they contain various repetitions, instead of inserting the additional passages, which seem to have been written at a subsequent time.

that they sing the psalms translated in meeter be Clement Marot, a courtlie gentleman, howbeit he translated onlie fiftie. We shold not geve occasion to the aduersaries to reproach us with the lyk ; nor trouble tender consciences that will not sing hartlie praises to God with words framed be such as ar not authorized be the kirk, and famous among the saints, either a clergie man, or one appointed be the clergie, if ther be non so fitt among themselves.

Fourtlie, such a work as is the translating of the psalmes in meeter is holie and strict, and as Joseph Hall sayeth, cannot admit any youthfull or heathenish libertie. The papists themselves say that the elegancies and pleasant conceats of prophane poets ought not to be brought into so grave and austere a work. Have we not fundrie poetickall conceats in this new meeter.¹³

Fiftlie, the people can not sing with understanding the psalmes in this new meeter, till they be first taught to vnderstand these and the lyk French, Latine, and hard English tearmes, and the harsh phrases of it.¹⁴

Sixtlie, the metaphraists have takin great libertie to add mater of ther awin to the text of scripture, which may be seen almost in everie psalme. Luther requesting Spalatinus to translate some of the psalmes in Dutch meeter, desyreth with all that he abstain from new coined and court terms, and to content himself with such as were vulgar, and meetest for the capacite of the people.

Sevintlie, this new meeter beareth that Christs faull descended

¹³ & ¹⁴ The poetical conceats, hard terms, and harsh phrases objected to, being the same that occur at page 240, it was not thought necessary to repeat them in this place.

localle into hell, as may be seen in the 16. psalme. So the receiving of this metaphrase shall import that our kirk embraceth that error: For avoiding of this imputation, therfor it ought not to be received for publick use, nor allowed to be used in privat.

Eightlie, the receiving of this new metaphrase, and rejecting of the old, shall geve occasion to forranners to call us light headed Scots, inconstant and unsetled in our orders, changing at the plefor and for the commoditie of men. England will not receive it, and shall we, that wont to be more scrupulous, geve way to it, and so expose our selves to opin shame before the world? Nay, suppose England wold receive it, what war that to us?

Nintlie, the countrie shall be burthened with the los of thrie hunder thousand buiks of the old, and with the coast of sex hunder thousand of this new meeter, during the privilege which we heir is to be granted to the cheef author.

As these Reasons serve for rejecting of it, so some of them also serve against the committing it to revising. For to commit it to some to revise tendeth to the approbation of it, if it be approved be the revisers, which may be easilie obtained. If any ought to be revised it is the old, and non hath power to commit it to be revised in prejudice of the old bot the Generall Assemblie; and specialle, seeing the Generall Assemblie hath ordeand already that the old be revised, which be reason of the troubles that followed efter wes not yit performed. The pretendit prelates therfor can not medle with this busines.

PSALME I. FROM KING JAMES'S MS.¹

1. That mortal man most happy is and blest
Who in the wickeds counsals doth not walk,
Nor zit in sinners wayis doth stay and rest,
Nor sittis in seatis of skornfull men in talk ;
2. Bot contrair fixis his delicht
Into Jehouas law ;
And on his law, both day and nicht,
To think is neuer slaw.
3. He salbe lyk a plesant plantit tree,
Vpon a reuer syde inressing tal,
That yeildis his frute in saison dew, we see ;
Whose plesant leif doth neuer fade nor fal.
Now this is surely for to say
That quhat he takis in hand,
It sal withoutin doute alway
Most prosperously stand.
4. Bot wickit men ar nowayis of that band ;
Bot as the caffé qulich be the wind is tost :
5. Thairfor they sall not in that iugement stand
Nor yett among the iust be sinneris lost.
6. For gret Jehoua cleirly knowis
The iust mens way vpricht,
Bot sure the wickeds way that throwis
Sall perish be his nicht.

¹ It may be proper to notice that King James's MS. contains transcripts of some of the Psalms, written in a different hand: others are said to be copied *in the blew buik*. They are sometimes signed D. J. R. S. [Dominus Jacobus Rex Scotorum] or J. D. R. S. It may likewise be remarked that Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter dated 12th Aug. 1628, says, "I have gotten with much adoe, some of the Psalms, translated by my late most blessed Master, for the young Prince of Bohemia. *Reliquiæ Wotton*. 1685, p. 558.

PSALME I.

(Edit. Oxford, 1631, 12mo.)

1. THE man is blest that doth not walke
where wicked counsell guide ;
Nor in the way of sinners stands,
nor scornors sits beside :
2. But of the Lord he on the law
doth ground his whole delight ;
And on his law doth meditate
devoutly day and night.
3. He shall be like a planted tree,
the streames of waters neare ;
Whose pleasant boughs bring timely fruit,
in season of the yeare.
4. His leafe it never wither shall
as Winters blasted prey ;
And whatsoever he designs,
shall prosper every way.
5. But wicked men are nothing so,
for they as chaffe shall prove ;
Which whirling windes doe drive away,
and from the earth remove.

PSALME VIII.

(Edit. Oxford, 1631.)

1. O Lord, our Lord, how gloriously
thy name o're all doth sound !
Whose glory plac'd about the heavens,
no time, nor bounds can bound !

PSALME I.

(Edit. London, 1636, folio.)

1. The man is blest who to walke in
th' ungodlies counsell hates,
And stands not in the sinners way,
nor sits in scornors seats.
2. But in the Lord's most holy law
he hath his whole delight,
And in his law doth meditate
devoutly, day and night.
3. He shall be like a tree that grow'th
the streames of waters neare,
Whose pleasant boughs bring timely fruit
in season of the yeare ;
4. His leafe shall never withered be,
as Winters blasted prey,
And whatsoever thing he doth,
shall prosper every way.
5. They who are wickedly dispos'd,
no such assurance finde ;
But like unto contemned chaffe,
are tossed with the winde.

PSALME VIII.²

(Edit. London, 1636, folio.)

1. O Lord, my God, how doth thy name
in all the earth excell ?
Who hast thy glory set above
the heavens where light doth dwell !

² From note 1, page 227, it will be seen that this Psalm does not occur in King James's original MS. In an 8vo edition of this Version, without date, (which follows the revised copy 1636,

- | | |
|--|---|
| 2. From infants mouthes and sucking babes
thy praise with power doth goe ;
Because of foes, to silence thus
the proud avenging foe. | 2. From infants mouths and sucking babes,
thou didst great strength ordain,
Because of foes, that soe thou might'st
th' avenging foe restrain. |
| 3. When I looke vp vnto the heavens,
workes which thy finger wrought :
The lightning moone, the sparkeling starres,
which thou from darkenesse brought. | 3. When I looke up unto thy heavens,
thy fingers workes which be,
The lightning moon, the sparkling stars
which were ordain'd by thee. |
| 4. Ah, what is man (poore wretche) that he
should come within thy minde ?
Or yet the sonne of dying man,
that thou to him art kinde ? | 4. Ah, what is man (poor wretch) that he
should come within thy minde ?
Or yet the sonne of dying man,
that thou to him art kinde ? |
| 5. Thou him then Angells in degree,
more low a little plac'd ;
With glory and with majestie,
thou hast him crown'd and grac'd. | 5. For thou a little lower him
than Angels mad'st to be :
With glory and with honour too,
he crowned is by thee. |
| 6. The soveraigne power of all thy workes,
thou didst to him commit :
And vnderneath the feete of him
didst all things else submit. | 6. The soveraigne power of thy hands works,
thou didst to him commit :
And underneath the feet of him,
didst all things else submit. |
| 7. The sheepe and oxen every one
to him obedience yeeld ;
And as depending on his will
the beasts of every field ; | 7. The sheepe and oxen every one,
to him obedience yield ;
And as depending on his will,
the beasts of every field ; |
| 8. The fowles of aire, and fish of sea,
and what in deepes doe dwell. | 8. The fowles of th' ayre, fish of the sea,
and what in deepes doth dwell : |
| O Lord our God, in all the earth
how doth thy name excell ! | O Lord, our Lord, how doth thy name
in all the earth excell ? |

although it has the same frontispiece and engraved title as that of 1631,) the last two lines of verse 1. are altered to—

Who hast thy glory made above | The highest heavens to dwell

PART OF PSALME CXLVIII. FROM KING JAMES'S MS.

1. Sing laude vnto the Lord
 Heavens Indwelliris, I say
 To do the same accord
 In places hie and stay
 2. And so alwayse
 Ye Angellis all
 Great hostes and tall
 Jehoua prayse.

3. Prayse him both sunne and moone
 And starres of shyning light
 The same of you be done
 Ye heavens of heavens most bryght
 4. Set forth his fame
 Ye wateris eaven
 Abone this heaven
 And praise his name.

(Edit. Oxford, 1631.)

1. From heavens harmonious rounds
 give praise vnto the Lord :
 And in the parts most high,
 to him due praise afford.
 2. And praise him most,
 You Angells pure ;
 His praise procure,
 All you his hoast.

5. All ye who by his will
 And word created bene,
 Praise great Jehoua still,
 Who dois you ay contein,
 In stablisht rest.
 Whose just decree
 Can nowyse be
 By oght transgrest.

6. Praise him eche levyng beast
 That on the earth dois go ;
 Thou deape, with most and least
 Of fishe, and whailes also ;
 Thou glancing lowe,
 Hail roundlie roundlie rolde,
 Snow, whyte and cold,
 His praise furthe showe.

(Edit. London, 1636.)

1. Praise ye the Lord, praise ye,
 even from the heavens the Lord ;
 In parts that highest be,
 to him due praise afford.
 2. And praise him most,
 You Angels pure,
 His praise procure,
 All you his hoast.³

³ These lines in the 8vo edition referred to in the preceding note are thus altered "*Praise him each where | You Angels his | And all doe this | His hosts that are.*" These and such like changes prove that this Version had undergone a Third Revisal ; but whether this was the work of the Earl of Stirling cannot be ascertained. He seems at least to have continued to interest himself in this work. In a letter, addressed to the Bishop of Rosse, he complains of Young, the printer of the Service-Book, as "the greatest knave" that he ever dealt with, and says, "I hope my Sonne will take such a course with your advice concerning the Psalmes as shall be fitt, to whom I referre the same." 17th Feb. 1636.

3. His praise at length dilate,
 you flaming Lord of light :
 And with the starres in state,
 pale Lady of the night.

4. Heavens, heavens him praise,
 And all you floods,
 Enclos'd in clondes,
 His glory raise.

3. His praise at length dilate
 thou sun that shin'st so bright,
 Praise him with stars in state,
 thou moon that clear'st the night.
 4. Heavens, heavens him praise,
 Ye floods that move
 The heavens above
 His glory raise.

Since the sheet of introduction was printed off, various letters on the subject of this translation of the Psalms are found to be contained in Sir William Alexander's "Register of Letters." They evince the great anxiety of Charles I. to have his father's version received in all the churches of his dominions. The earliest letter is the following, addressed to "The Archbishop of St Andrews"—

"Wheras it pleased our late dear father of famous and eternall memorie, considering how imperfect the Psalmes in Meetter presentlie vsed ar, out of his zeal to the glorie of God, and for the good of all the churches within his dominions, To translate them of new, Therfor, as we have gevin commandement to our trustie and welbelovied S^r William Alex^r Knycht to consider and revew the meeter and poesie thair of, So our pleasour is, that zow and some of the most learned divynes in that our kingdome confer them with the originall text, and with the most exact translations, and thairefter certifie back zour opinions vnto ws concerning the same, whether it be fitting that they be published and sung in churches, instead of the old translation, or not; To the intent that we may neglect nothing so much importing the memorie of our said late father; and far less if zow find that it may tend to the advancement of the glorie of God, and so recommending the samyne to your earnest care, We bid, &c. Windsore, 25th August 1626."

On the 14th June 1631, his Majesty, after mentioning his having "caused revewe and imprint" the translation, directs the "Archbishops and Bishops" to use their best means to have it "received in schooles, and sung in all the churches," &c. On the 13th March 1632, "The Archbishop of Canterbury" is informed of his Majesty's pleasure "to convene the Bishop of London, and such other bishopa nere London as you may most convenientlie have—To resolve upon some course how this our purpose (of having these Psalms used in all the churches) may take effect." There are letters of the same date, to the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the Primate of Armagh, directing them to pursue a similar course in Scotland, and in Ireland. Of the other letters, the one most worthy of notice is addressed to the Privy Council of Scotland, (in Dec. 1634,) in which the King, expressing his "being now fully resolved of the exactness" of the translation, informs them, "It is our pleasour (seeing we have alreadie gevin ordours for ane Impression of that translation,) that zow give present ordour in such manner as is requisite that no vther Paalmes of any edition whatsoever be either printed heirefter within that our kingdome, or imported thither, either bound by themselves or vtherways, from any forrayne parts." A similar injunction is contained in a letter written at the same time to the Archbishop of St Andrews, adding, "that no Paalme bookes in meeter of the old translation be printed or brought in, under the pane of confiscation of ther books and punishment of ther persons." Had this object been successful, the exclusive privilege granted to Sir Wm. Alexander, for the space of 31 years, of printing this version, would have proved very lucrative.

DECLARATOR IN THE COURT
OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF FIFE,

M.D.LXI.

UPON THE ARTICLES AND SENTENCE
AGAINST SIR JOHN BORTHWICK, KNIGHT,
BY CARDINAL BEATON,

M.D.XL.

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[COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. DR LEE.]

SIR JOHN BORTHWICK was one of the sons of William, third Lord Borthwick, who was slain at Flodden in 1513. He is described in a charter under the Great Seal, 21st August 1538, as next in succession to the son and heir of William fourth Lord Borthwick. Knox and other writers call him Captain Borthwick, and Sir Ralph Sadler, in February 1539-40, mentions him repeatedly as lieutenant of the French King's Guard, and as a confidential and favourite servant of James V. It is probable that his intimacy with Sir Ralph Sadler contributed to excite the suspicions and dislike of the clergy, and that his marked familiarity with Sir David Lyndsay, whose *Satyre of the three Estaittis* was presented about this period at Linlithgow (of which town Borthwick is said to have been provost), did not by any means tend to ingratiate him with the supporters of the declining interest of the Church of Rome. Sir John died between the year 1565 and 1570, at which last date we find William Borthwick mentioned as son and heir of the late Sir John Borthwick of Cinery [Reg. Mag. Sigil. lxxxiii. No. 55.] His condemnation as a heretic is transiently noticed by several of our historians, and the articles preferred against him, with the answers which he published after his escape, have been inserted by Fox in the second volume of his *Acts and Monuments*. From Fox the account of the process is professedly copied by Keith, in his Appendix to the History of Scot-

land (p. 6); but he has omitted several material parts of the charge, which were faithfully detailed by Fox, particularly that which relates to the reading of the New Testament in English, and other prohibited books. The translation from the Latin, both in Fox and Keith, is in some parts so inaccurate, as to be quite unintelligible. No writer has ever yet published an account of the reversal of the sentence. The circumstances attending the second judicial inquiry are remarkable, particularly in this respect, that the judge who presided in the court by which Borthwick was unanimously acquitted in 1561, was one of those "plain enemies to the truth," described in the Process of Declarator, who had sat on his first trial in 1540, and had then been consenting to his condemnation. This was John Wynram (inaccurately named *Winton* by Keith), the subprior of the Augustinian Monastery, afterwards superintendent of Fife, author of a Catechism, of which no copy is now known to exist. If it were possible to recover the private memorials of John Wynram, many curious particulars in the secret history of the Reformation might thus be supplied. He was a man of an intriguing turn, and probably was admitted to the confidence of men of both parties. It is not understood that he ever made any strenuous efforts in supporting the Protestant doctrines, but he was allowed to retain some of the most lucrative appointments in the Church, along with the dignity and honour of a superintendent. In various actions carried on in the Commissary Court of St Andrews, he continued to be designed *prior* of *Portmoak*, *subprior* of *St Andrews*, *superintendent* of *Strathern*, *parson* of *Kirkcubbs*, &c. till the time of his death in September 1582.

FOLLOWIS THE ORDOR AND PROCESS DEDUCIT IN THE
DECLARATOR GEVYN UPON THE ARTICLES AND SEN-
TENCE GEVYN AGAINS SCHYR JHON BORTHUICK OF
CENERIE, KNYCHT, BE UMQU^{LL} DAVID, CARDINALL.

DIE VIGESIMO MENSIS AUGUSTI ANNO DNI. M^oV^oLXI.

THE quhilk daye comperis Schyr JHONE BORTHWICK,
Knycht, and produces ane commiffion and fupplicatione, fubfcrivit
be the Lordis of our Soweran Ladeis Secreit Counfall, of dayt at
Edenburgh the xij of Auguft instant, direct to the Superintendent
and Miniftrie of Sanctandrois, for cognicione taking upon the arti-
cles and fentence thairupon gewyn be umquhill David Cardinall
Archbifhop of Sanctandrois, agains the faid Schyr Jhon Borthwick,
condempnyng the faid articles heretical, and the faid Schyr Jhon
thairfor infamit and puniffed, &c. And to gewe thair Declarator thair-
upon as they fynd, according to the law and word of God ; Quhilk
commiffion red and underftand be the faids Superintendent and
Miniftrie, and they accepannd the fame at defyr of Schyr Jhon, they
decern hym ane edict to fummond al hawand interefs or pretending
interefs in the faid caufs, or ony thing that followed thairupon, to
compear for thair interefs upon the fywe daye of September nixt to
cum befoyr thame. And the faid Schyr Jhon exhibitis and delivers

to the Miniſteres foyrſaid the trewe exemplar of the foyrnamed articles and ſentence copied and collationat be Jhon Moſman, notar public and ſcrib to the Schyrref Deputes of Edenburgh, under his ſigne and ſubſcription, ſufficientlie recognofcit be hym, drawyn furth of the actentik extract of the ſame extract furth of the regyfter of the ſayd umqⁿ David Cardinall, be Maifter Andro Olephant, notar publict and ſecretar to the ſaid umqⁿ David Cardinall, under his ſigne and ſubſcription, and be Jhon Lord Borthwick, purcheft be compulſatoris executud upon the ſaid Mr Andro, and be the ſayd Lord produced befoyr the ſayds Schyref deputis, to be ſeyn, confiderit, and diſcuſed. In the myd tym, and alſo preſentlie, declaris his mynd in quhat ſenſe he ſpak the ſaids articles be explicatione thairof, of the quihilkis articles and ſentence the tenoris followis.

JOANNES BORTHUIK, CAPITANEUS BORTHUIK, wlgariter nuncupatus suspectus infamatus et convictus per testes omni exceptione majores Anno Domini 1554^c quadragesimo, vigesimo octavo Mensis Maij, in Cœnobio St Andr. præsentibus Reverendis ac reverendis et venerabilibus in Christo patribus Gavino Archiep^o Glasguen. regni Scotiæ Cancellario; Willelmo Abyrdonen. Henrico Candidæ Casæ et Capellæ regiæ Strewillengen. Joanne Brechinen. et W^{mo} Dumbelenen. Ecclesiarum Episcopis; Andrea de Melross, Georgio de Dunfermling, Joanne de Pasleto, Joanne de Lindoris, Roberto de Kynloss, et W^{mo} de Culross, Monasteriorum Abbatibus; Macolmo de Quhytern, Joanne de Pyttnweyme Prioribus; Mag^{ro} Alex^{ro} Balfour, vicario de Kilmanie, Rectore Universitatis Sancti Andr. Mag^{ris} N^{ris} Joanne Mayr, Petro Capellano, in sacra theologia professoribus et doctoribus, Martino Balfour, in sacris literis et decretis bachalario officiali Sancti Andreæ principali, Joanne Wynram, Supprieore, Joanne Annand, et Thoma Cwynyngham, canonicis ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ Fratribus, Joanne Thomson, priore fratrum prædicatorum civitatis S^{ti} Andreæ, cum socio Joanne Tuledaf Guardiano fratrum minorum dictæ civitatis S^{ti} Andreæ, et Joanne Paterson, vicario conventus ejusdem; Necnon præsentibus nobilibus, potentibus, et mag-

nificis Dominis, viz. Georgio de Huntlie, Jacobo de Arane, Willelmo Marescallo, Willelmo de Montross, comitibus, Macolmo D^{no} Flemyng, Camerario Scotiæ, Joanne D^{no} Lyndesaye, Joanne D^{no} Erskyn, Georgio D^{no} Setoun, Hugone D^{no} Somerwyll, Jacobo Hamyltoun de Fynnart, Waltero D^{no} Sancti Joannis de Torphichen, militibus, Mag^{ris} Jacobo Fowlis de Colintoun, S.D.N. regis ac registri clerico, Thoma Ballindyn, ejusdem Dⁿⁱ N^{ri} Regis justiciario clerico, et multis atque compluribus aliis Dⁿ^{is} baronibus ac honestis personis, in testimonium præmissor. rogatis et requisitis; Hos sequentes tenuisse errores publice dogmatasse et instruxisse, viz.

Primo et in specie Sanctissimum Do^m Nostrum Papam Jesu Christi servatoris nostri vicariam non habere nec posse exercere aliquatenus majorem auctoritatem in Christianos quam quicumque alius Ep^s vel sacerdos.

Indulgentias concessas a supremo D^{no} N^{ro} Papa nullius esse roboris efficaciæ vel momenti, sed duntaxat eas ad populi abusionem et animarum earund. deceptionem fuisse et esse factas.

Papam esse symoniacum pub^m quotidie vendentem dona spiritualia; et presbyteros omnes per matrimonium conjungi et copulare debere.

Omnes hæreses Anglicanas vulgo nuncupatas seu saltem earund. majorem et saniores partem de præsentibus per Anglos observatas fuisse et esse bonas justas et Christi fidelibus observandas tanquam veraces et divinæ legi conformes; quas etiam publice affirmavit dogmatizavit authorisavit, diversas et plurimas personas ad illas accipendum persuadendo.

