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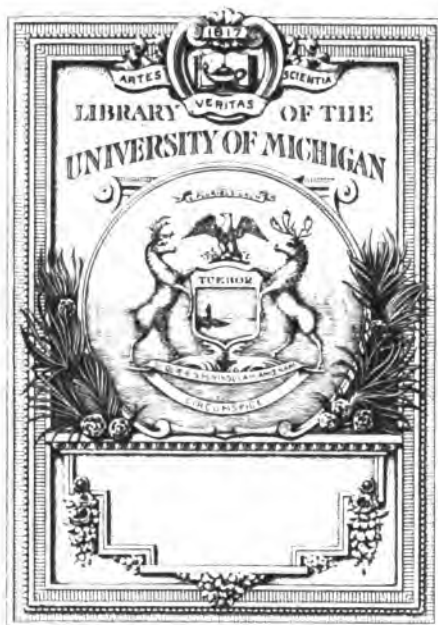
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THE  
MEMOIRES

OF  
Sir James Melvil  
OF HAL-HILL:

CONTAINING  
An Impartial Account  
Of the most Remarkable  
AFFAIRS of STATE

During the last Age, not mention'd by other Historians :  
More particularly Relating to the KINGDOMS  
OF

England and Scotland,

Under the REIGNS

Of { Queen Elizabeth,  
Mary Queen of Scots,  
AND  
King JAMES.

In all which Transactions the Author was Per-  
sonally and Publicly concern'd.

Now published from the Original Manuscript.

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By GEORGE SCOTT, Gent.

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against the Royal-Exchange, 1683.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

STATE OF ILLINOIS

IN SENATE

REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSIONERS

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

FOR THE YEAR 1900

CHICAGO: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

1901

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THE  
EPISTLE  
TO THE  
READER.

AS there is scarce any kind of Civil Knowledge more necessary or profitable than History; (which is therefore very aptly stiled by the Ancients, The Mistress of Life,) so of all sorts of History there is none so useful as that which unlocking the Cabinet, brings forth the Letters, private Instructions, Consultations and Negotiations of Ministers of State; for then we see things in a clear light, stript of all their paints and disguisings, and discover those hidden Springs of Affairs, which give motion to all the vast Machines and stupendious Revolutions of Princes and Kingdoms, that make such a noise on the Theatre of the World, and amaze us with unexpected shiftings of Scenes and dasy Vicissitudes.

Of this latter kind are those Memoires wherewith we here Oblige the World, being the many Years Transactions and Experiences of an eminent publick Minister in his long and faithful Services under, and Negotiations with several Princes, and at a ticklish a juncture and important Crisis of Affairs as could almost happen in any Age: for having upon the perusal not only found the same to contain many remarkable passages, not met with in any Histories of those times, and in such Occurrents as they have touched upon, to be much more exact and full in divers considerable Circumstances; But observed it likewise to be furnished with much excellent, plain, honest advice (delivered by the By) which might be of great advantage to Princes, and both Examples and Precepts whereby their Councellors and Favourites may be Caution'd what just, free and generous Measures they ought to take, if they would not tread the same Precipices; whereby others have Shipwrack both their Masters and themselves, I could not but apprehend my self obliged to Communicate such a Treasure to the Publick, as well for a ge-  
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## The Epistle to the Reader.

neral good, as in some measure to discharge my Devoir to the memory of the worthy Author, from whom I have the honour to be descended.

Three things there are Essential to any History, and which chiefly recommend it to the esteem of judicious Readers.

1. That the subject matter be real, and of considerable moment. Women and Children may be delighted with, and dote upon Romances, and silly Legends; or listen with attentive Admiration to the Wars of the Pigmies, and Adventures of the Fairy Land. But men of sense always expect solid Transactions, and such substantial Examples as may be of advantage to improve their judgment in Civil Wisdom, and the necessary conduct of Life.

2. That the Author be capable of knowing what he speaks, and have Opportunities to discover the Certainty, and full Circumstances of those Affairs, whereof he undertakes to Treat.

3. And lastly, His Honesty, That he be a man of impartial Veracity, and firm Resolution to observe inviolable that prime Law of History, *Ne quid falsi audeat dicere, ne quid veri non audeat.* Not to dare deliver any falshood, nor to conceal any Truth.