Populum Scoticanum fuisse et esse omnino excæcatum et abusum per ecclesiam Scoticanam et ejusdem clerum, quos dixit et affirmavit non habere veram fidem Catholicam, et per hoc publice affirmavit et prædicavit fidem suam fuisse meliorem et præstantiorem quam fidem omnium aliorum ecclesiasticorum in regno Scotiæ.

Conformeriter ad veteres errores Joannis Wycleif et Joannis Hwss hæreticorum in Consilio Constantiensi condemnatorum, affirmavit prædicavit Ecclesiasticos non debere possidere nec habere possessiones aliquas temporales, imò nec etiam habere jurisdictionem aut auctoritatem aliquam in temporalibus, etiam in eorum subditos, sed [omnia hæc] ab eis similiter subtrahi debere quemadmodum his diebus fit in Anglia.

Mendose et contra honorem statum et reverentiam sacræ regiæ Majestatis Scotorum, dixit tenuit et asseruit, regem Scotorum nostrum serenissimum, Cristianæ fidei propugnaculum, velle sibi appropriare contra jura et libertatem ecclesiæ possessiones terras et redditus, a progenitoribus et etiam a Cristomet² serenissimo regi ecclesiæ da-

² Sic in MS. Qu. ab ipsomet?

tas et concessas, et in suos privatos usus converti, et ad hoc ut se multipliciter ascrip-
sit eundem serenissimum Do^m nostrum regem toto conamine suavit.

Voluit ac petiit et frequenter ac ferventer ex animo desideravit ecclesiam Scotica-
nam pervenire et deduci ad idem punctum eorund. et similem finem et ruinam ad
quam ecclesia Anglicana jam actu pervenit.

Publice tenuit dixit asseruit et affirmavit ac prædicavit et dogmatizavit, leges ec-
clesiæ videl^t. sacros canones et sanctorum patrum decreta ab ecclesia sancta Catholi-
ca et apostolica approbata nullius esse vigoris aut valoris, inferendo propterea affir-
mando eadem fuisse et esse contra legem Dei condita et emanata.

Pluribus ac multimodis vicibus dixit tenuit et affirmavit et publice asseruit, nullam
religionem fore observandam sed illam simpl^r abolendam et destruendam fore et esse
sicut nunc in Anglia destructa existet : Omnem sanctam religionem vilipendendo, et
affirmando fore propter abusionum eorum habitus per eos delati asseruit, eos esse de-
formis admodum monstrorum nihil utilitatis aut sanctitatis præ se ferentes. Inducendo
propter hoc et suadendo, quantum in eo erat, omnes suæ opinioni adhærentes ut
omnis religio in regno Scotiæ simpl^r et penitus tollatur ac destruat in maximum
Catholicæ eccl^{iæ} scandalum et Cristianæ religionis diminutionem et detrimentum.

Planè constat per legitimas probationes eundem JOANNEM BORTHUIK habuisse et
actualiter habere diversos libros suspectos, de hæresi damnatosque, tam papali quam re-
gia et ordinaria etiam auctoritatibus lege prohibitos, vid^t. specialiter et in specie
Novum Testamentum in vulgari Anglice impressum, Ecolampadium, Melanctonem,
et diversos *Erasmii*, et diversorum aliorum hæreticorum condemnatorum necnon et
librum *Unio Dissidentium* nuncupatum manifestissimos et maximos errores seu hæ-
reticos assertiones in se continentes, illosque tam publice q^m privatim legisse stu-
duisse aliisque præsentasse et communicasse, atque plures Cristianos in eisdem in-
struxisse docuisse et dogmatizasse, ad effectum divertendi eos a vera fide Cristiana et
Catholica.

Eundem JOANNEM BORTHUIK in omnibus his erroribus et hæresibus tam pertinacem
esse constat, et indurato animo eosdem sustinuisse docuisse dogmatizasse, sic ut nolit
ab eisdem, diversis suis amicis et personis illum diligentibus, et ad fidem sanctam Ca-
tholicam reducere volentibus cupientibus et suadentibus, ullo modo divertere nec a
suis erroribus per eorum consilium declinare velle, aut illis sic suadentibus aliquatenus
acquiescere, sed potius in suis erroribus immobiliter persistere vellet, de quibus omni-
bus præmissis et multis aliis erroribus, per eum tentis dictis publicatis affirmatis præ-

dicatis et dogmatizatis, est et laborat publica vox et fama, et ita dictus Joannes Borthuik ut hæreticus hæresiarcha, pessime de fide Catholica sentiens, a compluribus personis tenetur habetur et reputatur. Propterea nos DAVID CARD^{us}, &c., sedentes pro tribunali, more judicum judicantium, positus coram nobis sacrosanctis Dei evangeliis ut de vultu dei judicium nostrum prodeat et oculi nostri videant aequitatem, solum Deum et Catholicæ fidei veritatem præ oculis habentes, ejusque nomine sanctissimo primitus invocato, habito in et super his et secuto prudentium consilio tam theologorum quam jurisperitorum, præfatum Joannem Borthuik Capitaneum dictum de præmissis hæresibus et dogmatibus iniquis et multipliciter damnatis, ut præmittitur, suspectum infamatum et per legitimas probationes contra eum in singulis præmissis hæresibus convictum, et legitime vocatum citatum et non comparentem, sed profugum et fugitivum, absentem tanquam præsentem sententiamus pronunciamus decernimus definimus et declaramus vere hæreticum et hæresiarcham fuisse et esse, ac pœnis heretici convicti et hæresiarchi debitis plectendum puniendum et castigandum fore, et propterea curiæ et potestati seculari tradendum et relinquendum, prout tradimus et relinquimus omniaque et singula ejus bona mobilia et immobilia qualitercunque et quocunque titulo acquisita, et in quibuscunque partibus existant, ac officia quæcunque per eum hactenus habita, salvis tamen dote et parte seu portione bonorum uxori suæ incumbentibus quæ personis fiscis et usibus, quibus de jure et consuetudine regni applicare debeant, per præsentem confiscamus et applicamus, ac confiscari et applicari decernimus et declaramus per præsentem: Necnon dicti Joannis effigiem manu factam, et ad ipsius instar depictam et formatam, publice per hanc nostram civitatem Sancti Andreæ in curru devehendam, et postea apud crucem forealem ejusdem nostræ civitatis in signum maledictionis, aliorumque terrorem et exemplum, ac suæ contumaciæ et condemnationis perpetuum memoriam, fuisse et esse comburenda similiter decernimus, non minus tamen quod si postea idem Joannes apprehendatur eum similes pœnas juxta juris dispositionem heresiarchis debitas subiturum similiter decernimus et declaramus, nulla spe misericordiæ desuper subsequente, ac omnes et singulos utriusque sexus Cristi fideles cujuscunque dignitatis status gradus ordinis conditionis vel præminentis fuerint, ac quacunque ecclesiastica vel mundana præfulgeant dignitate, tenorum præsentium expresse monemus, ne abhuc dictum Joannem Borthuik hæreticum et heresiarcham convictum et declaratum in eorum domibus hospitiiis castris villis oppidis aut aliis quibuscunque locis recipiant seu admittant, aut sibi esculenta vel potulenta aut aliqua alia humanitatis obsequia et necessaria ministrent seu ministrari faciant, aut secum com-

munice edendo bibendo aut aliquo alio humanitatis solatio eidem impendendo aut pertractando, sub simili majoris excommunicationis pena, et cum certificatione, quod si in præmissis culpabiles inventi fuerint, quod accusabuntur propterea ut hæreticorum fautores receptores et defensores et prius eisdem incumbenibus prout de jure punientur. Lecta lata et in scriptis redacta fuit hæc nostra sententia in ecclesia nostra metropolitana et provinciali Sancti Andreae nobis inibi in navi ejusdem super scalam et pro tribunali sedentibus, sub anno incarnationis dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo, die vero Mensis Maij vigesimo octavo.

DIE QUINTO MENSIS SEPT. ANNO DOMINI M^oV^oLXI.

The quhilk daye Maister WYLIAM SCOT comperis as procurator, and in name of Schyr JHON BORTHUIK, knycht, be his mandat, red and admittit, and produces ane edict of the Superintendent and Ministrie present under thair sail, deulie executit and indorfat tharin, summond be oppyn proclamation at the mercat croce of the citie of Sanct Androis, upon the premonition of xv dayes bypast, al and fyndry hawand or pretending to have interefs in the caufs of diffussing and declarator gewyn upon the articles allegit, haldyn be the said Schyr Jhon, be umqⁿ David Cardinal, Archbisshop of Sanct Andros, as at mayr lent is contenit in the said edict; and al and fyndry forsayds hawand interes, and being oft tymes called, and nane comperand, to propone or use ony defence of objectione in the sayd cawfs and stop of the sayd declarator, the superintendent and ministrie ryple and maturelie awyfed with the saids artikles and sentence, the confall of godlie lernit men, and thair consents thairto had, pronounces thair Declarator as follows:—To al and fyndry, to quhais knowlege thir presentis sal cum, Maister JHON WYNNAM,

Superintendent of Fyff, minister, eldaris, and diaconis of Cristis kyrk within the reformed citie of Sanct Androis, grace, mercie, and peace from God our Father through Jesus Crist our Lord and onle Savior, with perpetual increas of his holie spirit. It mot be knawen that we, be vertue of ane commission and supplication, direct to wfs be deliverance of the Lordis of our Soweran Ladeis secreteit confayll, under thair Lordschippes subscrpcionis, of dayt at Edenburgh the xij day of August, in the zear of God M^vlxi yearis, purchest and presented befoyr wfs be Schyr Jhon Borthuik of Cenerie, knyght, being requested and desyrit to considder certane articles alleged haldyn be the said Schyr Jhone Borthuik, and quharupone ane pretendit sentence wfs gewyn be umqⁿ David Cardinall, archbishop of Sanct Androis, decernand the saids articles hereticall, and thairthrough the said Schyr John to be infamed and punissed : And the saids articles being fundyn be us ressonabyle, conform to Goddis word, and not hereticall, to declar the said Schyr Johne not to have falzeit tharintill, nor to be infamed nor punissed, or to incur ony skayth therthrowgh, bot that he may persow his just actionis befoir quhatsumewer jugis, notwithstanding the samyn ; and to gewe our declarator thairupon, conforme to the law and word of God : Quhilk commissione being be us resavit with reverence and obedience, as efterit, together with the trew exemplar of the foyrnamed artiklis and sentence copeit and collationat be Jhon Mofman, notar publict, and scrib to the Schyrreff Deputs of Edenburgh, under his signe and subscrpcion, drawyn furth of the actentik extract of the samyn, extractit furth of the register of the sayd umqⁿ David Cardinall,

under his signe and subſcription, and be Jhon Lord Borthuik, purcheft be compulfatoris, executed upon the ſaid Mr Andro, and be the ſaid Lord produced befoyr the ſaids Schereff Deputis, the copies quhairof ar regiſtrat in our bwks: And efter our acceptation of the foyrſaid commiſſion, all and fyndry hawynd or pretending to hawe intereſs in the ſaid cawſs, or ony thing that followed thair-upon, being ſummond be our publict edict and proclamation of the ſam at the marcat croce of the ſaid citie (and copie thair of affixed upon the ſaid croce) to compeir for thair intereſs at certan day and place thairin affigned, upon the premonition of xv dayes warnyng preceding the ſaid day: And we in the mayn tym hawand trial, conſideration, and jugement in diſcuſſing of the ſaids artikles and ſentence, with the conſail, jugement, and conſent of venerable and godlie lernit men, to wyt, Mr Jhon Dowglaſs, rector of the Univerſite of Sanct Androis, and prowefſt of the New College, Mr Robert Hamyltone, regent in the ſame, Mr Jhon Rwtherfurd, principall, Maſter W^m Ramſay, and Maſter David Gwyld, meſteris in Sanct Salvatoris College, Mr Jhon Duncanſon, principall, and Mr James Wylkie, regent in Sanct Leonards College, with otheris diverſs miniſteres and profeſſores of Godis word, the explication of the ſaid Schyr Jhon Borthuik, concerning certan generaliteis contenit into ſum of the ſaids artikles be wſs hard, conſiderat, and with the ſaids artikles conferred and fullerie agreeand: We find the ſaids artikles rationabill, not hereticall, bot ma ſtand with Godis word, and none of them bot may be interpret to ane gud ſenſe, according to the mynd of the ſaid Schyr Jhon in his explication tharof: And heir-

for declars the faids artikles rationabill and not hereticall, and the faid Schyr Jhon Borthwick not to haw falzeit tharintyll, nor to hawe defervit infamite punifchement nor skath tharfor, bot he as ane man of gud fame may perfow his juft actionis befoir ony juge competent, notwithstanding the faid pretendit fentence, quhilk in the felf we declair to be null and wranguillie gewyn, and the geauris tharof to haw fchawyn thamfelfis tharby men ignorant of Godis word and lawis, and plane inemeis to his trewth. Pronounced in the Confiftoriall hows, within the paroche kyrk of the citie of Sanctandris, upon the v day of September, in the zeir of God M^ov^olxi zeares, as day affigned in our faid edict, in payne of not comperance of tham hawand interefs heyrto fummoned, called, and not comperand. In wytness and testimonie of the premifs to thir our present letters of testimoniall and declarator, fubfcriuit with our hands, the failis of fuperintendent and miniftrie forfayd are affixed year and day foyrfaids.



A DIARY
OF THE EXPEDITION OF KING EDWARD I.
INTO SCOTLAND.
M.CC.XCVI.

PART II.

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THE
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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

[COMMUNICATED BY PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, ESQ.]

THE following Diary is preserved in two different manuscripts in the British Museum, and is now printed for the first time. Although exceedingly brief, it relates to an interesting and important period of Scottish history, and is valuable in fixing the Chronology of Edward's noted Expedition into that country in the year 1295. At this time a party of the Scottish nobility, incensed at the iniquitous conduct of this Monarch, and dreading the easy submission of Baliol to the English yoke, secluded the newly-elected King from all power, confined him in a strong mountain fortress, and placed the management of the government in the hands of twelve of the leading nobles.¹ The measures adopted by these guardians were decided and spirited. They, in the name of Baliol, drew up an instrument, renouncing all fealty and allegiance to Edward; they dispatched ambassadors to France, who concluded a treaty of marriage and alliance between the niece of the French King and Baliol's eldest son Edward; and they assembled an army, under the command of Comyn Earl of Buchan, which invaded Cumberland, but having failed in an attempt to storm Carlisle, returned without honour.² Indeed, nothing

¹ Annals of Ireland, ad an. 1295. Math. Westm. p. 425. Fordun, a Hearne, p. 969.

² Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 87, 88, 89.

could be more favourable for Edward than the miserably disunited state of Scotland. Three powerful factions divided the country, and hindered that firm political union, without which, against such an enemy, no successful opposition could be expected. Bruce, and his numerous and powerful followers, remained true to England. The friends of Baliol and that part of the nation who recognized him as their lawful sovereign, beheld him a captive in one of his own fortresses, and refused to join the rebels, who had imprisoned him, and the party of Comyn which had invaded England were either so destitute of military talent, or so divided amongst themselves, that a handful of the citizens of Carlisle compelled them to retreat with loss into their own country. These advantages were easily perceived by the King of England. When the revolt in Scotland first broke out, he had been occupied with foreign affairs, and was compelled to delay and to dissemble. It was now his time for action, and for inflicting that vengeance against his enemies, which, with this monarch, the longer it was delayed, was generally the more sure and terrible. He accordingly assembled a numerous and well-appointed army. It consisted of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand heavy armed horse. He was joined by Anthony Beck, the warlike Bishop of Durham, who brought a thousand foot and five hundred horse; and at the head of this combined force, with the two sacred banners of St John of Beverley, and St Cuthbert of Durham, carried before the army, he marched towards Scotland, and crossed the Tweed a little below the nunnery of Coldstream.³

³ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 732. Prynne's *History of K. John*, Hen. III., and Edw. I. p. 667.

Our present limits will not admit of any detailed account of the siege and storming of Berwick, in which eight thousand persons were put to the sword ; nor of the battle of Dunbar, an event which decided, in a great measure, the fate of Scotland. Edward, as we see from the following Diary, was not slow to follow up the advantages which his success had given him. Returning from Lothian, he sat down before the Castle of Roxburgh, which was surrendered to him by James the Steward of Scotland ; who not only swore fealty to Edward and abjured the French alliance, but prevailed upon many others of the Scottish nobility to forsake a struggle which was deemed desperate, and to submit to England. It was at his instigation that Ingram de Umfraville surrendered the Castle of Dumbarton,⁴ and gave up as hostages his daughters Eva and Isobel. Soon after, the Castle of Jedburgh was yielded to his mercy, and his victorious army being reinforced by a body of fifteen thousand men from Wales, he was enabled to send home that part of his English force which had suffered most from fatigue in the expedition. With these fresh levies he advanced to Edinburgh, and made himself master of the Castle after a siege of eight days.⁵ He then passed rapidly to Stirling, which he found abandoned, and while there, the Earl of Ulster, with a new army of thirty thousand foot and four hundred horse, came to join the King, and complete the triumph of the English arms. Edward continued his progress, without opposition, to Perth, where, on the 24th of June, he halted to keep the Feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist, with circumstances of high

Prynne's Edward I. p. 649. Rotuli Scotiae, 22 Edw. I. Mem. 8 dorso.

Hemingford, vol. i. p. 98. Lelandi Collectanea, vol. i. p. 460.

feudal pomp and solemnity, feasting his friends, creating new Knights, and folacing himself and his Barons.

In the midst of these rejoicings, messengers arrived from the unhappy Baliol, announcing his submission, and imploring peace.⁶ Edward would not deign to treat with him in person, but referred him to the Bishop of Durham to inform him of the determination of his Lord Superior. This determination was none other than that of an absolute and unconditional resignation of himself and his kingdom to the will and mercy of the conqueror, to which Baliol, who was now a mere shadow of royalty, dejectedly and patiently submitted. In presence of the Bishop of Durham and the Barons of England, stripped of his regal ornaments, and standing as a criminal with a white rod in his hand, he performed in the church-yard of Strathkathro a humiliating feudal penance,⁷ and after the ceremony delivered his eldest son Edward to the King of England as a hostage for his fidelity. This youth, with his disrowned father, were soon after sent by sea to London, and committed to the Tower.⁸ The further progress of Edward from Perth to Aberdeen, and from thence to Elgin in Murray, returning through Badenoch to Kildrummie Castle, and thence by Kincardine in the Mearns to Dundee, Perth, Lindores, and Dunfermline, will be found in the Diary.

⁶ Du Chesne, Hist. p. 597.

⁷ Prynne's Edward I. pp. 650, 651.

⁸ Langtoft's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 280, in speaking of Baliol, says—

First he was a kyng, now he is a soudjoure,
And is at other spendyng bonden in the Toure.

THE preceding sheets were printed off previous to our being aware of a communication having been made by N. H. Nicolas, Esq. to the Society of Antiquaries of London, on the subject of Edward's Invasion, and which has been inserted in a recent volume of the Society's *Archæologia*, under the title of—"A Narrative of the Progress of King Edward the First in his Invasion of Scotland, in the year 1296: communicated, with some observations thereon, by Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq., F.S.A. &c. Read 25th Feb. 1826." (vol. xxiii. pp. 478—498.)

In this communication, Mr Nicolas has given the English version of the Diary from a collation of three MSS., accompanied with some valuable historical illustrations. Mr Nicolas informs us this curious document first fell under his observation in the Ashmolean Library, in a volume marked No. 865, which is said to have been transcribed "from a faire vellom manuscript belonging to Sir J. Maynard, Sergeant-at-Law, in 1660." At a subsequent period, he met with three different copies in the British Museum, viz. Harl. MSS. 1309; Additional MSS. 5758; and Cotton. MSS. Domitian. A. xviii. The latter is in Norman French, and occasional passages from it, are quoted by Mr Nicolas in the notes, to illustrate difficult readings. It is, however, somewhat singular, that he seems not to have been aware of either of the two additional and earlier MSS., preserved in the British Museum (Cotton. MSS. Nero D. vi. and

Vespas. C. xvi.) from which the original text, as well as the English version, have been printed in the present volume.¹

In his preliminary remarks, Mr Nicolas has entered upon an examination, to prove the genuineness of the Diary, from a comparison of the dates. These, he says, he found "to be strictly consistent with each other, and with the truth;" and confirmed likewise by the dates of the instruments in the *Fœdera*, between the 28th March and the 22d August, 1296; viz. two at Berwick on Tweed, 24th April; four at Roxburgh, 12th May; three at the same place, on the 14th, 15th, and 16th May; one at Cluny, 26th June; and one at Aberdeen, 15th July; the next in the series being tested at Berwick on the 2d of September.

¹ The last paragraph of the French original, at page 281-2, is not contained in any of the English versions.

A DIARY OF EDWARD THE FIRST [HIS] JOURNEY INTO
SCOTLAND, IN THE TIME OF JOHN KINGE OF SCOTTIS.

A°. REGNI 24, 1296.¹

L'AN du regne le Roy Edward	IN the xxiiij th yere of the	1296.
xxiiij° dEngleterre feu le iour de	reign of Kyng Edward, Efter	March 25.
Pasque p le iour de lAnunciacion	day was on the day of the an-	
notre Dame, et le Mefcredy de	nuncyacion of Our Lady, and on	
Pasque, sur le xxviiij iour de	the Wednysday in the Ester weke,	
Marz, passa le Roy E/auantnome	beyng the xxviiij day of Marche,	. . . 28.
la Riuere de Twede oue v. milles	paffyd Kyng Edward the ffore	
chiuaux couert, et xxx. milles	nene, the ryuer of Twede, with	

¹ As stated in the introductory notice, this Diary is printed from two manuscripts preserved in the British Museum. The French (MS. Cotton. Nero D. VI. 18. Codex Memb. Sæc. xiv.) is the original, and evidently coeval with the date of the Expedition. The English translation (MS. Cotton. Vesp. C. XVI. 16.) appears to belong to the early part of the 16th century, and has the above title inserted in a later hand. For the benefit of modern readers, the dates of 'this Royal Progress' are added in the margin, from a comparison with the valuable French work, *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, by Mr PITCAIRN, who communicated for the present work a transcript he had made of the English version. In the notes, which are added by Mr TYTLER, an attempt is made to point out the names of most of the obscure places mentioned in the Diary.

hommes de pees et uit celle
nuyt en Escoce a la priorie de
Caldestrem; et le Ioedy a Hat-
ton²; le Vendredy prist la ville
de Berewyk fur Twede, a force
d armes sanz areste. Le chafstel
rendi mesme le iour Monf^r Wil-
liam Douglas gestoit dedeinz;
et uist le Roy a nuyt a chafstel,
et sa gent en la ville cescun a
son houstel qil auoit gayne, et
y demoert le Roy pres de vn
moys.³

v.^m horsis couered / and xxx.^m March 28.
fote men, and lay that nyght in
Scotland at the priorie of Calde-
streme; and the Thurfday at . . 29.
Hatton² / and the fryday toke . . 30.
the towne of Barwyk vppone
Twede, by force of armys, with
out tareyng. The castell was
geven vppe the same day by the
Lord William Dowglas, which
was in ytt; and the Kyng lay in
the feyd castell all that nyght,
and his host in the towne, euery
man in the houte that he hathe
gotten / and the Kyng tareyd
there almost a monyth.³

² Hatton, probably Hauden, see Macpherson's Geogr. Illust.—In Bleau's Atlas, Hutoun, a few miles N. W. from Berwick.

³ In the storming of Berwick, the King, mounted on his horse Bayard, was the first who won the outer dyke, and the soldiers, animated by the example and presence of their King, carried all before them.

What did then Sire Edward, pere he had non lyke,
Upon his Stede bayard first he wan the dyke;
In pask weke it was, the Fryday thai it wan
In the non tyme fel this cas, that slayn was ilk man
That were in Berwick.

PETER LANGTOFT's *Chron.* vol. ii. p. 272.

Eight thousand, or, according to Knighton, p. 2480, seventeen thousand persons were slain in the sack of Berwick, and for two days the city ran with blood like a river. The churches, to which the miserable inhabitants had fled for sanctuary, were

Le iour de seint George xxiiij
iour d'Auerill vyndrent nouvelles au
Roy q̃ cil d'Escoce auoient assege
le chafstel de Dombar q̃ est al Cont
Patrik⁴ / le quel se tient ferment
oue le Roy d'Engleterre / ces feu
p vn Lundy le Roy enuoia son
gent pur leuer le siege, auant qils
vyndrent la si feu le chafstel rendu,
et feurent ceux d'Escoce dedeinz /
quant la gent le Roy d'Engleterre
y vyndrent si assisterent le chafstel
de trois hostes p le Marfdy qils
vyndrent pardeuant / le Mefcredy
cils dedeinz enuoieront hors priue-
ment ; et le Ioefdy, et le Vendre-
dy vient lost d'Escoce tout apres
none pur auoir leue le siege de
ceux d'Engleterre ; et quant cils
d'Engleterre virent ceux d'Escoce

And on Seynt Georgis day, the April 24.
xxiiij day of Aprile, cam newes to
the Kyng that they of Scotland
hadde beseged the castel of Dum-
barre, that longyd to the Erle Pa-
trike,⁴ the which holdyth strongly
with the Kyng of Engeland / And
on the Monday, the Kyng sent his . . 23.
men to areyse the siege, butt be-
fore they cam the castell was
geuen vppe the same day, and
the Scottis were in ytt whan the
Englyshemen cam to ytt, and
didd assiege ytt with iij hostis on
the Wednesday [Twysday] that . . 24.
they cam there / and the Twys- . . 25.
day [Wednesday] they that were
within fende ought priuely ; and
the Thursday and Fryday cam the . . 26.
hoste of the Scottis nere theym, . . 27.

violated and defiled with blood, spoiled of their sacred ornaments, and turned into stables for the English cavalry. A fine contrast to the brutal ferocity of Edward was presented, when, 22 years after this, the town of Berwick was stormed and taken from the English by Douglas and Randolph.—Fordun's *Scoticronicon*, B. xi. c. 54, 55.

⁴ Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, called Patrick with the black beard. Leland, *Collect.* vol. i. p. 540. The Earl was a steady partizan of Edward, but his Countess hated the English, and delivered the castle to her countrymen. Walsingham, *Hist.* p. 67.

fi curreront a eux, et eils d'Escoce
discomfiteront ; et durra le chace
plus de v. lieux de voie loinz, et
tanque a heure de vespres / y ont
mort Monf.^r Patrik de Grehem,⁵
grand fleur, et x. milles et l.v. p
droit acont. Mesme cel Vendredy
uint le Roy de Berewyk pur aler
a Dombar, et uist la nuyt a Cold-
yngham ; le Samady a Dombar, et
mesme cel iour fi rendirent als du
chastel a la volunte le Roy / et y
feu le Conte d'Asselers,⁶ le Conte
de Ros, le Conte de Monetet /
Monsieur Johan Commyn de Ba-
denafok, le filz Monsieur Richard
Suard Monsieur William de
Seint Cler et tant que iiij^{xx}

abowte none, to haue rayfed the April 27.
siege of the Englyshe men ; and
whan the Englyshe men see them
come toward theym, than the
Engelishemen ran to the Scottis
and discomfityd theym, and
dydde ouercome theym ; And the
chayse duryd well v. myles of
way, vntill ytt was evenyng. And
ther dyed the Lord Patryke of
Greham,⁵ a great lord, and x^x and
l.v. by right accompt. And the
same ffryday cam the Kyng from
Barwik to goo to Dunbar, and
lay that nyght at Coldyngham /
the Saterdag at Dunbar ; and the . . 28.
samyn day they of the castell gaue
ouer at the Kyngis pleafur, and

⁵ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 96, gives this high character of Graham, "a valiant knight, amongst the wisest in the kingdom, and noblest amongst the noble."

⁶ The Earls of Athol, Ros, and Monteith. Sir John Comyn of Badenoch, called the Red Comyn, afterwards slain by Bruce in the convent of the Grey Friars at Dumfries. Suard is Siward. All the prisoners of rank were immediately sent in fetters to England, where they were committed to close confinement in different Welsh and English castles. Dunbar was fatal to the Scots ; for, three hundred and fifty years after this, Cromwell defeated the army of the Scottish Covenanters, which occupied the same position as that held by the Scots in 1296, and with equal precipitancy deserted it.

hommes darmes et vij^x de pees / ther was in ytt / the Erle of Ace- April 28.
 illoques demora le Roy iij iours. celles,⁶ Therle of Roos, Therle of
 Monetet, Sir John Comyn of Bed-
 wafok, the son of Sir Richard
 Suard, Sir William Santcler, and
 iij. score men of armys and vij.
 score fotemen. / Theyr tareyd the
 King .iij. day[es.]

Le Mefcredy, la veile de l'Ascen-	The Wednyfday, Assent evyn, May 3.
fion, ala le Roy a Hadyngton ; le	the Kyng went to Hadyngton, /
Dymenge apres a Lowedere ⁷ ; le	the Sonday aft' to Lowedere; ⁷ the . . 6.
Lundy a Rokefburgh a frere me-	Monday to Rokyfbrough at the . . 7.
nours ⁸ ; le Marfdy al Chafte, et y	Grayfreres ; ⁸ / the Kyng loged the
demeura le Roy .xiiij. iours. Le	Twyfday at the castell, and the . . 8.
xv. iour p Mefcredy ala a Gyde-	Kyng tared ther xiiij. dayes: And
worde ⁹ / le Ioefdy a Wyel / le Ven-	the xv. day went to Gardeford, ⁹ . . 23.
dredy a Caftilton / le Dymenge	the Thurfday to Wyell / the ffry- . . 25.
apres arere a Wyel / le Lundy a	day to Caftelton / the Sonday bake . . 27.
Gydeworde ⁹ / le Vendredy apres	ayen to Wiell / the Munday to . . 28.
a Rokefburgh / le Lundy apres a	Guydeford, ⁹ the ffryday to Rokef- June 1.
Loweder / le Marfdy a labbey de	brough / the Munday after to . . 4.

⁷ Lawder.

⁸ Rokisburgh Castle was surrendered to Edward by James the Steward of Scotland, who swore fealty to England, and abjured the French alliance. Prynn's Hist. of Edward I. p. 649.

⁹ Jedburgh, generally in old writers called Gedworde. The surrender of Jedburgh is to be found in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii. 714, 715.

Neubatel / le Mefcredy a Edenef-
burgh / a labbey et fist adreffler
trois engyns gettantz au chafstel
iour et nuyt / au quint iour ils
parleront de pees.¹⁰ Al oytifme
iour le Roy ala gifer a Lūnfcu,¹¹
et leffa les engyns gettantz en
bone garde deuant le chafstel / le
Ioefdy ala a Eftroyuelyn,¹² et cils
q̃ feurent en le chafstel fenfueront
et ne remeĩt q̃ le porter qui rendi
le chafstel / et la vient le Cont de
Stradern¹³ a la pees ; et y demora
le Roy v. iours.

Le Mefcredy deuant le feint
Johan passa le Roy la meer deEf-
coce, et uit a Outrear fon chaf-
stel / le Ioefdy a feint Johan de
Perte¹⁴ bone ville, et y demora le
Vendredy, Samady, et Dymenge /
meſme cel iour feu le iour feint

Lowdere / the Tueſday to the June 5.
abey of Newbottell, the Wedneſ- . . 6.
day toEdenburgh / [to] the abbey
and cauſed there to be ſett .iij.
engynes caſtyng into the caſtell
day and nyght / and the .vth. day . . 11.
they ſpake of peas. The.vijj.day . . 14.
the Kyng went to his bed to
Linnifca,¹¹ et engyns caſtyng ſtyll
before the caſtell. / The Thurſ-
day went to Eſteruelyn,¹² and
they that were in the caſtell ran
away, and left non butt the porter
which did render the keyes ; and
thether cam Therle of Straudern¹³
to the peas. And the Kyng tary- . . 19.
ed there v. dayes.

The Wedneſday byfore Seynt . . 20.
Johñs day the Kyng paſſyd the
Scottyſhe ſee, and lay at Lut-
reard his caſtell ; the Thurſday . . 21.
to Seynt Johñs,¹⁴ a metely good
towne / and ther abode fryday, . . 22.
Saturday, and Sunday, which was . . 23.

¹⁰ See Hemingford, vol. i. 98.

¹¹ Linlithgow.

¹² Stirling.

¹³ Strathern.

¹⁴ Perth, anciently called St John's town, or Saint Johnston.

Johan le Baptifre / le Lundy ala	saynt John Baptift day.	The June 24.
a Kynclouny ¹⁵ chafstel / le Marfdy	Munday went to Kyng Colowens	. . 25.
a Clony chafstel, ¹⁶ et y demora .v.	castell, ¹⁵ the Tuefday to Clony caf-	. . 26.
iours / le Lundy apres a Entre-	tell, ¹⁶ and there abade .v. dayes.	July 1.
koyt chafstel / le Marfdy a Forfar,	The Monday after to Entreçoit	. . 2.
chafstel et bone ville / le Vendredy	castell ; [the Twyfday to Forfar	
apres a ffernouell ¹⁷ / le Samady a	castell, and] a good towne / the	. . 3.
Mounros, ¹⁸ chafstel et bone ville ; et	ffryday after to Fernovell castell /	. . 6.
y demora le Dymenge, Lundy, et	the Saturday to Monorous ¹⁸ castell,	. . 7.
Marfdy / et y vient le Roy Johan	and a good towne, and there abyd	
dEfcoce a fa mercie, et luy rendi	Sunday, Monday, and Twyfday ;	. . 10.
tout quitement le Royaume dEf-	and ther cam to hym Kyng John	
coco come celuy q̃ lauoit forfait ¹⁹ /	of Scotland to his mercy, and did	
Enfement vindrent la a mercie	render quyetly the realme of Scot-	
le Cont de Mar, le Conte de Bof-	land / as he that had done amyfe ¹⁹ /	
chan, Monf. ^r Johan Comyn de	and alfo there cam to mercy	
Badenach, ²⁰ et plufours autres. /	Therle of Marre / Therle of Bof-	
Le Mefcredy ala a Kyncardyn en	con / Sir John Comyn of Bade-	
Mernes ²¹ maynor / le Ioefdy es	nafshe, ²⁰ and many other. The	
montaynes a Glonberwy ²² / le Ven-	Wednyfday went to King Carden ²¹	. . 11.
dredy a Dūnes ²³ maynor entre le	a farour manour ; the Thurfday to	. . 12.

¹⁵ Kinclavin on the river Tay.¹⁶ Cluny.¹⁷ Fernel, near Montrose.¹⁸ Montrose.¹⁹ See Pryne's Edward I. pp. 650, 651, for an account of the feudal penance performed by Baliol in the churchyard of Strouthkatherac, or Strathkathro.²⁰ The Earls of Mar and Buchan, and Sir John Comyn of Badenoch.²¹ Kincardin in the Mernes.²² Glonberwy is probably Bervie.²³ Probably Durris Castle near Aberdeen.

mountz. le Samady a la citee dAberden,²⁴ bon chafstel et bone ville fur la meer; et y demora v. iours; et elloeques luy feut amefne fon enemy Monf.^r Thomas de Morham q̃ Monf.^r Hugh de Seint Johan prift luy doufsime a armes oue luy / le Vendredy apres ala a Kyncorn²⁵ maynor / le Samady a Fimin²⁶ chafstel / le Dymenge a Banet²⁷ chafstel / le Lundy a Incolan²⁸ maynor / le Marfdy en tentes en Lannoi fur la riuere de Spe²⁹ / le Mefcredy passa, et uit de outre part de mefme la riuere a Rapenache maynor, en le paais de Moureue / le Ioefdy a la citee dEigin, bone chafstel et bone ville, et y demora ij iours / le Dymenge a Roseife³¹ maynor / Monf.^r Johan de Cantelou mefine cel iour enuoia le Roy Monf.^r Hugh the mountagn of Glowberwy;²² Wenfday[Friday] to a manour in July 13. the Downes²³ amonge the mountayns / the Saturday to the cytie of dAbberden,²⁴ a faire castell and 14. a good towne vponn the fee, and tareyd ther .v. dayes. And thether was brought the kyngis enymy, Sir Thomas Warham, which Sir Hugh Saynt John didde take and xij with him. The ffryday after went to Kincolne²⁵ manour; the Saturday to Fynin²⁶ castell; the Sondag to Banet²⁷ castell; the Monday to Incolan²⁸ manour; the Twefday in tentis in Lannoy vppon the ryuer [of Spey;²⁹ the Wednyfday passyd and came on the other fide of the same riuier] to Repenage manour in the county of Merenne; the Thurfday to the citie of dAi-

²⁴ Aberdeen. ²⁵ Kintore, or Kinkell? ²⁶ Fyvie? ²⁷ Banff.

²⁸ Inverculan or Cullen, q. Inchellan, near Forres. (Pont's Maps.)

²⁹ This we conjecture to be the district of Enyie on the Spey, which agrees with Edwards route to Elgin, through Moray.

³⁰ Elgin.

³¹ Rothes.

le dEfpencer et Monfr Johan gin,³⁰ a good caſtell and a good
Haſtynges ſercher le paiis de Ba- towne, and tareed there ij dayes/
denache³² / et l'Eueſque de Du- The Sonday to Roſers³¹ manour: July 29.
reſme³³ oue ſa gent renuoia outre the Kyng ſent the ſame day Sir
les mountz, p vn autre chemin q̃ John Cantlow, Sir Hugh Spen-
il meſmes ne ala / le Lundy a Yn- cer, and Sir John Haſtyngis, to
terkerach³⁴ ou il ont trois meſons, ſerche the contrey of Badnafshe,³⁰
ſanz plus, envne valeie entre deux and ſent the Biſhops of Dureſyn³⁵
montaynes / le Marſdy a Kyndro- with his people ouer the moun-
kun³⁵ chaſtel le Conte de Mar, et y tayns by another wey than he went . . 30.
demora le Meſcredy / le iour ſeint hymſelf / The Monday he went
Pier entrant en Ouſt / le Joedy a hymſelf into Interkeratche,³⁴
loſpital de Kyncardynen Mernes³⁶ / wher ther was noo more than iij
le Samady a la citee de Breghyn³⁷ / houſes in a rowe betwene ij moun- . . 31.
le Dymenge a labbeie de Berbro- tayns / the Tueſday to Kyndro-
doch,³⁸ et on diſt q̃ cel Abbe fiſt ken³⁵ caſtell belongyng to Therle
entendre as Eſcocz qil nauoit of Marre; and there taryed Wed- Aug.¹ 1.
nient q̃ femmes en Engleterre / le nyſday, ſaynt Peturs day, the
Lundy a Donde / le Marſdy a Ba- firſt day of Auguſt / On Thurſday
ligarnach le Roge chaſtel³⁹ / le to thoſpitall of Kyncarden³⁶ in . . 2.

³² Badenoeh.³³ The Biſhop of Durham.³⁴ Probably ſome wild ſpot in the diſtrict of Balvany or Strathavon.³⁵ Kildrammie; in Rymer's *Fœdera*, it is often written Kyndromyn.³⁶ Kincardin in Mernes.³⁷ Brechin.³⁸ Aberbrothock.

³⁹ The Red-Caſtle. In Groſe's *Antiq. of Scotland*, ii. 95, is given a view of the ruins of this ancient caſtle, which ſtood on a high cliff called the Red Head, on the ſouth ſide of the Bay Lunnan, near Montroſe. According to tradition, it was built by King William, ſurnamed the Lion, at the end of the 12th century.

MefcredyaSaintJohan de Perte ⁴⁰ /	Marnes, the Saturday to the cy- Aug. ^t 4.
le Ioefdy a labbeie de Loungdos, ⁴¹	tye of Bregha ⁿ ³⁷ / the Sonday to . . 5.
et y demora le Vendredy, iour de	the abbey of Burbrodoche, ³⁸ and
feint Laurence / le Samady a la ci-	ytt was feyd that the abot [of
tee defeint Andrew, chaftelet bone	that] place made the people be-
ville / le Dymenge a Markynch ⁴²	leue thatt ther were butt women
ou il na ã le monfter et iij me-	and noo men in Engeland / the . . 6.
fons / le Lundy a labbeie de Dom-	Munday to Dunde / the Twfday . . 7.
fermelyn, ou touz les plus des	to Baligernacche, the redde caf- . . 7.
Roys d'Escoce gifent / le Marfdy	ftell ³⁹ / the Wednyfday to Seynt . . 8.
a Stryuelyn, et y demora le Mef-	John of Porte ⁴⁰ / the Thurfday to . . 9.
credy, le iour le Affumpcion notre	the abey of Londres, ⁴¹ and taryed
Dame / le Ioefdy a Lunifcu ⁴⁵ / le	ther the fryday, faynt Laurensday . . 10.
Vendredy a Edenburgh, et y de-	/ Saturday to the citie of Seynt An- . . 11.
mor a le Samady / le Dymenge a	drew, a caftell and a good towne /
Hadyngton / le Lundy a Pykel-	the Sonday to Merkynch, ⁴² where . . 12.

⁴⁰ Perth.—In this Diary we have no mention made of Edward's visit to Scone, from whence he gave orders to convey *the famous marble stone* to Westminster as a trophy of his conquest; a circumstance noticed by most of our historians, and thus related by Holinshed: "After the submission of John Baliol, King Edward went forward to see the mountaine countries of Scotland, the Bishop of Durham ever keeping a daies journie afore him. At length, when he had passed through Murrey land, and was come to Elghin, perceiuing all things to be quiet, he returned towards Berwike, and coming to the abbeie of Scone, he tooke from thence the marble stone, whereupon the Kings of Scotland were accustomed to sit as in a chaire at the time of their coronation, which King Edward caused now to be transferred to Westminster, and there placed, to serue for a chaire for the priest to sit in at the altar."—Vol. iii. p. 301.

⁴¹ Lindoris.

⁴² Markinch on the water Leven.

ton pres de Dobar / le Marfdy	as ys butt the churche and .iiij.	Aug. 13.
a Goldyngham / le Mefcredy a	houfes / Monday to the abbey of	
Berewyk / E / conquift le Roi-	Donfermylyn, where as all the	
aume dEfcoco: Et le fercha come	moft of the kyngis of Scottis	
il eft defus efcrit dedeinz .xxj.	liethe / The Twysday to Streue-	. . 14.
femaynes, fanz plus.	lyn, and tareyd there Wednyfday	. . 15.
	our Lady day / the Thurfdays	. . 16.
	Lunfcu ⁴³ / the fryday to Eden-	. . 17.
	bourgh, and there taryed Satur-	. . 18.
	day / Sunday [to] Hadyngton /	. . 19.
	Munday to Pykelton by Dun-	. . 20.
	barre / Twesday at Coldyngham /	. . 21.
	Wednyfday at Barwik: And con-	. . 22.
	quered and serched the kyngdom	
	of Scotteland, as ys afforfeyd in	
	xxj wekis without thought any more.	

A Berewyk tient fon parlement, et y feurent tous les Euefques, Contes, et Barons, Abbes, et Priours, et les Souereignes de tout la commune gent, et la receut les homages de touz et ferelementz qils luy ferroient bons et loialz. As gentz de ordre rendi tantost touz leur bens, et de leur tenantz / les Contes, et Barons, et Euefques leffa il iouir de leur terres / mes eux vyndrent a la touz seintz au parlement a feint Efmond / Puis ordina le Conte de Garane Gardein de la terre, Sire Hugh de Creffyngham Treforer, Sire Wauter de

⁴³ Linlithgow, written variously, Lunsu, Luniscu, Linlisco, Linlythko, Lythqw, &c. See Macpherfon's Geogr. Illust.