All which Characters are happily met in these Memoires.

The matters contain'd, are both Lusty and Weighty, for they Treat of the Actions and Sufferings of Princes, and persons of the first Rank: Open the close Consultations and Intrigues of several of the ablest Ministers of State at that time in Christendom, and shew on what Hinges the greatest Affairs were turned, and by what Artifices managed, so as to be either accomplisht or Defeated.

Nor could any Gentleman have better Advantages to be acquainted with the most private and reserved Scenes of those Passages which here he delivers to the World, since in general of all that he writes, he may properly say, *Quorum pars magna fui*, They are matters within his own Circle, and declare such as must of necessity fall within his own notice, since through his hands, and he himself had a principal part in the manage and transacting of them; being a person concern'd in the most knotty Affairs (especially relating to Scotland) during his time: And therefore as *Ocularis Testis*, his work may Challenge that Credit which many other Authors do but begg from the Charity of their Courteous Readers; at least deserves

## The Epistle to the Reader.

as much or more esteem as any other Writers of that time, who in respect of him were but Auriti.

The Author was descended of one of the most honourable Families of the Kingdom of Scotland, as being Third Son to the Lord of Kaeth, and at Fourteen years of Age was sent by the Queen Regent to be Page of Honour to her Daughter Mary married to the Dauphin of France. But by her allowance he entred into the Service of the Duke of Montmorance (Great Constable of France, chief Minister to Henry the Second) who earnestly desired him from her Majesty, having a fancy for the Youth's promising parts; he was Nine years Entertain'd and Employ'd by him, and when he grew up to riper Years and try'd Abilities in matters of greatest Importance, an honourable Pension for his greater encouragement was settled upon him by that King.

Then being desirous for his further Accomplishment to Travel, having his Queens leave and his Masters permission for that purpose: But passing through Germany he was detain'd by the persuasion of the Elector Palatine, and at his earnest intreaties necessitated to condescend to attend at his Court, where he Resided Three years, being by him employ'd on several Embassies. After which, obtaining his consent to prosecute his former intentions of further Travel, he visited Venice, Rome, and the most famous Cities of Italy. Returning through Switzerland to the Electors Court, he there found a Call from Queen Mary, then returned to her Kingdom of Scotland, after the death of her Husband King Francis, to attend her Service.

The Queen Mother of France at the same time had offer'd him a large Pension, and profitable Offices, to engage him to wait upon her Service at the Court of France; she finding it her interest at that Juncture to keep good Correspondence with the Protestant Princes in Germany, and knowing him to be most acceptable to all of them. But though it appeared most advantagious to his private Fortunes to have accepted of her noble Offers; yet in this and at all other times he prefer'd his Loyalty to his Interest, and esteem'd himself engag'd in Duty to serve his natural Princess rather than a Stranger.

Upon his arrival in Scotland he was admitted a Privy Counsellor, and Gentleman of her Chamber, being continually employ'd by her Majesty in matters of her greatest concernments, till her unhappy confinement in Loekleven: All which he discharged with an exact fidelity, and had she taken his sound Advice, many of her misfortunes might have been avoided.

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## The Epistle to the Reader.

He was afterwards Noticed by all the Four successive Regents in a special manner, and intrusted by them with Negotiations of greatest moment, Though after the Queens imprisonment he had ever owned the King's side.

When his Majesty King James came to the Government, he was especially recommended by the Queen, then Prisoner in England, to him as one most faithful, and capable of doing him Service. Whereupon he was likewise by his Majesty admitted a Member of his most Honourable Privy Council, and of his Exchequer; as also made Gentleman of his Chamber, continuing ever in favour and Employment till his Majesties passage into England, to receive his Hereditary Right, the Crown of that Kingdom, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth.