Modelfhem Chancellor, iffi ordinant fes bufoignes / demoura a Berewyk iij femaignes, et iij iours, et sen departi en alant vers Engleterre Sept. .16. le Dymenge apres la feint Croiz.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ This last paragraph, respecting the Parliament held at Berwick by Edward I., on his return from this expedition, is not contained in the English version.

EXTRACTS
FROM THE OBITUARY
OF ROBERT BOYD OF TROCHRIG.
MDCIX.—MDCXXXV.



EXTRACTS FROM THE OBITUARY
OF ROBERT BOYD OF TROCHRIG,¹ MDCIX.—MDCXXV.

L'An 1609, M^r. Herpenius,² jeune homme Flamand, duquel Dieu l'a fufcité l'efprit pour l'addoner avec grand fruit et fuccès à la langue Arabefque et les autres Orientales.

¹ The following extracts from the Obituary of the learned Divine, Robert Boyd of Trochrig, were made early in the last century, by the industrious historian Wodrow. It has not been ascertained where Boyd's papers are deposited, but they well merit further inquiry. Wodrow, who had access to them, made good use of such excellent materials when compiling his Life of our Author, in which he copies or refers to a variety of original letters of considerable interest, addressed to Boyd. (MS. Lives, vol. v. Univ. Glasg.) The notices in the Obituary furnish the dates of the decease of several persons eminent for their learning or christian zeal, and present some curious traits of character. A few slight variations in orthography have been introduced, as it is suspected the peculiarities are more likely to belong to the transcriber than the author.

Robert Boyd of Trochrig was born at Glasgow in the year 1578, and educated under Robert Rollock at Edinburgh, where he took his Master's degree 10th August 1595. On the 16th Feb. 1608, he was served heir of his father, James Boyd of Trochrig, who died Archbishop of Glasgow in June 1581. He himself was successively Professor of Belles Lettres at Montauban (in Nov. 1599;) Minister of a Protestant Congregation at Vertal in France; Professor of Divinity at Saumur (from 1608 to 1614;) Principal of the College of Glasgow, and Minister of Govan, (from 1615 to 1621;) and, Principal of the College and one of the Ministers of Edinburgh (from Nov. 1622 to Jan. 1623.) He died in Carrick, 5th Jan. 1627.

² This notice seems to refer to Thomas Erpenius, a celebrated Oriental scholar, but he survived long after 1609. He was born in Sept. 1584, and died Nov. 1624.

Memor : qu'ayant conferé avec M^r. de Four (qui Chymiatrus est, et in iis operibus exercitatus) il m'enseigna contra Amici Hæmorroidas et hæmorrahias, imprimis valere taleolam dentis illius monstri marini quod Galli Rohard appellant, collo fuspensam.

Le Docteur Jac. Arminius,³ un des plus subtils esprits, qui enseignassent la theologie, en son temps.

Le bon homme M^r. du Bignon, professeur en la langue Hebraique, icy (à Saumure) decedé le Dimanche 24 de Juillet, 1611. étoit âgé d'environ soixante 18 ou 80 années : et un des meilleurs grammairens, en ces langues Orientales, qui se trouvaît.

It. M^r. He-or-Perauld⁴ le pere, pasteur et professeur a Montauban, âgé de 72 ans ; homme de grand esprit et savoir, et jugement, et dextérité ès affaires de l'eglise, entre tous ceux de son temps ; à moy cognu familièrement, par beaucoup d'années.

It. The Laird of Garthland,⁵ quha died in Rochel : l'esté de nostre grand assemblée : gentilhomme prudent, humane, et craignant Dieu, que j' avoy familièrement cognu en . . . land.

It. Ce moy de Mars 1612, morut à Paris M^r. de Bongars, homme doct, que j'avoy bien cognu à Francfort, et veu à Londres.

It. M^r. Rob^t. Wilky, principall of Saint Leonards colledge in S^t. Andrews, ane honnest man.

³ Minister at Amsterdam, and afterwards Professor of Divinity at Leyden, and founder of the sect of Arminians or Remonstrants. He died 19th October 1609.

⁴ Probably Michael Beraud, pastor and professor in the Church of Montauban. (Quick's Synod. in Gall. Reform. i. 262.)

⁵ John M'Dowell of Garthland. " Joannes M'Dowell de Garthland, Pater Domini Joannis M'Dowell de Garthland—decessit in mense Majj Anno Dⁿⁱ. Mill^{mo}. Sexcentesimo vndecimo." (Record, Retours, ix. 244, 5^{to}. Jan. 1625.)

Ce moy d'Août 1614, nouvelles ont été apportez de la mort de M^r. Cafaubon, qui mourut en Angleterre, apres avoyr commencer la decouverte des Erreurs des Annales de Baronius,⁶ et en avoir publié la partie. J'avois bonne connoissance et amitié avec lui à Paris, ou j'avoy conféré avec lui par plusieurs foys.

Cet Hyver 1615, mourut M^r. Renaudot, jeune homme de 26 ou 27 an : qui fût notre disciple, et puis notre collegue au miniftre, et principal du colledge de Saumure ; homme doct, diferte, candide et naife au poffible, qui apres avoir languy deux ans et demie, et beaucoup fouffert de peïn et doleure en son corps, rendit fon ame au Seigneur.

Ce moy Nov^r. 1616, mourut a Edin^r. mon bon amy et frere bien aymé, mon ancien condifciple et collegue M^r. Craig⁷ du bonne me-

⁶ Isaac Casaubon was invited by King James, "out of France into this our realme here to make abroad," in October 1610, "in regard of his singular learning, and of his concurrancye with us and the Church of England, in profession of religion;" assigning him "for his better support and mayntenance," a yearly pension of L.300. (19th January, Anno 8. Jac. 1.) He likewise obtained a dispensation to hold two prebends, one at Canterbury, and the other at Westminster, without entering into holy orders. The refutation of the Annals of Cardinal Baronius, above alluded to, formed part of the task allotted him for the favours he thus received from the English monarch. He died July 1. 1614, aged 55.

⁷ William Craig, "a very learned and gracious young man," took his master's degree at the University of Edinburgh, in 1593, and was appointed one of the Regents in October 1597. "He demitted his charge (says Crawford,) in December 1601, and went to France, where he was elected Professor of Divinity in the Colledge of Saumure, (in the year 1606) in which profession he died not many years after, with much regret: returning home to Scotland, he died in his own honse in Blackfriars Wynd." (Hist. of the Univ. p. 54.) Boyd came from Glasgow to Edinburgh to see him on his death-bed, but was too late.

moyre, professeur en theologie en l'accademie de Saumure ; homme grave, docte, retiré, moderé, sans reproche, apres avoir languy long temps.

En meme temps, me fût mandé la nouvelle de la mort de mon bon et ancien amy M^r. Hairt,⁸ Principal du colledge de Rochel, et docteur en medicine ; homme grave, docte, et entier, qui mourut au moy de Fevr^r. cet meme année.

Ceste meme année les nouvelles de la mort de mon beau pere Mon^s^r. de la Vignolle.

[Ce moy] de Juillet 1616, mourut mon cousin M^{me}. Ja. Car, pasteur de l'eglise de Calmonelle ; homme de bien, et craignant Dieu, simple, zelé, doux, humble et debonaire.

Ce moy d'Août 1616, mourut à Edin^r. M^r. Walter Balcanquell, pasteur de cest eglise la, qui y avoit fidelement servy au S^t. ministere plus de 40 ans ensemble ; homme de bien et entier, que j'avoy cognu familièrement.

Ce moy de l'Octob. 1616, les nouvelles de mort de ces, m'ont esté apportez : M^r. Rob^t. Catchcart, homme de grand piety et experience en la voye et vie de Dieu ; et de M^r. Robert Durie,⁹ un des fideles pasteurs qui furent bannis, avec M^r. Welsh, l'anné 1606.

⁸ Dr William Hart, a native of Edinburgh. He is the author of a Latin poem under the title of "Ecloga Caledon. ad Potentiss. et Feliciss. Jacobum Primum Britanniae et Hiberniae Regem." Parisii, 1605, 4to.

⁹ Robert Dury, Minister at Anstruther, was one of the exiled ministers, in 1606. He became minister of a Scots congregation at Leyden, where he died. His son John Dury distinguished himself by his unwearied endeavours, during a long course of years, to promote a union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches.

En ce moy de Juin 1617, je ſceu la mort de Monſ^r. James Kennedy filz de Heugh Kennedy prevoſt d' Air ; jeune homme, grave, ſage, craignant Dieu, et de fort bonne eſperance, qui morût en France, cette anne ou paſſé.

En ce moy et an, j'ay éſté adverty de la mort de ces mes bonnes amys : M^r. Murifoun, D. [aux] loyx, lequell il enſeignoyt a Edin^r. , à moy longuement cognu à Saumure ;—M^r. Thomſon,¹⁰ paſteur de la Chaſtaignoraye, demeurant à la laiterie en Poytou ; homme ſcavant, diſert, joyeuſe, entier, et d'un fort agréable converſation ;—et M^r. Blair, de l'Eſcar en Bearn, premierement principal du college à l'Eſcar et Ortes, et puis docteur en theologie, et paſteur de la dite eglise, apres la mort de M^{re}. Caſanove ; homme grave, ſavant, ſage, diſcret, judicieuſe, et qui par plus de 30 ans enſemble à éſté un des plus grand piliers et ornements de ceſte accademie royale de Bearn, aâgé de plus des 60 an :

Ce Lund. matine 2 d'Avril 1618, mourut en ſa maiſon de Mouncton M^r. le Comte de Abercorne,¹¹ homme fort renommé, en tout ceſte iſle, pour ſes belles et verteuſe qualityes ; d'un eſprit noble, genereux, affable, et fort aymé de tous pour ſes vertues civiles et domeſtiques, et grandement regretté de tous ceux qui la cognoiſſoyent, et de tout le pays : aâgé d'environ 44 ans, et ayant laiſſé de par ſa femme

¹⁰ George Thomson, a native of St. Andrews, author of "Vindex Veritatis adversus Justum Lipsium," 1606, 8vo. ; "La Chasse de la Bête Romaine," 1611, 8vo. ; and translator into French of Napier of Merchiston, on the Revelation of St John, 1607, &c. His Latin poems are included in the *Delitiæ Poet. Scot.*

¹¹ James Hamilton, first Earl of Abercorn.

10 enfants ; ils estoient tous 2 mes parents également proches, et bon amies.

Ce moy d'Avril 1618, m'ont esté mandées de France les nouvelles de la mort de M^r. Chamier, docteur et professeur en theologie à Montauban ; homme grave, prudent, et savant, à moy connu depuis la grand assemblée de Saumur, et de qui nous attendions une réponse a tout Bellarmine.

Au commencement de moy de May 1618, mourut a Edin^r. M^r. Will. Hay de Barro, commissaire de ceste ville de Glasgou, qui avoit esté recteur de ceste accademie, plusieurs années ensemble ; homme prompt et sincere, et mon bon amy.

Ce moy de Mars dernier 1619, mourut icy à Glasgou, mon bon amy M^r. Alex^r. Boyd, premier regent du collidge, âgé de 30 ans ou environ. Il étoit homme prompt et sincere, ayant fort a rire sans offence, pourtant soisible et diligent à son vocation, et qui laisse au College plus de mille merks de son bien.

Au meme an. 1619, mourut icy Mon^r. David Pollock, mon amy et allié, pasteur de l'eglise de Glenluce ; homme de bien, et craignant Dieu.

Ce moy, 1620, Octob. nouvelles me furent apportez de la mort de M^r. Barrée Sieur de la Primaudaye, ancien de l'eglise de Saumur, auteur de l'Accademie François^e,¹² et mon ancien amy ; homme doux et soisible, qui est mort en bonne vieillesse.

Ce moy de Dec^{br}. 1621, mourut à Edin^r. le bon homme Andreu

¹² "The French Academie," a very popular work, which was translated into different languages. The English translation passed through several editions.

Hart,¹³ imprimeur et libraire ; decedé en bonne viellesse ; homme de bien et notre ancien amy.

Ce moy de May 1622, nous furent apportez les nouvelles de la mort de cet S^r. serviteur de Dieu, M^r. Welsch,¹⁴ l'un des peres et piliers de cette eglise, et lumiere de son siecle, qui mourut à Londres, exilé de son pays, pour l'êsté opposé au rétablissement du Gouvernement Episcopal, et fermement maintenu la discipline presbyterienne et synodale, auparavant par nous reçue et établie, et ce apres 18. ans de exile : homme remply du S^r. Esprite, de zele, de charité, et d'un labeur et diligence incroyable ès oeuvres de sa vocation : et avec cela exerce tout sa vie, et jusque à la fin d'icelle, sous le faix des toutes fortes d'afflictions en son corps, en son ame, en son ministere, en son estate exterieur, portant toujours en son corps la mortification du Seigneur Jesus, duquel aussi la vie à été manifeste en luy, en un degre et mesure tres excellent, si en aucun homme de son siecle. Benite en soit a jamais le nomme de Dieu ! qui l'a donné et fuscité, à sa pauvre eglise en un temps si neccessaire, et luy meme

¹³ Andrew Hart carried on the trade of a bookseller many years before he commenced printer. Several works were printed in Holland, 'at his expence,' in the years 1600 and 1601 ; but long before this, he was in the habit of importing books from abroad. His folio edition of the Bible, 1610, has been always admired for its typography.

¹⁴ John Welsh, minister of Ayr, was banished in 1606, for opposing the measures of King James, in reference to ecclesiastical discipline. After remaining for some time at Bordeaux, he became Minister at Jonsack in France. From a letter quoted by Wodrow in his *Life of Boyd*, it appears that Welsh proposed to go to Nova Scotia, King James refusing him permission to return to his native country for the benefit of his health ; but he died in London, as mentioned by Boyd. Several of his letters to Boyd are preserved in a volume of Wodrow's MSS. (Adv. Library, Jac. V. i. 14.)

nous face la grace d'en fuiver constamment la lumier d'un si saint exemple, pour être conduit à la fin à la meme gloire de son royaume, par son filz J. C. N. S. Amen.

It. Ce moy de Juin 1622, mourut a Edin^r. l'un de mes bons amis, Mr John Carmichael, fidelle pasteur de l'eglise de Ely en Fife; homme docte, et grave, et venerable, entre les primieres de sa robbe, et de sa nation, resistant fermement à toutes les innovations du Roy, et des Eveques; apres avoir souffert de pein et de douleur de la gravelle.

Quant à la mort de ce venerable pere de notre eglise, ornement de sa nation, et lumiere de son siecle, en tout vertue, erudition, vivacité de esprit, promptitude, zèle, ferveur, franchise, parrhasie, et constance invincible en une bonne cause, et saint course de vie, et resolution, M^r. Andreu Melvil,¹⁵ qui mourut a Sedan, l'an passé, 1621, âgé environ 80 années; rejetté de son pays par la malice du temps et des hommes, pour avoir fort et ferme maintenu la verité, rendu tefmoignage à icelle devant les princes de mond; gardé une bonne conscience, sans varier, ni pour craintes ni pour faveurs des hommes; apres la prise en la tour de Londres, et l'exile de plus de 10. ans: quant à sa mort di'je, et de temps precise, et les circonstances particuliers d'icelle, je n'en ay peu encore recevoyr information, à cause des troubles et persecutions suscitées en l'eglise Françoisse, en ces années.

Ce moy de Août 1622, mourut icy à Glasgou, M^r. James Steuard, pasteur de l'eglise de Campsey, jeune homme et regrettant grande-

¹⁵ Andrew Melville, the able and fearless champion of Presbytery, has had ample justice done to his memory by his learned biographer Dr M'Crie.

ment les abus et corruptions de ce temps meſmes introduites en l'egliſe de Dieu, qui nous en vueille ſeparer de plus en plus, et nous preparé pour ſon royaume celeſte.

Ce moy de Sept. 1622, me fut mandée la mort de mon ancien amy M^r. Ramſay de Montauban, qui étoit premier regent au colledge d'icelle, qui m'amoyt grandement.

Ce moy de Juin 1623, mourut à Ayr, ce ſaint et excellent perſonage Heu Kennedy,¹⁶ ſouvent prevôſt de la ville; homme vivant ſelon Dieu; douée d'une pieté excellente, excercé ès ſecrete, et en la pratique d'icelle, deſert et zélé; excercé de pluſieurs croix et afflictions domeſtiques; et remply avant ſon fin de la payx et joye memorable du S. Eſprite, par deſſus tout ce qu'il pouvoit exprimer, ou comprendre; un des plus ſignales diſciples, et plus familiares amys de cette homme de Dieu, M^r. Welfch.

Ce moy de Sept^r. 1623, de grand fievres et extraordinaires qui ont excercé preſques tous les habitans de cette ville de Edin^r., mourut mon bon amy M^r. Andreu Zoung,¹⁷ premier regent de ce colledge, qui y avoit excercé ceſte charge fidelement par l'eſpace de 22 ans; et étoit bon mathematicien, outre ſa profeſſion ordinair.

¹⁶ Provost Kennedy is mentioned in terms of great respect by Mr John Livingston.

¹⁷ Andrew Young (says the Historian of Edinburgh College,) "was born of mean parents nigh to Jedburgh, laureat [or, took his Master's Degree at Edinburgh] anno 1598; and at that sametime entered Regent of an Philosophic class in Aberdeen." In 1601 he was called to Edinburgh, and was one of the disputants in 1617, in the presence of King James, who, in commending the Professors, said of him, that "Mr *Young* was *Old* in Aristotle." At the time of his death, "he was apparently not being aged above 45 years." (Crawford, pp. 52, 54, and 55.)

Auffy pour cloffure de cette an. 1623, le 30 Decemb. deceda en ma maifon à Edin^r. ma fille ainé Anne, travaillée d'une diftillation fur fes pulmones, et de la tombée en phthifè, aagé de 8 ans et 3 moyes ; enfant au refit fort accomply en dons, tant du corps quant d'efprit ; douce, gratieufe, docile, d'une efprite fort capable des toutes bonnes chofes, de tres bonne efferance ; ayant et la pieté et la prudence, et la connoiffance de Dieu, beaucoup au deffus de fon aâge, et laquelle par la grace et mifericorde du Seigneur tant envers elle meme, qu' envers nous fes pauvres et defolés parens (qui en fa mort fait une perte irreparable) la fait un excellent fin et heureufe, felon nous prieres ferventes au Seigneur pour elle ; donnant tefmoignage de fa foi et efferance en D. et en J. C. fon Seigneur, par deffus la portée de fon enfance ; invocant le nom du Seigneur, et prennant congé de nous, de fes freres et foeurs, de fes amies et compagnes d'âge et d'eflude, et les beniffant, et recommandant de Dieu immediatement avant qu' expirer, avec un douceur et gravité fainte, au grand eftonnement des affiftans. Benit et magnifie en foit le nom de Dieu a tout jamais ! lequel nous vueille imprimer fi avant en nous efprits la me-moyre de cefte oeuvre, et de jugement, et de mifericorde tout enfemble, et de fon gaine et de notre perte ; que par la nous foyons attirés et convertus à luy de plus en plus, pour nous preparer a fon Royaume, ou nous avons defja envoyé devant nous une partie de nous entrailes, et puis c'eft cy qui nous prometoit le plus de confolation en ce monde. Mais luy meme nous foyt au lieu de tout et icy et eternellement en J. C. N. S.

Ce moy de Jan. 1624 j'appris les nouvelles de la mort de mon

bon amy M^r. Gedde, professeur en philosophie en Saumure, et excellent escrivain, comme il apparût meme par les rares pieces de sa main, que j'ay aupres de moy : homme grave, douce, debonair, et d'une fort modest et paisible disposition, et conversation agreable.

Ce moy de May 1624, me fut mandée de Paris la mort heureuse et paisable de M^{eur}. Du Pleffis Mornay, (quem semel nominasse sufficit,) qui mourut en sa maison de la fourest en Poytou, en moy de Novem : l'an : 1623, apres avoyr été gouvernour de Saumur 32 ans, âgé de 74 ans ; et sous le gouvernement et en la compagnie tres douce et agreable duquell j'avoy vescu en tres-parfait intimie et sainte amitie par l'espace de 9 ans, comme pasteur et professeur en l'eglise et accademie de Saumure. Le Seigneur vueille susciter à la France et à tout son eglise, un telle lumiere et de sagesse, et de doctrine, et de vie exemplair et sans reproche, et aussi d'eloquence presque inimitable¹⁸ reluifoyt ceste illustre personage, entre tous les hommes de son siecle.

Ce moy de Jan. 1625, mourut à Air, ma cousine Madam le Welsch,¹⁹ fille de ce grand serviteur de Dieu feu Jean Knox, et femme de ce saint homme de Dieu M^r. Welsche cy dessus mentionné ; digne femme et fille d'un tel mary, et d'un tel pere.

¹⁸ Two or three words are here left blank in Wodrow's transcript.

¹⁹ A characteristic anecdote of an interview between King James and Mrs Welsh, when soliciting permission for her husband to return to Scotland for the restoration of his health, will be found in Dr M'Crie's Life of Knox, taken from the MSS. of Robert Traill. On being asked who was her father, she replied, "Mr Knox." "Knox and Welsh!" exclaimed the King, "The devil never made such a match as that." "It is right like, sir," said she, "for we never spiered his advice."

Ce moy de Feb. 1625, me fût mandée par M^r. Dick,²⁰ pasteur de l'eglise d'Irving, la mort de ce rare et digne perfonage, et des mes bons amys, S^r. James Semple of Beltrees;²¹ gentilhomme savant, prompt, vife, efveillé, l'un du meilleur esprits de ceste isle pour efcrire, foyt en Latine ou en notre langue; nourry et eslevé à la cour, ancien et familier serviteur du Roy, et tenant et maintenant toufjours le bon party contre les corruptions de la cour et de temps; grand enemie à la pfeudo-hierarchie, et de tous fes tenans, et aboutiffans à favoir les ceremonies ou conformité, &c. comme vray et digne disciple de feu M^r. Melvin, lefquel il reveroit toufjours comme pere; qui mourut en fa maison à Paflay ce moys, apres avoir este miné, et fort affligé par plusieurs ans, des goutes, coliques, et gravelle.

Ce moy d'Auvrile 1625, mourut à Glasgou, le bonne homme Jean Craige, collecteur au colledge de Glasgou, de mes anciens amis, et qui avoyt servi à ce college la plus de 20 ans.

Car, quant à la mort de notre dernier Roy, Jaques, qui mourut le 27 du Mars, en 59. an : de fon aâge, et 58. et 23. de fon regnée; je laiffé fes eloges à ceux qui en pourront efcrire des livres;²² tant

²⁰ Mr David Dick, or Dickson, minister of Irvine, and successively Professor of Divinity and Minister at Glasgow and at Edinburgh.

²¹ Sir James Semple of Beltrees, a courtier, but steadily attached to the Presbyterian party, published a work on Sacrilege, 1619, and some other treatises.

²² This dispassionate notice of the death of King James says much in favour of Boyd, considering that in the later period of his life he suffered from the king's arbitrary measures. At the close of 1614 he had been invited home from Saumur by King James, and, in Feb. 1615, was appointed Principal of the College of Glasgow, and Minister of Govan; but his firm adherence to Presbytery occasioned his removal from Glasgow in 1621, to make room for John Cameron, who was more inclined to Episcopacy, (but

seulement je fouhaitt et espere que Dieu luy l'a gratieusement pardonné ses fautes, et l'aura receu en son royaume celeste ; et supplie le Seigneur qu'il face la grace à son fil Charles d'en suivre ses vertues et fuir ses vices, à la gloir, et au bien de son eglise.

Ce moys de Juillet 1625, étant à Edin., j'appris la mort d'Esther Angloys²³ femme de Barr. de Kello ; damoyfelle doué de pleufieurs

who is said to have obtained from King James nothing but fine words. Having received a call to Edinburgh, on the 18th October 1622 he was admitted Principal of the College, "and ane of the aucht Ministers of this burgh, with the yearly stipend of 1200 merks"—an honourable preferment, but which he was suffered to enjoy a very short time ; as we learn from the Council Register, that on the 29th January 1623, he appeared and demitted his charge, "for causes and considerations moving him," into the hands of the Provost, Sir William Nisbet of the Dean. In Calderwood's History (p. 801.) will be found a more particular detail of these "causes and considerations," originating in the interference of King James, who had expressed a marked dislike at Boyd's appointment, and commanded the Provost and Council to urge him to conform to the measures then in agitation for the introduction of Episcopacy, and in the event of his refusal to remove him, his wife and family, out of Edinburgh. "The King's words were these following:—'*Therefore, as ye will answer to us on your obedience, we command you to put him, not only from his office, but out of your town, at the sight hereof, unlesse he conform totally. And when ye have done, think not this sufficient to satisfie our wrath for disobedience to our former letter.*' Mr Robert was sent for to the Council, and the King's will was intimate to him, which they professed they would not withstand." In Wodrow's MS. Life of Boyd is given a particular account of the circumstances which prevented his settlement as Minister of Paisley, in the year 1626. He died 5th Jan. 1627. His son John, (who was served heir of his father, 21st April 1640,) published his father's Commentary on the Ephesians, in 1652, folio, pp. 1236.

²³ Esther Inglis, a lady who has obtained a place, for her calligraphy, in Ballard's Memoirs of celebrated women of Great Britain. From one of her manuscripts written "at Lislebourge (Edinburgh) en Escosse," in 1599, and presented to Queen Elizabeth, and by her Majesty given to Christ's College Library, Oxford, it appears that she

beaux dons, et entre autres excellent escrivain, par dessus toutes les femmes de son siecle, dont j'ay quelques beaux monuments, de la main et son amitie envers ma femme et moy.

This is transcribed faithfully from a MSS. of Troghridgs own hand, in folio in 6 or 7 sheets, q^r he gives account of his acquaintance abroad, his freinds, his acquaintance during y^e 7 years he was at Glasgow, his acquaintance in y^e K^t. retenue, q^a he came down an. 1617.²⁴ his acquaintance at Edin^r., Stirling, &c. : For most part he gives only a list of their names : q^r he gives any acc^t of y^e character, &c. I have transcribed him, except in his acc^ts of his freinds, and private persons of less note. He has a list in near a leaf in folio of persons, q^m he remembered in his prayers, and these wer the honest people in the west at that time, and his friends. The MSS. I had from his grand child, the prst Laird of Trochrige, by y^e means of Mr R. M. M^{re} at Portgla^g-gou. Witnes^s my hand, Jan. 2. 1701., at Glasg^{ow},

RO. WODROW, B. et Q.²⁵

was born in France. From another volume, written by her at London, and inscribed on the 1st January 1608, to Sir David Murray, we learn that she was then the wife of Bartholomew Kello, (a native of Scotland,) "Parson of Willingale Spayne, in the countye of Essex." Several of her MSS. are described in Harding's Biographical Mirrour, vol. iii. 52. 192., accompanied with an engraved portrait, from a drawing by herself.

²⁴ The following paragraph, relating to Sir Kenelm Digby and Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, afterwards Earl of Stirling, is contained in Wodrow's Extracts, and though it cannot be considered to form a part of Boyd's Obituary, it may be here subjoined as a note.—"L'Esté avec Roy lors qu'il vint en Escosse, an. 1617, Mr. Digby qui est celuy, qui si bien estrilla l'apostat ; et quem inter primos numeros se opportuit, Sr. Will. Alex^r. of Menstrie, l'un de M^{res}. des Requests, qui m'ha promis de m'envoyer de son histoyre, ou il fait le Tacite ou Salust Angloys, par un stile grave, serré et pointé."

²⁵ This note is an exact transcript of the original, and may evince that the worthy historian was not distinguished either for correctness of orthography or elegance of style.

P O E M S

BY

SIR ROBERT AYTON.



IN the following pages, we have made an attempt to collect the English poems of an author, whose name might in vain be looked for in the different collections or specimens of the British Poets. The name of SIR ROBERT AYTON, as a poet, is, nevertheless, worthy of remembrance, as he was one of the earliest of our native bards who wrote English verses with any degree of elegance or purity. These poems, which we have been able to recover, display so much elegance of fancy, and sweetness of versification, as to occasion a regret that their number should not have been sufficient for separate publication. To a remark by John Aubrey, "that Sir Robert was one of the best poets of his time," he adds the more important testimony, that "Mr John Dryden says he has seen verses of his, some of the best of that age, printed with some other verses;"¹ and according to Dempster,² Ayton was a writer of verses in Greek, Latin, and French,³ as well as in his vernacular tongue.

Sir Robert Ayton, a younger son of Andrew Ayton of Kinaldie, in Fife, was born in the year 1570, and received his education at

¹ Aubrey's Letters, &c. from the Bodleian Library, vol. ii. p. 200. Lond. 1813. 8vo.

² *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, p. 62. Bonon. 1627. 4to.

³ His Greek and French verses are unknown; but several of his Latin poems are contained in the "*Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum hujus ævi illustrium*," tom. i. p. 40. Amsterdam, 1637, 2 vols. 12mo. Among the MSS. of Sir James Balfour of Denmyln, in the Advocates' Library, was a "Second volume" of Ayton's Latin Poems, which contained several not elsewhere preserved; but the volume unfortunately has been missing for several years.

the University of St Andrews.⁴ From the Registers, it appears that he was incorporated, or enrolled, as a student in St Leonard's College, 3d December 1584, and he took his master's degree, after the usual course of study, in the year 1588. Subsequent to this, he resided for some time in France; from whence, in 1603, he addressed an elegant panegyric to King James, on his accession to the crown of England,⁵ which was printed at Paris the same year; and this panegyric had, no doubt, some influence in securing to the author the favour of that Monarch, from whom he afterwards received the honour of knighthood,⁶ and was successively appointed one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and private secretary to his Queen, Anne of Denmark. He was also honoured with the appointment of Secretary to Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I.

⁴ John Ayton, the elder brother of our author, on the 28th May 1590, was served heir of his father, Andrew, to the lands of South Kinaldie, and the Mill of the same (in Denino parish) in the regality of St Andrews. (Inquisit. Special. Fife, 1488.) And further, on the 5th October, 1591, to the Manse of Kirkness, with the garden, &c., and St Serf's Isle in Lochleven, (in Kinrosshire). (ibid. 1497.)

⁵ De Felici, et semper Augusto, Jacobi VI. Scotiæ, Insularumque adiacentium Regis Imperio, nunc recens florentissimis Angliæ et Hiberniæ Scepтрis amplificato. Roberti Aytoni Scoti Panegyris. Parisiis, CI^o I^o C. III. 4to. 10 leaves, including a prose dedication to King James. The poem is reprinted in the *Delitiæ Poet. Scot.*

⁶ The exact time when this honour was conferred on him, is uncertain, but it must have been previous to the year 1616, the date of the publication of the following lines :

AD ROBERTUM ETONEM EQUITEM, ANNÆ REGINÆ SECRETARIUM, &c.

ETON, inexhaustis Phœbi satiate fluentis,

Palladis et Suadæ viva medulla deæ :

Mars aliis equitum solos largitur honores ;

Hos tibi sed præbent Mars et Apollo simul.

Una manus calamus teneat, manus altera ferrum,

Sic sis nominibus dignus utrinque tuis.

EPIGRAMMATON JOAN. DUNBARI, Cent. III. xlv. Lond. 1616, p. 73.

It is recorded on Ayton's funeral monument, as a distinction, that he had been sent to Germany as Ambassador to the Emperor, with a work published by King James, which is supposed to have been his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*. If this conjecture be correct, this must have been in 1609, when his Majesty acknowledged a work published anonymously three years before, and inscribed it to all the crowned heads of Europe. During Ayton's previous residence abroad, as well as at the Court of England, he lived in intimacy with, and secured the esteem of the most eminent persons of his time. "He was acquainted (says Aubrey)⁷ with all the witts " of his time in England. He was a great acquaintance of Mr " Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury, whom Mr Hobbes told me he " made use of (together with Ben Jonson) for an Aristarchus, " when he made his *Epistle dedicatory*, for his translation of *Thucydides*."⁸ To this information we may add, as a proof of this respect on the part of Ben Jonson, that in his conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden, he said, " Sir Robert Ayton loved " him (Jonson) dearly."

Sir Robert Ayton died at London in March 1637-8, in the 68th year of his age. He lies buried in the south aisle of the choir of Westminster Abbey, at the corner of King Henry the Fifth's cha-

⁷ Letters vol. ii. p. 200. Aubrey adds an erroneous note as to Ayton's parentage, which it is unnecessary to quote.

⁸ "Eight bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre, &c. interpreted with faith and diligence." This translation, dedicated to Sir William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, was first printed at London, 1634, folio. In the Address to the Reader, Hobbes says it had "past the censure of some, whose judgment I very much esteem."

pel, under a handsome monument of black marble,⁹ erected by his nephew; having his bust in brass gilt, which has been preserved, while that of Henry, the hero of Agincourt, (said to have been of more precious metal,) has long since disappeared. A copy of the Inscription follows:—

M. S.

[EQUITIS

CLARISSMI. OMNIGENAQUE VIRTUTE ET ERUDITIONE, PRÆSERTIM POESI ORNATISSIMI
 DOMINI ROBERTI AITONI EX ANTIQUA ET ILLUSTRIS GENTE AITONA, AD
 CASTRUM KINNADINUM APUD SCOTOS, ORIVNDI, QUI A SERENISSIMO R. JACOBO IN
 CVBICULA INTERIORA ADMISSVS, IN GERMANIAM AD IMPERATORI, IMPERIIQUE
 PRINCIPES CVM LIBELLO REGIO, REOLÆ AVTHORITATIS VINDICE LEGATVS, AC
 PRIMVM ANNÆ DEMVM MARIE SERENISSIMÆ BRITANNIARVM REGINIS AB
 EPISTOLIS, CONSILIIS ET LIBELLIS SVPPPLICIBVS, NEC NON XENODOCHIO,
 SÆ. CATHERINÆ PRÆFECTVS. ANIMA CREATORI REDDITA HIC DEPOSITIS
 MORTALIBVS EXVVIIS SECVNDVM REDEMPTORIS ADVENTVM EXPECTAT.

CAROLVM LINQVENS, REPETIT PARENTEM
 ET VALEDICENS MARIE, REVISIT
 ANNAM ET AVLAI DECVS, ALTO OLYMPI
 MVSTAT HONORE.

OBIIT CELEBS IN REGIA ALEAVLA
 NON SINE MAXIMO HONOR OMNIVM
 LVCTV ET MÆRORE ETAT. SVÆ LXVIII.
 SALVT. HVMANÆ M.D.CXXXVIII.

HOC DEVOTI GRATIQ. ANIMI
 TESTIMONIUM OPTIMO PATRVO
 IO. AITONVS M.L.P.

MVSARVM DECVS HIC, PATRIEQ. AVLEQ. DOMIQUE
 ET FORIS EXEMPLAR SED NON IMITABILE HONESTI.

⁹ An engraving of the bust and monument is given in Dart's History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St Peter's, Westminster, vol. ii. no. 79. A better representation, from an original sketch, is contained in Smith's Iconographia Scotica. Lond. (1798) 4to. On the 27th October 1649, David Aytoun, of Kinaldie, was served heir of taillie and conquest of his uncle, Sir Robert Aytoun, "Secretarii S. D. N. Regis Moderni," to the lands of Over Duirdie, with the whole tithe sheaves of same, in the parish of Kilspindie, and lordship of Scone. (Inquisit. Special. Perth, 593.)

POEMS BY SIR ROBERT AYTON.

ON KING JAMES THE VI.¹

THE old records of analized fame
Confirms this wonder with the world's assent,
That once that Isle which Delos heght by name,
In Neptune's bosom like a pilgrim went ;
After, when great Apollo was content,
To grace it with the blifs of his birth-day,
Then those inconstant motions did relent,
And it began to stand [secure] and stay.
When I admire thy hap I needs must say
In this, our Albion may with thee compare :
Before our Phœbus birth we were a prey
To civil motions, tossed here and there ;
But since our birth-star did o'ershine our state,
We stand secure redeem'd from all debate.

TO QUEEN ANNE, ON A NEW YEAR'S-DAY, 1604.²

MADAM,

Who knows your greatneſs, cannot but with fear
Draw near your altar, to make offerings there ;

¹ Watson's Collection of Scots Poems, part iii. Edin. 1711. p. 44. Part of this Sonnet being evidently corrupted, the word 'secure,' in line 8, is inserted, to fill up the measure ; and 'Delos,' at the beginning of line 9, and 'none,' after 'Albion,' in line 10 omitted, as superfluous, and affecting the sense.

But whoſo knows your goodneſs, may make bold
 And with a mite as with a mine of gold,
 As confidently ſacrifice to you :
 And this is it that muſt plead pardon now,
 Both for the poornes of my gifts and lines.
 Princes are gods, gods laugh to ſee their ſhrines
 Adorn'd with any gift but of that kind,
 That beggars may as well as Cræſus find :
 They know how worldlings perſonate their parts,
 And maſk with gold preſents of leaden hearts ;
 They know how gifts at court are but a train
 To ſteal from great ones twice as good again.
 Now I have no ſuch end ; my poor oblation
 At this auſpicious time of ſalutation,
 Had it a tongue, this only would it ſay,
 Heavens heap upon you many a New-year's day.

TO THE AUTHOR OF THE MONARCHICKE TRAGEDIES.³

Well may the programme of thy tragick ſtage
 Invite the curious pompe-expecting eies,
 To gaze on preſent ſhewes of paſſed age,
 Which juſt deſert Monarchick dare baptize.
 Crownes throwne from thrones to tombes, detomb'd ariſe

² Watson's Collection, part iii. p. 44.

³ Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, created Earl of Stirling by Charles I. This commendatory sonnet is prefixed to his *Monarchicke Tragedies*, (London, 1604, 4to,) which had for their patron his Majesty King James.

To match thy Muse with a Monarchick theme,
 That whilst her sacred soaring cuts the skies,
 A vulgar subject may not wrong the fame :
 And, which giues most aduantage to thy fame,
 The worthiest Monarch that the sunne can see,
 Doth grace thy labours with his glorious name,
 And daignes protector of thy birth to be :

Thus all Monarchick, patron, subject, file,
 Make thee, the Monarch-tragick of this Ile.

TO THE AUTHOR.⁴

Why thought fond Grece to build a solid fame,
 On fleeing shades of fables passing vaine ?
 Why did her selfe-deceaving fanfie dreame,
 That none but shee the Muses did maintaine ?
 She sayd, these sacred sisters did remain
 Confined within a Craig which there did lie,
 That great Apollo selfe did not disdaine,
 For that rough palace, to renounce the skie ;
 That there a well still drawne, but never dry,
 Made lay-men poets eir they left the place ;
 But all were tales, which Fame doth now bely,
 And builds up Albions glore, to their disgrace.
 Lo here the CRAIGE, whence flows that sacred well,
 Where Phœbus raignes, where all the Muses dwell.

⁴ This Sonnet is subjoined to the rare volume entitled "The Poeticall Essays of Alexander Craig. Scoto-britane." London, 1604, 4to.

TO THE MOST WORSHIPFULL AND WORTHY KNIGHT,
SIR JAMES HAY, GENTLEMAN OF HIS MAJESTIES BED-
CHAMBER.⁵

When Janus keys vnlocks the gates aboue,
And throwes more age on our sublunar lands,
I facrifice with flames of feruent loue
These hecatombs of kisses to thy hands :
 Their worth is small, but thy deserts are such,
 They'l passe in worth, if once thy shrine they tuch.

Laugh but on them, and then they will compare
With all the haruest of the Arabian fields,
With all the pride of that perfumed aire
Which winged troupes of musked Zephirs yeelds,
 When with their breath th' embalme th' Elisian plaine,
 And makes the floures reflect those fents againe :

Yea they will be more sweet in their conceat
Than Venus kisses spent on Adons wound ;
Then those wherewith pale Cynthia did entreat
The louely shepheard of the Latmian bounds ;
 And more than those which Joue's ambrosian mouth
 Prodigaliz'd vpon the Trojan youth.

⁵ These stanzas serve as the dedication to Sir Robert Ayton's Latin poem, "BASIA: sive Strena Cal. Jan. ad JACOBUM HAYUM Equitem illustrissimum." Londini, 1605, 4to. The poem (omitting these dedicatory stanzas) is reprinted in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*. Sir James Hay, a favourite of King James, was afterwards raised to the Peerage, by the title of Earl of Carlisle, and Viscount Doncaster.

I know they can not such acceptance finde,
 If rigor censure their vncourtly frame :
 But thou are courteous, and wilt call to minde
 Th' excuse which shields both me and them from blame ;—
 My Muse was but a nouice into this,
 And, being virgin, scarce well taught to kisse.

TO HIS DEAR FRIEND AND FELLOW STUDENT

MR ROBERT AETON.⁶

Sing swift hoof'd ÆTHON to thy matchless selfe,
 And be not silent in this pleasant spring :
 I am thy echo, and thy aerie elf,
 The latter strains of thy sweet tunes I'll sing.
 Ah, shall thy Muse no further fruits forth-bring
 But Basia⁷ bare ? and wilt thou write no more
 To higher notes ? I pray thee tune thy string !
 Be still admired as thou hast bene of yore.
 Write, ÆTHON, write, let not thy vain decay,
 Least we become Cymerians dark, or worse ;
 If ÆTHON faill, the sun his course must stay,
 For Phœbus chariot lacks the cheefest horse :
 Though Fortun frown, ah, why should vertue die ?
 Sing, ÆTHON, sing, and I shall echo thee.

⁶ This poem and the answer form part of "The Poetical Recreations of Mr Alexander Craig of Rosecraig. At Edinburgh : printed by Thomas Finlason. 1609." 4to. In the Records of the University of St Andrews, it appears Alexander Craig entered the year previous to Ayton.

⁷ The Latin poem under that title, printed in the year 1605. See note 5, p. 308.

ÆTHON CRAGIO SUO.

Fane wold I sing, if songs my thoghts culd ease,
 Or calme the tempest of my troubled braine,
 Fane wold I force my filent Musé to please
 The gallant humor of thy wanton vaine :
 But O a miser mancipat to paine,
 Sould flave to sorrow, wedded to mischief,
 By mirth of songs, perhaps more greefe might gane,
 In vaine of them I should expect relief :
 Then, sacred CRAIG, if thou wold ease my greef,
 Invite me not to wantonize with thee,
 But tune thy notes vnto my mourning cleif,
 And when I weepe, weepe thou to echo mee.
 Perhaps the tears that from a CRAIG shall floe,
 May proue a foueraigne balme to cure my woe.

ON RETURNING LATE AT NIGHT FROM COURT.⁸

The other night from Court returning late,
 Tir'd with attendance, out of love with state,
 I met a boy, who ask'd, if he should go
 Along to light me home ? I answer'd, No.
 Yet he did urge the darknes of the night,
 The foulness of the way, requir'd a light,

⁸ Watson's Collection, part ii. p. 116. In a copy of these verses in an old hand, contained in a volume of the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library, (which might have furnished a few various readings of little importance), line 5 reads, ' But yet the boy did cry the darksome night.'

It's true, good boy, quoth I, yet thou may'ft be
More useful to fome other, than to me :
I cannot mis my way ; but they that take
The way from whence I come, had need to make
A light their guide ; for I dare boldly fay,
It's ten to one but they shall lofe the way.

ON PRINCE HENRY'S DEATH, TO PRINCE CHARLES.⁹

Admired Phoenix springing up apace
From the afhes of another Phoenix bones,
Which too too courteous yielded thee his place,
Left earth were burden'd with two birds at once
Of that rare kind which love to live alone,
Whofe only offence is to be but one.