The King would gladly have taken him along with him thither, offering him considerable advancements there: But being now stricken in years, and desirous to Retreat from the troubles of the World to spend the remainder of his days in Contemplation, begged his Majesties permission thereto. However, after the King's going for London, he found himself in Duty engag'd once to wait upon his Majesty in that Kingdom, and accordingly went thither, and was graciously received; and having attended there some weeks, humbly giving his Majesty his best advice, no Court allurements (whereof he had great Store) could prevail with him to alter his former Resolutions of privacy; So that he return'd to his own House, where, as in Harbour, reflecting on the pass'd Voyage of his Life, and all the various Weather, and difficult Storms of Publick Affairs, wherein he had been concern'd; to inform the World of the true State of those Transactions, and to direct others (especially his Children) how to conduct themselves if call'd to such Services, he with his own hand drew up the following Memoires. How far he deduced them I cannot certainly determine; 'tis very probable he had given an account of all till the going of the King to England, though this Copy extend not so far: However thou hast all that I have, and nothing more then what is the Author's, for I should esteem it impiety to obtrude any thing of my own under his Name. And I hope the Reader will rather accept kindly what is here happily Retriev'd, than be offended at me for not furnishing him with more than the injuries of time and ill men have left us.

And indeed I was not a little encouraged to this Publication by Reflecting on the wonderful preservation of so much of it, after so many Years, and its then coming so Providentially to my hand, it  
having

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## The Epistle to the Reader.

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having found the Castle of Edinburgh an Asylum till the Year 1660, which yet had not been able to afford shelter to the Publick Records of the Kingdom, from the hands of Tyrannical Usurpers: Though I have not met with any Information by what way it came thither, far less how secured so long a space, and amidst so many Confusions, being there recommended to no Man's particular Care, but exposed to the mercy of the Rabble: Whence it was wonderfully rescued by Mr. Robert Trail late Minister of the Gray-Fryars Church in Edinburgh, when Imprison'd there, to whom the Author's handwriting was exactly known. This Mr. Trail counting it an happiness to have lighted on so great a Rarity, knowing the Worth and Abilities of the Author, remitted it to Sir James Melvil of Halhil, the Author's Grand-Child: From whence it was derived to me, and having perused it, and thought I should be highly injurious to the Publick, if I did not Communicate it to the World; together with the Author's following Epistle to his Son in the nature of a Dedication, wherein as he shews his deep insight into the Intrigues of Princes Courts, so it likewise gives an evident Demonstration of his sincerity in what he has herein Delivered; and of his firm Affection to virtue and honesty, and detestation of vice, and those flattering Arts whereby evil and Self-seeking Councillors have often abused the best of Princes.

This is all I thought necessary to Advertise thee of, touching this Publication, and so leave it to thy Candid perusal.

George Scott.

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T H E



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THE  
A U T H O R  
T O H I S  
S O N.

Dear S O N,

**S**Eeing thou hast shewn thy self so willing to satisfie my expectations of the following, and observing many of my former *Precepts* during thy younger years, I grant now unto thy request the more gladly, to put in writing for thy better memory, several passages which thou hast heard me rehearse concerning the life I did lead during my peregrination through the most part of *Europe*, from the Age of fourteen years till this present hour; together with the prosperous success, and hard accidents hapned to me, hoping that thou wilt be so wise as to help thy self in time by my faults, and not wait upon the hurtful experience of the common sort; seeing no man can shew the right way better than he who hath oftentimes chanced upon By-roads; affusing thee; that, next unto the special favour of God, nothing stood me in so much stead as the early embracing of *unbought experience*, by observing the stumbling Errors of others. Neither did I ever find any thing more dangerous than the frequent sighting to notice any seen example, which was always accompanied with over late Repentance.

The most part of things which I purpose to set down presently, are certain old writted Memorials, which were lying beside me in sundry parcels; treating of matters wherein I have been employed myself by sundry Princes, or which I have seen, or observed being in their Countries (as the purposes of themselves will declare) to serve for an example of life, and better behaviour to thee and thy Brother, concerning the *Servise* of Princes, and medi-