ON MRS MARGARET LESLEY, LADY MADERTY.¹⁰

Religious relicts of that ruinous place,
Which fometimes gloried in the glorie of faints,
Now hath no glorie but one, whereof it vaunts,
That no faints beauty makes it heaven of grace,
In balmie fields which fairds her flowry face
With fweet perfumes of corns, of trees, of plants,
While Neptune fwells with pride, where there he haunts,
And longs for joy fuch beauty to embrace :

⁹ Watson's Collection, part iii. p. 45. Prince Henry died 6th November 1612.

¹⁰ Watson's Collection, part iii. p. 41. Lady Margaret Lesley was daughter of Patrick Lesley, first Lord Lindores, and married to John Drummond, second Lord Maderty.

Bear me record, that while I passed by,
 I did my dutious homage to your dame;
 How thrice I figh'd, thrice on her name did cry,
 Thrice kist the ground for honour of the fame;
 Then left those lines, to tell her, on a tree,
 That she mad them to live, and me to dy.

ON DIOPHANTUS AND CHARIDORA.¹¹

When Diophantus knew / the destinies decreet,
 How he was forced to forgoe / his dear and only sweet,
 Ov'r vaulted with the vail / of beam rebating trees,
 And gantly gazing on the ground, / even death stroke in his eyes,
 Oft pressed he to speak, / but whyll he did essay,
 The agonizing dreads of death / his wrestling voice did stay.
 At last, as one that strives / against both woe and shame,
 Dear Charidora, ah! he cries, / my high-adored dame,
 First I attest thy name, / and then the gods above,
 But chief of those, the boy that bears / the stately styll of love:
 Let those record with me, / what was my constant part,
 And if I did not honour thee / with an well hallowed heart.
 I sacrific'd to thee / my secret chaste desires,
 Upon the beauties altar burnt / with never quenching;

¹¹ Watson's Collection, part iii. p. 33. It is suspected that this poem was printed at the time, in a separate form, but no copy of it has been met with. In a List, by Drummond of Hawthornden, of his English Books, in 1611, is one entitled 'Diaphantus,' price '6d.' Ayton alludes to this poem in his panegyric to King James in 1603

Thou was that idol still, / whose image I adored,
 The faint to whom I made my vows, / whose pitties I implored ;
 The star that saved my ship / from tempest of despair,
 When the horizon of my hope / ov'rclouded was with care.
 Thou was the sovereign balm, / that sweet Catholicon,
 Which cured me of all my cares / when I did grieve and groan.
 Though now such strange events / are intervene'd sincefyne,
 As I dare not avow to say, / or think that thou art mine :
 Which makes me thus insert / in those my forrowing songs,
 The history of my mishap, / my miseries and wrongs.
 Not that I can accuse / my Charidora ; no :
 I only execrate the Fates, / chief workers of my woe,
 Should she whom I have lov'd / so many loathsome years,
 For whom my dear distilling eyes / has shed such streams of tears ;
 Should she, I say, be made / a prey to such an one,
 Who for her sake yet never gave / not one untymely groan.
 No surely : surely no, / the Fates may do me wrong,
 And make her by their bad decreet, / to whom they please belong :
 Yet I dare boldly say, / and peradventure vant,
 That she is mine by lot of love, / though luck in love I want.
 And though my horoscope / envy my worldly things,
 Yet unto love it gave me leave / for to compair with kings.
 And if I knew the vyer, / under the starry sky,
 That durst avow to love my dame / more faithfully than I,
 I should tear out this heart / that entertains my breath,
 And cast it down before her feet, / to dy a shameful death.
 But since both time and she / have try'd me to be true,

And found such faithfulness in me, / as shall be found in few :
I rest secure in this, / and cares not who pretend,
The more pursues, the more my pairt / proves perfect to the end.
And others faithless faiths, / in ballance weighed with mine,
Shall make my faith for to triumph, / and as the sun to shine.
There shall no change of things, / of time, of soyl, nor air,
Inforce me to forgoe the vows / made to my fairest fair ;
Which here I do renew, / in solemn form again,
To witness, as I did begin, / so shall I still remain.
I swear by those two eyes, / my only dearest dear,
And by the Stygian fanks of Hell, / whereby the gods did swear,
That thou art only she, / whose countenance I crave,
And shall be, both in life and death, / thy best affected slave.
That there shall no deceits / of lovely laughing eyen,
No fugar'd sound of Syren songs, / with far fetch'd fighs between,
Deface out of my mind, / what love did so ingrave,
Thy words, thy looks, and such things else, / as none but angels have.
And this, which here I swear, / and solemnly protest,
Those trees, which only present are, / shall witness and attest.
But chiefly above all, / this holy shade and green,
On which the cyphers of our names, / character'd shall be seen.
O happy, happy tree, / into whose tender rynd,
The trophies of our love shall live, / eternally inshryned.
Which shall have force to make / thy memory remain,
Sequestrate from the bastard sort / of trees which are prophane ;
And when with careless looks / the rest ov'rpast shall be,
Then thou shall be adored and kist, / for Charidora's tree.

And peradventure too, / for Diophantus sake,
 Some civil person that comes by, / shall homage to thee make.
 Thus blest shall thou remain, / while I unhappy prove,
 And doubtful where I shall be blest, / when I shall leave my love.
 Indeed all is in doubt ; / but thus I must depart,
 The body must a pilgrim be, / and she retain the heart.
 The thoughts of which exile, / and dolorous divorce,
 Works sorrow, sorrow doth from me / those sad complaints inforce ;
 For while I was resolved / to smoothe up my grief,
 Because it might but move in men / more marvel than belief ;
 The never ceasing frowns / of male-encountrous fates,
 Extorted those abortive births / of importune regrets.
 To witness to the world / that my mishaps are such,
 As though I mourn like one half mad, / I cannot mourn too much.
 For if of all mishaps, / this be the first of all,
 To have been highly happy once, / and from that height to fall,
 I'm sure I may well say, / that Diophantus name,
 Is the synonyme of mishaps, / or else exceed the fame.
 Or if there be no Hell, / but out of Heaven to be,
 Consider what her want should work, / whose sight was such to me.
 I think all those that speak / of sorrow, should think shame,
 When Diophantus shall be heard, / or Charidora's name :
 Her worth was without spot, / his truth was unproved ;
 The one deserv'd at least to live, / the other to be loved.
 Yet hath the devilish doom / of Destinies ordained,
 That he should lose both life and love, / and she a faithful friend :
 Wherefore all you that hears / those amorous tragick plays,
 Bestow on him a world of complaints, / on her a world of praise.

UPON A GENTLEWOMAN THAT WAS PAINTED.¹²

Pamphilia has a number of good parts,
Which commendation to her worth imparts ;
But amongst all, in one she doth excell,
That she can paint incomparably well ;
And yet so modest, if that prais'd for this,
She'll swear she does not know what painting is,
But straight will blush, with such a portrait grace,
That we would think vermilion dy'd her face.
One of her pictures I have oftentimes seen,
And would have sworn that she itself had been ;
And when I bad her it on me bestow,
I swear I heard the Picture's self say, No.
What ? think you this a prodigy ? It's none,
The Painter and the Picture were both one.

ON LOVE.¹³

Love's like a game at tables, where your dy
Of mad affection doth by Fortune fly ;
Which, when you think you're surest of the same,
Proves but at best a doubtful after-game,
For if they find your fancy in a blot,
It's two to one if then they take you not ;

¹² Watson's Collection, part ii. p. 114.¹³ The same, part ii. p. 115.

But being gamesters you must boldly venture,
And, when you see the point ly open, enter :
Believe me one thing, nothing brings about
A game half won so soon, as holding out ;
And next to holding out this you shall find,
There's nothing worse than entering still behind :
Yet doth not all in happy entrance ly,
When you are on, you must throw home and hy ;
If you throw low and weak, believe me then,
Do what you can, they will be bearing men ;
And if you look not all the better on,
They will play foul, bear two instead of one.

ON LOVE.¹⁴

There is no worldly pleasure here below,
Which by experience doth not folly prove ;
But amongst all the follies that I know,
The sweetest folly in the world is Love .
But not that passion which, with fools consent,
Above the reason bears imperious sway,
Making their lifetime a perpetual Lent,
As if a man were born to fast and pray.
No, that is not the humour I approve,
As either yielding pleasure or promotion :

¹⁴ Watson's Collection, part iii. p. 39.

I like a mild and lukewarm zeal in love,
Although I do not like it in devotion ;
For it has no coherence with my creed,
To think that lovers die as they pretend ;
If all that say, they dy, had dy'd indeed,
Sure long e're now the world had had an end.
Besides, we need not love but if we please ;
No destiny can force men's disposition,
And how can any die of that disease,
Whereof himself may be his own physician ?
But some seems so distracted of their wits,
That I would think it but a venial sin
To take some of those innocents that sits
In Bedlam out, and put some lovers in ;
Yet some men rather than incur the slander
Of true apostates, will false martyrs prove ;
But I am neither Iphis nor Leander,
I'll neither drown nor hang myself for love.
Methinks a wise man's actions should be such
As always yields to Reason's best advice ;
Now for to love too little or too much,
Are both extremes, and all extremes are vice ;
Yet have I been a lover by report,
Yea, I have dyed for love, as others do :
But praised be God, it was in such a fort,
That I revived within an hour or two.

Thus have I liv'd, thus have I lov'd till now,
 And find no reason to repent me yet ;
 And whosoever otherways will do,
 His courage is as little as his wit.

SONNET.¹⁵

Wilt thou, remorseless fair, still laugh while I lament ?
 Shall still thy chief contentment be to see me malcontent ?
 Shall I, Narcissus like, a flying shadow chafe ?
 Or, like Pygmalion, love a stone crown'd with a winning face ?
 No ; know my blind Love now shall follow Reason's eyes ;
 And as thy fairness made me fond, thy temper make me wise.
 My loyalty disdains to love a loveless dame,
 The spirit still of Cupid's fire consists in mutual flame.
 Hadst thou but given one look, or hadst thou given one smile,
 Or hadst thou lent but one poor sigh my sorrows to beguile,
 My captive Thoughts perchance had been redeem'd from Pain,
 And these my mutinous Discontents made friends with Hope again.
 But thou, I know at length, art careless of my good ;
 And wouldst ambitiously embrew thy beauty in my blood :
 A great disgrace to thee, to me a monstrous wrong,
 Which time may teach thee to repent ere haply it be long ;
 But to prevent thy shame, and to abridge my woe,
 Because thou canst not love thy friend, I'll cease to love my foe.

¹⁵ This and the Song which follows were first printed in Pinkerton's *Scottish Tragic Ballads*, 1781, 8vo, p. 117-118, from a MS. collection then in his possession, and which subsequently (at a sale in April 1812) was purchased by Mr Heber.

SONG.

What means this strangeness now of late,
Since time must truth approve ?
This distance may consist with state,
It cannot stand with love.

'Tis either cunning or distrust
That may such ways allow ;
The first is base, the last unjust ;
Let neither blemish you.

For if you mean to draw me on,
There needs not half this art ;
And if you mean to have me gone,
You over-act your part.

If kindness crosses your wish'd content,
Dismiss me with a frown ;
I'll give you all the love that's spent,
The rest shall be my own.

ON A WOMAN'S INCONSTANCY.¹⁶

I loved thee once, I'll love no more,
Thine be the grief, as is the blame,

¹⁶ Watson's Collection, part iii. p. 41.

Thou art not what thou wast before,
What reason I should be the same?
He that can love unlov'd again,
Hath better store of love than brain.
God fend me love my debts to pay,
While unthrifts fools their love away.

Nothing could have my love o'erthrown,
If thou hadst still continued mine;
Yea, if thou had remain'd thy own,
I might perchance have yet been thine.
But thou thy freedom did recal,
That if thou might elsewhere inthral;
And then how could I but disdain
A captive's captive to remain.

When new desires had conquered thee,
And changed the object of thy will,
It had been lethargy in me,
Not constancy, to love thee still:
Yea, it had been a sin to go
And prostitute affection so,
Since we are taught no prayers to say
To such as must to others pray.

Yet do thou glory in thy choice,
Thy choice of his good fortune boast;

I'll neither grieve, nor yet rejoice,
To see him gain what I have lost :
The height of my disdain shall be,
To laugh at him, to blush for thee ;
To love thee still, but go no more
A begging at a beggar's door.

THE ANSWER, BY THE AUTHOR,
AT THE KING'S MAJESTY'S COMMAND.

Thou that loved once, now loves no more,
For fear to show more love than brain ;
With heresy, unhatch'd before,
Apostacy thou dost maintain.
Can he have either brain or love,
That doth inconstancy approve ?
A choice well made no change admits,
All changes argues after-wits.

Say that she had not been the same,
Should thou therefore another be ?
What thou in her as vice did blame,
Can thou take virtue's name in thee ?
No, thou in this her captive was
And made thee ready by her glass ;
Example led revenge astray,
When true love should have kept the way.

True love has no reflecting end,
 The object good sets it at rest,
 And noble breafths will freely lend,
 Without expecting interest.
 'Tis merchants' love, 'tis trade for gain,
 To barter love for love again :
 'Tis ufury, yea, worfe than this,
 For felf-idolatry it is.

Then let her choice be what it will,
 Let conftancy be thy revenge ;
 If thou retribute good for ill,
 Both grief and fhame fhall check her change,
 Thus may'ft thou laugh when thou fhalt fee
 Remorfe reclaim her home to thee ;
 And where thou beg'ft of her before,
 She now fits begging at thy door.

INCONSTANCY REPROVED.¹⁷

I do confefs thou'rt fmooth and fair,
 And I might have gone near to love thee;

¹⁷ This is the song which Burns altered, and thought he had "improved the simplicity of the sentiments, by giving them a Scots dress." It is usually attributed to Ayton, and is just as likely, from its easy and graceful style, to have been written by him as by any of his contemporaries ; but in Watson's Collection, part iii. p. 91, (where Burns probably found it,) it is anonymous ; as also it is in Playford's earlier musical

Had I not found the flightest prayer
That lips could speak, had power to move thee ;
But I can let thee now alone
As worthy to be lov'd by none.

I do confesse thou'rt sweet, yet find
Thee such an unthrift of thy sweets,
Thy favours are but like the wind
Which kisseth every thing it meets ;
And since thou canst love more than one,
Thou'rt worthy to be kiss'd by none.

The morning rose, that untouch'd stands,
Arm'd with her briars, how sweet she smells !
But pluck'd, and strain'd through ruder hands,
Her sweets no longer with her dwells ;
But scent and beauty both are gone,
And leaves fall from her, one by one.

Such fate, ere long, will thee betide,
When thou hast handled been a while
Like fair-flowers to be thrown aside,
And thou shalt sigh, when I shall smile,
To see thy love to every one
Hath brought thee to be lov'd by none !

collection of " Select Ayres and Dialogues, 1659." There are a few slight variations between the two copies which it is not necessary to specify.

LETTERS
OF
FLORENTIUS VOLUSENUS.

THE interest of the following letters lies chiefly in the name of the author, FLORENTIUS VOLUSENUS,¹ a native of Scotland, whose Dialogue on Peace of Mind² has been always admired, as well for the elegance and beauty of its composition, as for the extensive learning and philosophic genius it displays. The first of these letters affords the only known specimen of his English writing ; and had been evidently addressed, in the year 1531 or 1532, to “the right worshipfull Maister” Thomas Cromwell, afterwards created Lord Cromwell and Earl of Essex. The other letter refers to his being engaged as Teacher of the Greek and Latin languages in the public school of Carpentras, a town of France, in the department of Vaucluse. As Voluseus obtained this appointment at the close of the year 1535, through the recommendation of Cardinal Sadoletto, at that time Bishop of Carpentras, we may here introduce (what we owe to the kindness of Mr DRUMMOND HAY), a translation of a letter³ from the Cardinal ; as it gives an interesting account of their first interview, and communicates several particulars of our Author’s life. The Cardinal, (who, on more than one occasion, commends Voluseus as well for

¹ In designating our author, we have adopted his Latinized name, not only because by it he is best known, but that, in fact, we have no early authority for styling him otherwise. His name may have been either Wilson, Willieson, or Williamson, or even Wolsey, in the opinion of his Editor, David Echlin (in 1638), whilst he himself makes use of Voluzene in signing the following English letter.

² DE ANIMI TRANQUILLITATE DIALOGUS, first printed at Lyons, 1543, 4to.

³ Sadoleti Epistolæ.—Ad Paul. Sadol. Epist. 3.

the elegance of his manners as for literary acquirements,) thus writes to his nephew Paul Sadoletto :—

“ I do not think there is any longer need to seek through your means for a school-master and instructor of the youth of this place. For I will give you a little history, whence you shall at once acknowledge how far more fortune may oftentimes effect than human counsel.

“ Four days ago I had by chance gone into my library when already night, and was turning over some books very diligently, when my chamberlain announced there was some one who wished to speak to me. I inquire—who is he? A person in a gown—was the answer. I order him to be admitted: He comes in. I ask what he may want, that he should come to me at such an hour. (For I was anxious to get quit of the man speedily, and return to my studies.) Then he, having entered on his introductory matter in very humble terms, conversed with such propriety, correctness, and modesty, as to produce in me a desire to question him particularly, and to become more intimately acquainted with him. So, having shut my book and turned round to him, I began my queries; of what country he might be, what was his profession, and for what purpose he came into this neighbourhood. Upon which he replies,—I am a Scot. What, say I, do you come from that uttermost part of the earth? Even so said he. Where then have you studied the liberal sciences? (Which question I put to him because his discourse favoured of genius and an elegant Latinity.) I applied myself to philosophical pursuits, said he, first in my own country, during many years; afterward I studied at Paris, and had there under my tuition a brother's son of the Cardinal of York. Subsequently, when his uncle's death occasioned the lad to be taken from me, I betook myself to Monseigneur du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, and was about to accompany him to Rome, had not a severe illness separated me from him while on our journey. What then do you look for here? was my question. In the first place, said he, a longing to come and see you, which I mainly desired, urged me hither: then, as it had been told me at Avignon, you were in want of some one to teach in your city-school, I thought of offering myself to you, in case I should be fit for the undertaking; not being indeed so desirous of the office as anxious to make myself agreeable to you: and having at the same time understood that whatever function I might enter upon near your person, by your direction or at your request, would redound to my praise.

“ What think you now? So much did he please me, that very early next morning I would send for Glocerius the magistrate and for Helia. I explained to them my

expectations of the man, and related every thing in regard to him that had so highly gratified me: for assuredly we had little chance of finding, in any native of Italy, this man's modesty, prudence, and propriety of address and appearance.

"Not being, however, content with this, as well Florence himself (for that is his name) as our physician, of whom I have already written to you; Helia also, together with the magistrates, were my guests. Forthwith, after dinner, some discussions are brought on by my encouragement; and, while treating of subjects in natural philosophy, our medical friend maintains his argument with tartness, distorting his features and labouring in deep aspirations. The other is modest and calm, uttering nothing which is not to the purpose, nothing but what is discreetly and accurately expressed, every word, indeed, with skill and understanding. Aye, and when I myself, opposed to the physician in argument, had concluded one of an intricate and difficult nature, in the expounding of which the doctor had struggled hard; our stranger, craving pardon, suggested how in the most fit and scientific manner a solution might be afforded. What further seek you to know? All burn with desire to keep this character among us—the magistrates take him aside. The terms of his engagement are fixed at an hundred gold pieces, and with such satisfaction upon the citizens' part, as I hear, that they all consider the event to be an occurrence of rare felicity for the town. Report, moreover, is circulated of discourses which he has had with the magistrates, that are so liberal and ingenuous, that nothing can surpass them. Wherefore I do hope that, for the office and its business, we are in the best manner provided. The man, has, moreover, what to me is a main subject of pleasure, enough even of Greek literature for the instruction of our boys. In respect then, to this, you may cast away all anxiety."

The length of time during which Volusenus remained at Carpentras is not known; nor are we certain as to the exact period of his death. Conrad Gesner⁴ mentions that he had met with him at Lyons in 1540, while yet in the prime of life, and expresses great hopes of the benefit to be derived to the studious from his erudition. Another testimony to our author's acquirements occurs in an edition of *Les*

⁴ His words are: "*Nos hominem Lugduni vidimus, anno 1540, juvenili adhuc ætate: et magnam ab ejus eruditione perventuram ad studiosos utilitatem expectamus.*" (Gesneri Bibliotheca Universalis. Tiguri, MDXLV. folio.) This interesting notice, which gives us some idea of our author's age, is not found in Simler's editions of Gesner's work. At the time of his death (in 1547) Volusenus was probably about 40 years of age.

Emblemes de Seigneur André Alciat, de nouveau translatez, etc. published at Lyons in 1549. The translator, Bartholomew Aneau, in adducing the reasons which urged him to dedicate his work to James Earl of Arran, writes thus : *J'ay esté incité premierement par ma propre election, et apres enhardy par l'aduis consentant de M. Florent Volufen, homme, oultre la bonté des moeurs, et vertus, et le cognoissance des ars et sciences, et choses bonnes et ciuiles, ayant aussi intelligence et faculté des regulieres langues Grecque et Latine et des vulgaires Escoffoise sienne, Françoisse, Italienne, et Espaignolle, à luy acquises par frequentation des nations. Par le bon aduis doncq' de luy, et premiere volonté de moy mesme, ie ay esté induict à la hardiesse de vous dedier et præsentier ce petit liure des Emblemes, &c.*

Volufenus, who was born on the banks of the Loffie, in the neighbourhood of Elgin, appears to have intended returning to Scotland in the year 1546 ; and, from the letter addressed to him by Sadoletto we learn that he had written asking the Cardinal's advice as to his deportment in the ecclesiastical dissensions which at that time distracted the country. But our Author, it is said, while proceeding towards his native land, was taken ill, and died at Vienne in Dauphiny, during the course of the following year. Buchanan, with whom he was personally acquainted,⁵ has consecrated to his memory the following beautiful lines :

Hic musis, Volusene, jaces charissime, ripam
Ad Rhodani; terra quam procul a patria!
Hoc meruit virtus tua, tellus quæ foret altrix
Virtutum, ut cineres conderet illa tuos.

⁵ This appears from an inscription in a copy of Seb. Munster's "*Dictionarium Hebraicum*, apud. Froben. M.D.XXIII." 8vo, in the University Library, Edinburgh, which has the autograph "Georgius Buchananus: Ex munificentia Florentii Voluseni."

LETTERS OF FLORENTIUS VOLUSENUS.

[RIC]HT honorable sir,⁶ after humble commendatione of my feruice, [I be]fich your Maisterfchip to vnderftand that nouellis thair is [bot] few heir, vorthy to be writtin; notwithftanding, fuche [as] thair is I fhall fchortlie rehers. The doctors of this [to]wne, not all, but Beda,⁷ de Cornibus⁸ a Cordeleir and fuche, hes complened to

⁶ This letter, preserved in the Cotton Library, has been partially destroyed by fire; but an attempt is made to fill up some of the defects in the letters or words, printed within brackets. The address has been also destroyed; but there is little doubt that it was written to Thomas Cromwell, who appears to have been the agent chiefly employed by Cardinal Wolsey, and after his fall by Henry VIII., for the purpose of obtaining private intelligence from Paris, Calais, and various other places.

⁷ Noel Bede (Natalis Beda), Principal of the College of Montague, from the year 1502, and Syndic of the University of Paris, distinguished himself as a determined enemy of all religious innovations. His zeal excited against him many enemies, and he was more than once held up to ridicule in the theatrical representations, then frequent in the different colleges of the University. He wrote against Erasmus, and the learned Le Fevre d'Etaples; and his ardour carrying him beyond the bounds of prudence, he attacked the King's sister, Margaret Queen of Navarre, who openly protected the professors of the new doctrine, and induced the Faculty of Theology to condemn her *Miroir de l'ame pecheuse*; which probably was the real cause of his exile from the University in the year 1533. He is ridiculed by Rabelais as author of a treatise *de optimitate Triparum*.

⁸ Pierre de Corne (or de Cornibus) is described as a man of learning, but of singular character, and is ridiculed by Rabelais and other satirical authors of the time. From notes communicated by Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart., with reference to the present letter, Pierre de Corne appears to be alluded to in Buchanan's Franciscan, and this circumstance serves to explain a very obscure passage in that poem.

the Kyng vpon one prechur called Maister Petre Gerarde,⁹ wiche preached afor the Quein of Nauarre, this Lent in Paris; and as Monsieur de Lange¹⁰ tolde me, thai haif noted bot thre articles, or foure, the wiche thai iuge other erroneus, or ellis not to be preached in this tyme, faying, that he layith fuche generall grond whair-vpon he intendith to beild a hous of herefi. Theis be the articles:—

Omnia sunt munda mundis, and thairfor this *delectus ciborum* should be superfticiofe.

Sicut ancilla contrectans panem domine sue immundis manibus, offendit dominam, sic nos Deum quicquid operemur sine fide, et conscientia munda.

Sicut non licet uxori mutare, augere, vel imminuere, vel commutatione aliqua aut glossa in hunc vel illum sensum trahere testamentum mariti, sic nec licere ecclesie sacras literas sic pro arbitrio suo fingere ac refingere.

The fourt article I harde not.

The Kyng has fend for Gerard and for certaine doctors, and hes commanded Gerard when that he preachis afor his sifter, to haue euer two honest men, and of iugement, sworne to recite faithfully

⁹ Peter Gerard was Principal of the College of Mignon. (Bulæus, vol. vi. p. 238.)

¹⁰ Monsieur de Lange, one of three brothers of the family of Langei Du Bellay, who were equally distinguished for learning. The one here alluded to is probably John Du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, who was sent Ambassador to England in 1527. In his house Rabelais found protection and encouragement; and from Cardinal Sadoletto's letter, we learn that he patronized our author, who intended to have accompanied him to Rome, in 1534, in his mission thither in the affairs of Henry's divorce, which Du Bellay was employed to negotiate.

it that he says, when thai shall be required ; the wiche me think but a small punishment.

Thre or iiij thair was that preached against him be name, and that fediciously, the wiche is commandit to fre waird, amongs thair freindis; and amongs theis is thair one Cordeleir, wiche told openly in the pulpite one example of a greate clerk, wiche should have come other tymys out of Boheme to Englund, and thair, vith great eloquence, preached erroneus opinions : The princis and nobles of the realme persuaded be his eloquence, suffereth him, the comons for fear of greate men, whobeit thai grougith, yet thai durst not do him no harme than what folowed the corne was meruelus fair on the erroneous preaching of this doct came and newe breade this br but swell men and poyson thame so . . . and perished mony thousand. The [people] fetting a part all feir, ordinance, an[d respect] of princis went of thair awne zeil and [haif] stoned this doctor to death ; and so [that fell] wiche was persuaded to be send be God. [Ye kill] certaine fleis that eite and poyfont the [body] ; and so shuld ye doo, said the [cordelier], vith this heretic Gerard, wich is now [poysoning] princis and ladyis.

After this [on that] same day, as he was going on the st[reet, to the] sermon he persuaded certaine seruandis of [the Quein] of Nauarre, and schew to thame that [wich happened] saying, thois be this heretics and falois hurt v or vj of thame be his exhort will be corrected . — Other matters I diff[er to my] cuming, wiche, be the grace of Gode, shall be [in xv] or xvi days. In the meane tyme I commend h[umblie] Nicolas Fedderstone my

procture of Spelhur, befiching you to help and fuccurs him in hi[s neid] George Hamptones feruand wiche arriued [in this toun] yiefter-euin, hoc eft xxiiij die Aprilis, fpakke [to me of] bookis to your mafterfchip, and being will[ing to buy] the fame and not hauing greate plenty as [I was wont] of money, I went to Maifter Hamptone [who fpakke] to me, and faid, with a meruelus liberall [air, I fhuld] not laike no money for ony thing that concer[neth your] Maifterschip, declairing your great humanite, [which was] daylie fchaw to him ; and fo fuche new th[ings as are] heir I fhall bring vith me in all haift. [I pray] God haue your Maifterschip in his keping.

At [Paris] the xxv of Aprile be

Yo^r awne feruand,

FLORENCE VOLUZENE.

ERUDITISSIMO VIRO ET AMICO SUO IO. STARCHEO,¹¹
LONDINI AUT IN AULA.

MEMINI, mi Starchee, cum superiore ætate Londini in hortis Antonii Bonnisii¹² vnambularem, verbaque faceremus quo mihi terrarum proficiscendum effet, aut quem locum studiorum sedem deligerem, te Carpentoracten Narbonensis Galliæ vrbem laudasse, quod il-

¹¹ There are various other letters, from persons abroad, addressed to Dr John Starkey, preserved in the Museum.

¹² In the Dialogue *De Animi Tranquillitate*, are introduced some verses by Voluzene in commendation of Antonius Bonnisius or Bonuisius.

lic' esset Ja. Sadoletus,¹³ Antistes apprime doctus et facundus, quocum vna possem procul a turba philosophari. Cæterum quum iam antea Italiam petere constituissem, nihil minus isthinc discedens in animo habebam quam illo ire. Verum cum Lugdunum ad An. Bonnisium peruenissem, diuque anceps stetissem quo me conferrem, tua motus commendatione, placuit saltem illinc iter in Italiam facere. Et cum iam Auinionem venissem, nunciatur eundem Sadoletum paulo ante sedulo quæsisse, quem iuuentuti erudiendæ præficeret. Carpentoracten Antistitis visendi studio potissimum me contuli,¹³ quocum postquam fuisset aliquamdiu collocutus, gaudere se plurimum aiebat, quod in me incidisset,¹⁴ et postridie illius diei, facile suis ciuibus, pro ea qua valet gratia et autoritate, persuasit, vt me ad iuuentutis instituendæ munus nauandum, septuaginta coronatorum annuorum præmio proposito eligerent. Accepi conditionem non tam commodi mei causa, quam honoris quem tanti viri contubernium mihi apud amicos conciliabit. Nam præter literas et eloquentiam eximiam egregia est et prudentia et humanitate præditus, et maiora mihi posthac operæ pretia pollicetur. Huc Lugdunum redii, codices aliquot ad suscepti muneris functionem necessarios, ope D. A. Bonnisi comparaturus. Cras Carpentoracten versus redeo, illic nescio quæ Ciceronis, Vergilii, Græcæque præterea linguæ rudimenta enarraturus. Scis me ad huiusmodi prouinciam non ita idoneum,

¹³ Cardinal Jacopo Sadoletto, one of the most eminent Scholars of his time, was born at Modeno in 1477. Erasmus styles him *eximium hujus ætatis decus*. He was appointed Bishop of Carpentras by Pope Leo X., to whom he had acted as one of the Apostolic secretaries for several years. He died at Rome in 1547.

¹⁴ A translation of part of a letter from Cardinal Sadoletto, giving an account of this interview, is introduced in the preliminary notice.

et dum homo (vt sic dicam) philosophafter ista tracto, in aliena (quod aiunt) esse arena. Sed mos gerendus fuit Antistiti ita volenti. Aiebat enim se facile perspicere, omnia illa mihi facilia fore, modo diligentiam adhiberem. Itaque, mi Starchee, constitui hic annos aliquot procul turbis, procul ambitu, procul denique curis omnibus, nisi fortunæ me violentia hinc abripiat, philosophari. Te per amicitiam nostram oro, vt etiam amicorum paucissimos huius nostri otii confcios efficias. Cæsar creditur iam venisse Neapolin. De Constantinopolitano Cæsare nullus sic hic sermo. Galliarum Rex graui vexatus morbo, iam reualuit. Dicitur moliri aliquid in Infubres, quorum Dux nuper vita functus est.¹⁵ Verum ego puto vanum esse rumorem. De futuro generali concilio qui fuit rumor, est prope sepultus. Vbi dabitur occasio, meo nomine salutabis illustrem D. Tho. Crumellum Secretarium regium: item et Antistitem Herfordiensem D. Edwardum Foxum. Vale et me ama. Lugduni, in aedibus A. Bonnifii, vndecimo Calendas Decembris.

Tuus FLORENTIUS VOLUZENUS.

Rdum Dm Wintoniensem, si Londini aut in aula fuerit, certiore facias de Florentii sui rerum statu. Antonius Bonnifius, vbi vidit hanc epistolam, obiurgavit me quod tibi suo nomine salutem non dixissem; quam nunc tibi mitto et dico salutem, simulque et iterum vale.

¹⁵ The notice of the recent decease of the Duke of Milan (to say nothing of the Emperor's return from Tunis to Naples, and the convalescence of Francis I.) fixes the date of this letter in 1535. Francis Sforza II. died 24th October of that year.

JAC. SADOLETUS S. R. E. CARDINALIS,
FLORENTIO VOLUSENO SCOTO, S. P. D.¹⁶

EUM, qui superioribus diebus tuas ad me attulit literas, testimonio tuo adductus, libenter vidi: opemque illi et studium meum detuli, ut multum apud me valuisse commendationem tuam facile intelligere potuerit. Nec te tua sane, quam de me habes, opinio fellit. Sumus enim, semperque fuimus, ad bene de doctis et probis hominibus merendum, si minus opibus et facultatibus instructi, at certe natura studioque propensi ac parati. Te quidem, quem et optimis artibus eruditum, et in his de religione dissensionibus optime sentientem semper iudicauimus, eo quo debemus studio et amore prosequimur. Itaque quod sententiam exquiris nostram, quam viam, cum in patria tua constiteris, in qua maximas de religione contentiones esse scribis, insistere debeas, nos id tibi consilii dabimus, quod et amore nostro erga te, et virtute ac pietate tua dignum sit; quod tamen a te iam pridem captum esse minime dubitamus. Nam cum et sacræ nos literæ, et rerum euentus ipsæ docuerit, Ecclesiam Dei turbulentis hominum seditioforum consiliis perpetuo infestam esse et obnoxiam, nimirum id, permittente Deo, quo hic bonorum exploretur fides atque constantia; profecto dubium esse non potest, quin quod sanctissimi viri, huiusmodi diffidiis et contentionibus exortis, semper fecerunt, ut Ecclesiæ partes sequerentur, eique tanquam firmamento veritatis inniterentur, id, hoc quoque tempore optimus et grauissimus quisque facere debeat, et sanctissimam parentem omni

¹⁶ Jacobi Sadoleti, Episc. Carpentoracti S. R. E. Cardinalis Epistolarum libri sex-decim. p. 639. Lugduni, 1544, 8vo.

pietate et studio constantissime tueri atque defendere. Etenim summa sit, non dicam imprudentiæ, sed amentię, Catholica relicta ac deserta Ecclesia, eiusque perpetuo consensu, et tot sanctissimorum patrum autoritate contempta, eorum sectam sequi, qui impulsu odio, et furore quodam rapti, tam temere ac nefarie ab Ecclesia desciscere, eamque vexare atque oppugnare ausi sunt. Quos ut corrupti sacerdotum mores grauissime offenderint, nequaquam ea tamen, aut alia omnino vlla, turbandæ pacis et commouendæ seditionis causa iusta esse potuit. Quamobrem te quidem nec consilio, nec cohortatione mea egere arbitror. Sed tamen, quando me, quomodo gerere te in patria tua debeas, consulendum putasti, credo quo autoritate mea consilium tuum confirmaretur, suadeo, hortor, et moneo, ut maiorum nostrorum vestigiis insistas, atque ea quæ statuit, decreuit, et tot iam sæculis obseruauit Ecclesia, tanquam Spiritus sancti, qui illi custos et veritatis omnis doctor perpetuo adest, decreta et instituta sanctissime seruanda esse censeas: utque hæc quæ tibi a Deo data sunt, ingenii, doctrinæque munera, ad eos quibuscum viues in fide et vera religione (quantum in te erit) continendos, sedulo ut Christiano homine dignum est, conferas. Hæc profecto vna rectissima ad æternam salutem via est: hanc qui insistant, Deique et Ecclesiæ præceptis ac legibus obtemperant, ad illam quæ Christianis hominibus proposita est felicitatem sine vlllo errore perueniunt. Sed hæc ut voluntati tuæ obsequer, non quo te putarem de his rebus non optime et sentire, et tecum statuissè, iam attigi. Tu velim beneuolentiam erga me tuam conferues: tantumque de animo et voluntate mea tibi polliceare ac spondeas, quantum virtus et probitas, et vetus tuum erga me studium postulat. Vale. Romæ, M.D.XLVI.

M E D I T A T I O N
FAITE PAR MARIE ROYNE D'ESCOSSE ET
DOVAIRIERE DE FRANCE.

M.D.LXXII.

THE AMERICAN



ACCORDING to Brantome, Mary, Queen of Scots, wrote French verses with great elegance and facility ; but the poems attributed to her are so inconsiderable, both as to number and extent, that it is difficult to form a precise estimate of the merit of her compositions. " The only poems of Mary's extant, (says Mr Laing) are the verses " preserved by Brantome on the death of Francis II.; the sonnets " to Bothwell, in Buchanan's Detection ; a sonnet to Elizabeth, in " the Cotton library, in French and Italian ; and a French sonnet, in the State Paper office, to her son the prince."¹

This enumeration is certainly not complete, as it omits the following poem and sonnet ; which seem to have escaped the research of other writers whose attention had been directed to the Queen's verses, in discussing the genuineness of the Sonnets to Bothwell. In a letter from Queen Mary to Bishop Lesley, dated from Sheffield in August 1572, she acknowledges having received a book of Meditations, written by him during his imprisonment in the Tower of London ; and she says she sends him the following verses, suggested by the perusal of his work, which had afforded great consolation to her afflicted mind.² This work the learned prelate afterwards published

¹ Dissertation on the Murder of Darnley, i. 335. Mr Laing, in a note, adds, " Among her Poems I do not include Sir Thomas Chaloner's Latin translation of some French verses sent with a ring to Elizabeth, (De Rep. Angl. Instaur. 353,) nor Blackwood's Latin translation of a French poem made during her imprisonment."

² Only a Latin translation of the Letter, which is said to have been written by Mary in the Scottish idiom, is given. The following is an extract of the passage referred to:—" Consolatur autem nos imprimis liber ille, quem ad nos misisti, non

at Paris,³ and annexed her Majesty's verses, with a Latin translation, which, with some slight variations, is republished among the poetical works of Adam Blackwood, Professor of Law in the University of Poitiers.⁴ The work by the Scottish Queen, the loss of which is perhaps most to be regretted, is thus described in Bishop Montague's preface to the Works of King James, 1616, folio:—

"The King's father [Henry Darnley] translated Valerius Maximus into English: and the Queen, his Majesty's mother, [Mary, Queen of Scots] wrote a Booke of verses, in French, of the Institution of a Prince, all with her owne hand, wrought the cover of it with her needle, and is now of his Majesty esteemed as a most precious jewel." The same book is mentioned by Sanderfon, in 1656,⁵ as a relique of her memory kept by King James, which he says he himself had seen.

minus gratus et acceptus, quam diuinis meditationibus, et piis afflicti et ægroti animi remediis plenus. Eum nos semel atque iterum legimus, non oscitanter ac perfuntoriè, sed tanto cum fructu, ut afflictum regni statum et fortunæ vicissitudinem, quoad possumus, constanter ac fortiter cœlesti beneficio consolemur. Atque ut hoc me ex animo dicere sentias, ecce tibi versibus aliquot in eam rem à me Gallico idiomate compositis testatum esse volui." The letter is dated, "E castro Shefeldiæ, prid. id. August. 1572;" and signed, "Tibi amicissima Domina Maria R."

³ Joannis Leslæi Scoti, Episcopi Rossen. libri duo: quorum vno, Piæ Afflicti Animi Consolationes, diuinaque remedia: altero, Animi Tranquilli Munimentum, et Conservatio, continentur. Ad Serenissimam Principem D. Mariam Scotorum Reginam. Parisiis, 1574, 8vo.

⁴ Varii generis Poematia, p. 81. Pictaviis, 1609, 8vo. Adami Blackodæi Opera omnia, p. 478. Parisiis, 1644, 4to.

⁵ Life and Death of Mary, Queen of Scots, p. 262. In the Catalogue of books presented by Drummond of Hawthornden to the College of Edinburgh, 1626, there is enumerated, under the title, "Marie, Queene of Scotland,"—"Tetrasticha ou Quatrains à Son fils. MS." Auctar. etc. p. 23. Edinb. 1627, 4to.

MEDITATION

FAITE PAR LA ROYNE D'ESCOCE, DOVAIRIERE DE
FRANCE, RECUEILLIE D'VN LIVRE DES CONSOLATIONS
DIVINES, COMPOSEZ PAR L'EUESQUE DE ROSSE.

Lors qu'il conuient à chacun repoſer
Et pour vn temps tout foucy depoſer,
Vng ſouuenir de mon amere vie
Me vient oſter de tout dormir l'enuie,
Repreſentant à mes yeux viuement,
De bien en mal vn ſoudain changement,

¹ These verses, under the title of "Meditation sur l'Inconstance et Vanité du Monde, composée par la Feuë serenissime Royne d'Escosse, sur le commencement de sa prison," are also contained in a little rare volume, entitled "Lettres et Traitez Chrestiens," par "David Home en Dumbar," printed at Bergerac, 1613, 24to. The author, in a letter of consolation addressed to Queen Anne on the death of her eldest son, the accomplished Prince Henry, in Nov. 1612; adduces the example of Madame de Nemours, Mary of Guize, Queen Regent, and Mary, Queen of Scots, as persons who, experiencing the reverses of fortune, had borne themselves up in the time of affliction; and he says he has reprinted these verses, as calculated, in some respects, to supply the defects of his discourse. The passage in question may be here quoted.

"Suit vn tiers exemple (qui vous doit seruir comme d'un patron de tous les autres;) cest assauoir de la fille vniue de la mesme Princesse que nous venons d'alleguer Marie Stuart, mere de vostre mari serenissime: en laquelle vous auez vn miroir d'un esprit inuincible, et mis à l'esprenue de toutes sortes de peines, et perplexitez de corps et de cœur: i'ay fait reimprimer ses meditations sur la vanité du monde à la fin de mon premier traitté de l'orgueil, esquelles vostre M. apprendra, ie m'asseure, à mes-

Qui distiller me fait lors fur la face
 La triste humeur, qui tout plaïfir efface :
 Dont tost apres, cerchant de m'allegier,
 J'entre en discours, non friuole, ou legier,
 Confiderant du monde l'inconstance
 Et des mortels le trop peu d'assurance :
 Jugeant par là rien n'estre permanent,
 Ny bien, ny mal, deffous le firmament.
 Ce que soudain me met en souuenance
 Des sages dicts du Roy, plein de prudence.
 J'ay (ce dit il) cerché tous les plaïfirs,
 Qui peuuent plus assouuir mes desirs :
 Mais je n'ay veu en ceste masse ronde
 Que vanité, donc fol est qui l'y fonde,
 De quoy mes yeux experience ont eu
 Durant noz jours : car j'ay souuent veu
 Ceux qui touchoient les haults cieux de la teste,
 Soudainement renuerfés par tempeste.
 Les plus grands Roys, Monarques, Empereurs,
 De leurs estats, et vies ne font seurs.
 Bastir palais, et amasser cheuance,
 Retourne en brief en perte, et decadence.

priser les accidens humains et supporter avec patience les miseres de la vie presente.
 Ces meditations supplieront aux defauts de mon discours, et vous persuaderont en
 autorité de belle mere de ne vous fier point au monde, et de ne vous contrister pas de
 ce qu'il vous pourroit oster, comme aussi de ne vous resiouir pas par trop, de ce qu'il
 vous pourroit donner."

Estre venu des parens geneureux,
 N'empefche point qu'on ne foit malheureux.
 Les beaux habits, les jeu, les ris, la danſe,
 Ne laiſſent d'eux que dueil et repentance ;
 Et la beauté, tant agréable aux yeux,
 Se part de nous, quand nous deuenons vieux :
 Boire et manger, et viure tout à l'aife,
 Reuient auffi à douleur et malaife :
 Beaucoup d'amis, richeſſe, ny ſçauoir,
 De contenter, qui les a, n'ont pouuoir.²
 Brief, tout le bien de ceſte vie humaine,
 Se garde peu, et ſ'acquiert à grand' peine :
 Que nous ſert donc icy nous amuſer
 Aux vanitez, qui ne font qu'abuſer ?
 Il fault chercher en bien plus haulte place
 Le vray repos, le plaifir, et la grace,
 Qui promiſe eſt à ceux, qui de bon cœur
 Retourneront à l'vnique Sauueur ;
 Car au ciel eſt noſtre æternel partage,
 Là ordonné pour nous en heritage.
 Mais qui pourra, ô pere tres-humain,
 Auoir ceſt heur, ſi tu n'y mets la main,
 D'abandonner ſon peché, et offenſe,
 En ayant fait condigne penitence ?

² This line, in the republication of the poem by David Home, in 1613, reads, "*Den contenter nos deſirs n'ont pouuoir.*"

Ou qui pourra ce monde despriser,
Pour seul t'aimer, honorer, et priser ?
Nul pour certain, fi ta douce clemence
Le preuenant, à tel bien ne l'auance ;
Parquoy, Seigneur, et Pere souuerain,
Regardé moy de visage serain,
Dont regardas la femme pechereffe,
Qui à tes pieds pleuroit ses maux sans cesse ;
Dont regardas Pierre pareillement,
Qui jà t'auoit nié par jurement :
Et comme à eux, donné moy ceste grace,
Que ta mercy tous mes pechez efface.
En retirant de ce monde mon cœur,
Fay l'aspirer à l'Eternel bon heur.

Donné, Seigneur, donné moy patience,
Amour, et foy, et en toy esperance ;
L'humilité, avec deuotion
De te seruir de pure affection :
Enuoyé moy ta diuine prudence,
Pour empescher que peché ne m'offence.
Jamais de moy n'esloigné verité,
Simple douceur, avecques charité ;
La chasteté, et la perseuerance
Demeure en moy, avec obeissance.
De tous erreurs, Seigneur, preferué moy,
Et tous les jours, Christ augmenté la foy

Que j'ay receu de ma mere l'Eglise,
Où j'ay recours pour mon lieu de franchise,
Contre peché, ignorance, et orgueil,
Qui font aller au perdurable dueil.
Permits, Seigneur, qui tousjours mon bon Ange
Soit pres de moy, et t'offre ma louange,
Mes oraïsons, mes larmes, et souspirs,
Et de mon cœur tous [lés] justes defirs.
Ton saint Esprit sur moy face demeure,
Tant que voudras qu'en ce monde je dure.
Et quand, Seigneur, ta clemence et bonté
M'oster voudra de la captiuité,
Où mon esprit residé en ceste vie,
Pleine de maux, de tourmens, et d'enuie.
Me souuenir donné moy le pouuoir
De tes merces, et fiance y auoir,
Ayant au cœur ta passion escrite,
Que j'offriray au lieu de mon merite.
Donques, mon Dieu, ne m'abandonné point.
Et mesinement, en cest extreme point,
A celle fin que tes voyes je tienne,
Et que vers toy à la fin je paruienne.

SA VERTV M'ATTIRE.

MARIE STVVARTE.

SONET.⁵

L'Ire de Dieu par le sang ne l'appaise
 De boufs, ny boucs, espandu sur l'autel,
 Ny par encens, ou Sacrifice tel,
 Le Souuerain ne reçoit aucun aise.

Qui vult, Seigneur, faire œuvre qui te plaîse,
 Il faut qu'il ayt sa foy en l'Immortel,
 Auec espoir, charité au mortel,
 Et bien faisant que ton loz il ne taîse.

L'oblation, qui t'est seule agréable,
 C'est vn esprit en oraison constant,
 Humble et deuot, en vn corps chaste estant.
 O Tout-puissant, fois moy si fauorable,
 Que pour tousiours ces graces dans mon cœur
 Puissent refter à ta gloire et honneur.

VA, TV MERITERAS.

⁵ This sonnet, accompanied by a Latin version, (with the Anagram MARIA STEV-ART, VERITAS ARMATA,) is contained in the publication by Bishop Lesley, described in a former note, and is not known ever to have been republished. It may be mentioned, that the sonnet to her son the Prince, referred to at p. 341, has not been discovered; and has probably been mistaken for the sonnet (printed in Seward's Anecdotes,) said to have been written by her in Fotheringay Castle, the original of which, in the Queen's own handwriting, is preserved in the State Paper Office, as ascertained in the researches of ROBERT LEMON, Esq. This sonnet is not mentioned by Mr Laing. The first line should read,

Que suis je, hélas, et de quoi sert *ma* vie.

LETTERS
OF
JOHN, EARL OF GOWRYE.
M.D.XCV.

THE
LIBRARY OF THE
MUSEUM OF MODERN ART
1000 MUSEUM AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10028

LETTERS OF JOHN, EARL OF GOWRYE.¹

PLEASE your Majeste, Gif the bestowing of great benefites sould moue the receauers theroff to be thankfull to the giueris, I haue mony and extraordinar occasionis to be thankfull to your Majeste; not only being fauored with the benefite of your Majesteis gude countenance at all tymes, bot also that it hath pleasit your Majeste to accept so weill of me as to honour me with your Majesteis most louing letter, as with ane certane signe and viue testimonie of your Majesteis gude fauour and gracioufnes touartis me, wheroff I esteeme so much, that I wald think my selff very hapie if it sould please your Majeste to comand me in any thing, that thereby your Majeste might haue ane tryall of my prompt and fathfull obedience; for your Majesteis worthines and valor, attour the particular courtefis schauin to me, merits whatsomeuer I am able to do, and ane hun-

¹ These letters of John Earl of Gowrye, are the only remains known to be extant of that noble and unfortunate youth, who was involved in a fate which still remains a contraverted point in Scottish history. The original of the above letter to King James VI. was presented to the College of Edinburgh, by Drummond of Hawthornden, in 1626, but it has unfortunately been either mislaid or lost, (with other autograph letters in the same collection,) subsequent to the year 1757, about which time it had been transcribed and printed by Sir David Dalrymple, in a little tract intended to serve as a specimen of Collections relating to the Gowrye Conspiracy. The other letter is preserved in a volume of original papers, collected by David Calderwood the historian, who was a fellow-student, under Principal Rollok, with the Earl of Gowrye, at the College of Edinburgh, where they took the degree of Master of Arts, in 1594. At the time of writing these letters, the Earl was in his 17th year, prosecuting his studies at Padua.

dreth thousand tymes more. In end, I pray 3our Majeste to haue me excused that I haue taine the audacitie to wrett againe to 3our Majeste, for not hauing the comfort of 3our Majesteis prefence, could not declare my willing mynd better then be vsing of the nixt remede. In the meane tyme, I fall repose my selff still on 3our Majesteis constant fauor quhill God of his mercie grant that I se 3our Majeste in fuche ane gude estate as I wishe, whilk will give me the greteft contentment of all.

Sua crauing earnestly of that Creator of all thingis to blifs 3our Majeste with all felicitie and satisfactiōne in health, with ane increas of mony prosperous dayis, I kis most deuotly 3our Majesteis hands.

Your Majesteis

Most humble Subiect and

Obedient Seruitor in all deuotione,

GOWRYE.

Att Padua, the 24th of

November 1595.

Ἐυλογητον ἐξω το ονομα τῆ Θεοῦ εἰς αἰωνα.

BELOVED brother,² hauing taken occasione to wret to Scotland, wald nocht omitt my deutie to 3ou, in visiting 3ou with this letter,

² Mr John Malcolm, one of the Regents, and afterwards principal of St Leonard's College, St Andrews, was ordained minister of Perth, 4th November 1591. He was the author of a Latin Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, a work of considerable learning, printed at Middleburgh, 1615, 4to. He died at an advanced age, at Perth, 3d October, 1634.

that therby 3e myght vnderstand of my present estate, quhilk continues as of before, praifing God from my hairt, that of the riche abundance of his gude grace and mere mercie hes maid the beames and licht of his countenance, to shine vpon me most fauorably ; to be ane guide to conduct me saiffie *per hunc Auernum*, quherin mony here, (*quorum oculi densa caligine et nebulis obfuscati sunt*,) *ô miserum spectaculum !* are drowned in his iustice ; I meane nocht all, abfit ; for I am acquainted with diuers heir, *qui etiam inter has paludes stigmatas*, hes neuer boued ther kne to Baal : Quhat ane meruell is this ? and quha can beleue it ? and zit it is certainly true ; *glorificetur igitur Deus in operibus suis, ac eo magis quo sunt mirabilia et* παρα τη φωνη. There wes ane notable exemple of constancie not long ago, in ane Silesian minister of some threscore yeares and mair, quha, efter he had beine deteined in prisone about nyne yeares, and the Jesuites had trauailed with him to recant ; bot persaisfing that thei could preuaile nothing at his handis caused bring him to the fyre lyke bludie dogges ; quhere, efter he had maid ane excellent discour and harang to the people, shauing them the gret honour he wes callit to in suffering for Christes sake, and exhorting them to conuersione, abode most patiently, without ony shrinking all tormentis, magnifeing Godis holy name, and praying that ther sinnes mycht be forgiuen them. Efter he wes brunt, not being zit satisfied of the crueltie that they had vsit against him, quhen he wes liuing, did cast ane gret heap of stones vpon his ashes, *multo seuiiores quam erant Iudei aduersus Stephanum*. There were vtheris, quha for feare of death at that same tyme, maid filthie apostacie fra the true Religione to that damnable idolatrie, and at that instant

that ane of them begane to deny Christ, in making defectione, there isshued blude out of his nose in suche gret abundance, that all did see him thocht he should have dyed presentlie; this wes ane vifibill signe of the hand of God, that chopped on him quha had done such ane villanie aganist his conscience for to purchase his auin lyffe, quhilk he wes not worthie to bruik, be the los of his soule. Bot thir renegates not the les escaped not their auin punishment, for they all were send *ad triremes, vbi non vnus hore spatio vitam finituri, sed morientes semper, nec tamen morientur*. Laitlie, efter these thingis, ane certane Inglish man being moued on zele to cast ther *sacra hostia* (as thai most falslie callis it) out of the priestis handis, that wes careing it in proceffione, to the grund, and to stramp on it with his fete, wes apprehendit and denudit of his clothes, thereafter ane hude putt on his heade, quheron wes painted the deuils image, and some with bleasis, quha brunt him continually in the backe and brest as he walked forduart; bot he, in the meane tyme wes occupiet in schauing the people how thai were schamfullie abused be these miscent idolaters, quha were leading them to their auin damnatione. In end, he spake with suche ane vehemencie, that the enymies caused knett his toung, fearing some vprere to ensue if he had gottin ony forder libertie to speke; so he wes brought to the place of executione, quhere, lifting vp his eyes to heauen, and on his knees kissing the chaine he wes bund with, they caused first cut of his hand for the fact he had committed, and nixt burne him quicke. All thir thingis were done in Rome, that mother of all vyce, and hoorishe synagog of deuils. I am sory that my absence will not permitt me to kyth my mynd and gudwill in helping to

fett furth Godis glorie there, *cui totus ex animo incumberem*, bot quhen, at his gude pleasure I returne, sall with his grace, indeuore my selff to amend quhatsomeuer is omitted for laike of my presens. I thank 3ou most hartfully, of 3our remembrance of me in 3our prayeris, desyring 3ou earnestlie to contineu according to the loue 3e cary to the saluatioun of my soule. Thus remembering my very loving commendationis to 3our selff, with the hail nychtbouris of the toune, Committis 3ou with them all to the protectione of the Omnipotent.

At Padoua the 28 of Nouember 1595.

Yours aluays affectionat.
J. Gowrye

I dout nocht bot 3e haue hard long since of the Papes benedictione given to the King of France, quhilk hes turned to ane maledictione. No vther neuis occurris heir for the present, bot nou againe laitly there is some Inglishmen put in the hous of inquisitione in Rome.

(Endorsed.)

TO MY BELOUED BROTHER,
M. JHONE MALCOME,
MINISTER AT PERTH.

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EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE AND CO.

Rules
of
The Bannatyne Club.

Instituted February,
MDCCXXX.



RULES
OF
THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

I. THAT the Club shall consist of a limited number of Members ; at no time to exceed THIRTY-ONE.

II. That a General Meeting shall be held annually on the Fourth Tuesday of November ; and that the President shall have power, when occasion requires, to call an Extraordinary General Meeting, of which three weeks' notice shall be given to the resident Members.

III. That every Anniversary Meeting shall appoint a Committee of Management, consisting of Six Members, under whose direction the affairs of the Club shall be carried on for the following year ; and that this shall be an open Committee.

IV. That no election of Members shall take place, except by ballot at the Annual General Meeting, of which a printed notice shall be circulated on or before the first of November,

mentioning the names of the Candidates, and the Members by whom they have been severally proposed.

V. That three black balls shall exclude any person proposed for admission.

VI. That in the event of the applications for admission exceeding the number of vacancies to be supplied, a previous ballot shall take place, to determine the rotation in which the Candidates on the list shall be ballotted for. A majority of votes to decide.

VII. That the Members be requested to transmit to the Secretary notices of ancient manuscripts, books, or tracts, connected with Scottish literature, to be entered into the ALBUM of the Club, with the names of the Members recommending them for publication; and that from this Register the General Meeting shall from time to time make a selection.

VIII. That the annual contribution of each Member of the Club to the General Fund shall be fixed at the Anniversary Meeting; and shall be paid before the first day of March.

IX. That the sum so collected be under the control of the Committee of Management, in defraying the expenses of the Works to be printed, under the authority of the Club.

X. That the impression of such Works shall never exceed Eighty-four copies, of which number each Member of the

Club shall be entitled to receive two copies, free of all charge or expense, that he may be enabled to present one to any of his friends. The remaining copies to be at the disposal of the Club, in order to be presented to such Libraries as shall be named at the General Meeting.

XI. That when Works intended to be printed, are of such importance or magnitude as to render it inexpedient to confine their circulation within the Club, it shall be optional to have an extra impression thrown off, on a paper differing in size or quality from that which is made use of for the copies intended for the Members; and that these additional copies shall be disposed of in such a manner as shall be determined on at the General Meeting. In such instances, it is resolved, that the copies printed exclusively for the Club, shall be limited to Forty-eight; and that each Member shall receive one copy for his own collection.

XII. That if any Member of the Club shall voluntarily undertake to have printed, at his own expense, particular Works or Tracts relative to Scottish affairs, for distribution among the Members, and his friends, he shall be furnished with the paper made for their regular publications, and with the use of their device, to serve as a distinguishing mark of the destination of such Tracts or Works; it being understood that each Member of the Club shall receive one copy of every Work or Tract so printed. And, in order to preserve uniformity in the style of execution, as well as in size, it is farther expected, that

the rules laid down for the publications of the Club, shall be conformed to.

XIII. That unless in such special exceptions as are referred to in the XIth Rule, copies of no Work printed under the sanction of the Club, shall, on any account whatsoever, be offered to sale.

THE MEMBERS OF
THE BANNATYNE CLUB,

FEBRUARY MDCCCXXIII.

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART. PRESIDENT.

THOMAS THOMSON, ESQ. VICE-PRESIDENT.

THOMAS KINNAR, ESQ. TREASURER.

DAVID LAING, ESQ. SECRETARY.

JAMES BALLANTYNE, ESQ.

ROBERT BELL, ESQ.

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ROBERT PITCAIRN, ESQ.

JAMES SKENE, ESQ.

GEORGE SMYTHE, ESQ.

PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, ESQ.

MEMBERS ADMITTED 27TH FEBRUARY, 1823.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM ADAM, LORD CHIEF COM-
MISSIONER OF THE JURY COURT,
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR SAMUEL SHEPHERD, LORD CHIEF
BARON OF SCOTLAND,
SIR WILLIAM MACLEOD BANNATYNE,
SIR WILLIAM ARBUTHNOT, BART.

MEMBERS ADMITTED 25TH NOVEMBER, 1823.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF MINTO,
GEORGE CHALMERS, ESQ.
WILLIAM BLAIR, ESQ.
JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, ESQ.
ANDREW SKENE, ESQ.
THOMAS MAITLAND, ESQ.

Extracted from the Minutes of the Club.

DAVID LAING, Secretary.

Edinburgh, December, 1824.

Rules
of
The Bannatyne Club.

Instituted February,
M.DCCC.XXX.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ARTS
AND ARCHITECTURE
AND THE MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE
1155 EAST 58TH STREET
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R U L E S
OF
THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

DECEMBER, M.DCCC.XXVII.

I. THE Club shall consist of a limited number of Members ; at no time to exceed ONE HUNDRED.

II. The objects of the Club shall be the printing and publication of Works illustrative of the History, Literature, and Antiquities of Scotland.

III. A General Meeting shall be held annually on the First Monday of December for the election of Office-bearers, and other matters ; and the President shall have power to call Extraordinary General Meetings, upon three weeks' notice given to the resident Members.

IV. The ordinary affairs of the Club shall be conducted under the direction of a Committee of Management, consisting of the Office-bearers, viz. the President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and Secretary, and of Six Members, two of whom shall

go out annually by rotation ; and this shall be an open Committee.

V. No election of Members shall take place, except at an Extraordinary General Meeting, called expressly for that purpose, by a Resolution of the Club at their Annual General Meeting ;—and fourteen days previous to the day of election, the Secretary shall transmit to each Member a List of the Candidates, with the names of the Members by whom they have been respectively proposed.

VI. The election of Members shall be made by sealed Lists or ballots, each bearing on the envelope the signature of the Member by whom it is given : and two-thirds of the whole number of votes so given, shall be requisite to the admission of a Candidate. This Rule to continue in observance at least until the limited number has been once completed.

VII. The annual contribution of each Member to the General Fund shall be Five Guineas ; and the payment of this contribution shall be made to the Treasurer on the first day of February in each year.

VIII. The sum so collected shall be under the control of the Committee of Management, for the purpose of defraying the expense of Works printed under the authority of the Club.

IX. The Works to be published for the Club shall be determined on by the Committee, who shall also regulate the num-

ber of copies to be printed. Each Member of the Club shall receive one copy of every such Work, free of all charge : The remaining copies to be at the disposal of the Club, as donations to such Libraries, and private individuals, as shall be approved of by the Committee.

X. When Works intended to be printed, are of such importance or magnitude as to render it expedient to extend their circulation beyond the Club, it shall be in the discretion of the Committee to direct an extra impression to be thrown off, for Sale, on a paper differing in size or quality from the Members' copies.

XI. If any Member of the Club shall undertake to have printed, at his own expense, particular Works or Tracts relative to Scottish affairs, the printer shall be furnished with the necessary supply of paper made for the Publications of the Club ; it being understood that each Member shall receive one copy of every Work or Tract so printed.

XII. A copy of every Work printed for the Club, whether out of the general Fund, or at the expense of individual Members, shall be retained by the Secretary for the Collection or Library attached to the Club.



THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

MEMBERS ADMITTED 30TH JANUARY, 1826.*

HONOURABLE GEORGE CRANSTOUN, LORD COREHOUSE,
JOHN FULLERTON, ESQ.
E. W. A. DRUMMOND HAY, ESQ.
FRANCIS JEFFREY, ESQ.
JAMES KEAY, ESQ.
JAMES MACKENZIE, ESQ.
SIR JAMES MONCREIFF, BART. DEAN OF FACULTY,
WILLIAM MURRAY, ESQ.
JOHN RICHARDSON, ESQ.
ALEXANDER THOMSON, ESQ.

MEMBERS ADMITTED 5TH JUNE, 1826.

WILLIAM CLERK, ESQ.
THE COUNT DE FLAHAULT,
DAVID IRVING, LL. D.
HONOURABLE J. H. MACKENZIE, LORD MACKENZIE,
WILLIAM HENRY MILLER, ESQ.
MACVEY NAPIER, ESQ.

* The following List contains the Names of the Members who have been admitted subsequently to November 1823, in pursuance of Resolutions relating to the extension of the Club.

ANDREW RUTHERFURD, ESQ.

W. C. TREVELYAN, ESQ.

MEMBERS ADMITTED 10TH JULY, 1826.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD BELHAVEN,

GEORGE JOSEPH BELL, ESQ.

WILLIAM BELL, ESQ.

JAMES CAMPBELL, ESQ.

WILLIAM GIBSON CRAIG, ESQ.

SIR JAMES R. G. GRAHAM, BART.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD GRAY,

JAMES MAITLAND HOG, ESQ.

JOHN HOPE, ESQ. SOLICITOR-GENERAL OF SCOTLAND,

JAMES IVORY, ESQ.

JOHN GARDINER KINNEN, ESQ.

JOHN SPOTTISWOODE, ESQ.

MEMBERS ADMITTED 31ST JANUARY, 1827.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF ABERDEEN,

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD BINNING,

JOHN BORTHWICK, ESQ.

GEORGE BRODIE, ESQ.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBERRY,

JOHN CALEY, ESQ.

HENRY ELLIS, ESQ.

ROBERT FERGUSON, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR RONALD FERGUSON,
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD GLENORCHY,
THE REVEREND JOHN JAMIESON, D. D.

ROBERT JAMESON, ESQ.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF KINNOULL,
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE,
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN,
FRANCIS PALGRAVE, ESQ.

HENRY PETRIE, ESQ.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF ROSSLYN,
MAJOR-GENERAL STRATON.

MEMBERS ADMITTED 9TH FEBRUARY, 1828.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON AND BRANDON,
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUESS OF STAFFORD,
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD VISCOUNT MELVILLE,
BRUDENELL J. BRUCE, ESQ.

ANDREW COVENTRY, ESQ.

WILLIAM GOTT, ESQ.

COLIN MACKENZIE, ESQ.

SIR JOHN ARCHIBALD STEWART, BART.

THE HONOURABLE CHARLES FRANCIS STUART.

Extracted from the Minutes of the Club.

DAVID LAING, Secretary.

Edinburgh, February 18, 1828.