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*The Author to his Son.*

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ling in their Affairs; which I could not eschew, for I fought not them, but they me. I enforced my self to serve them more carefully, diligently and faithfully than any of my Companions, whereby I won greatest favour with those who were *Wise, Grave, Aged and Experimented*; as with the Prince *Electer Pallatine*, and the old Duke of *Momorancie*, Constable of *France*, who had the whole Rule and Government of the Country under King *Henry the Second*, his Master and mine; who were so constant, that their favour lasted so long as I remained in their Service; not without extream and dangerous *Envy* of such of my Companions as were naturally inclined to that vile Vice, whom I took great pains by patience, presents and humility to gain; obliging them by that carriage to lay aside part of their malice. But when it chanced me after to serve Princes of *Younger Years*, and of less Experience, at the first by the like diligence, care and fidelity, I obtained their favour above the rest of their Servants; yet at length they were carried away by the craft and envy of such as could subtilly creep into their favour, by flattery and by joining together in a deceitful bond of fellowship, every one of them setting out the other, as *meetest* and *ablest* for the Service of their Prince, to the wrack of him and his Country; craving the Prince to be secret, and not to Communicate his Secrets to any but their Society. Thus the Princes good qualities being smother'd with such a Company, were commonly led after the *Passions* and *Particularities* of those, who shot only at their *own marks*: Some of them continually possessing his *Ear*, and debarring therefrom all honest, true and plain speakers; so that no more hope could be left of a gracious Government, nor place for good men to help their Prince and Country, where-through fell out many foul, strange and *sad Accidents*, as may be afterward seen and read: Princes misused, and abused, their Country robbed, their best and truest Servants wracked, and the wicked instruments at last perished with all their high and fine pretences; others, ay such-like, succeeding in their place, never one taking example to become more temperate and discreet, because of the destruction of those who went before them; but as highly and fiercely following their greedy, vain and ambitious pretences, obtaining the

*The Author to his Son.*

the like Tragical reward. For my part, albeit I had seen, and oft-times read of the wrack and backward rewards of all such true, faithful Servants and Councillours, as were most careful of the Weal and Safety of their Prince, in resisting and gainstanding the devices of the *wicked sort*, and sometimes minding the Prince not to suffer himself to be led by those who commit so many wrongs, and errours at their Appetite, yet I left not off from what I thought my *Duty*, neither for *Fear* nor *Danger*, to oppose my self continually to the *false fetches* of such Minions, until, I must confess rather following the *Extremity* than the right *Midst*, I lost my Credit with the Prince, and Tint my reward, reposing over-much trust upon their constancy and my good Service, which hath been oft an hurtful opinion unto honest Men; with overlate Repentance I was compelled to lament, as did Monsieur de Bouffie when he was left and disliked by his Master, crying out, *Alas, wherefore should Men be earnest to surpass their Neighbours in worthiness and fidelity, seeing that Princes, who get the fruits of our Labours, like not to hear of plainness, but of pleasant Speeches, and are easily altered without occasion upon the truest Servants?* I perceive well that to continue in their favour they should not be served with Uprightness, but with Wyeliness; and instead of using free Language for their Honour and Preservation, their Servants should frame and accommodate themselves to their *Pleasure and Will*; which may be easily done by the dullest sort of Men; but my *daft opinion* was, that I might stand by *Honesty and Vertue*, which I find now to be but a Vain Imagination, and a Scholastical Discourse, unmeet to bring Men to any profitable *Preferment*: And yet my nature will not suffer me to proceed by any other means, I being of the same Mind and Nature, and by a just Call and Command, first of the *Queen* his Majesty's Mother, and afterward of himself, having more Matter and greater Warrant than many others, as well to admonish, advertise and reprove the Prince to gainstand all evil Instruments, took the more freedom, finding my self there-to in Duty obliged, against the Rule given by *Seneca* to *Lucullus*, saying, *If thou desirest to be agreeable to Great Princes, do them many Services, and speak to them few words.* *Plato*

was of the same opinion, the favour of Princes being obtained with great pain and travel, and retained with great difficulty, therefore should the wise Courtier be careful of offending them, either by gesture, word or deed; for being once in *disgrace* with them, they may well forgive, but they shall never be so great with them again do what they will. Sometimes a Man may discreetly put the Prince in remembrance of his long and good Service, but cast not up thy Service, nor be importunate in demanding rewards; therefore be not so audacious as to find *fault* with thy Prince's proceedings, nor to give advice unrequired, or advertisements without good grounds of being credited; for Princes notice not any thing but what is told them by their *Favourites* and *Minions*, who commonly seem to allow and take pleasure of whatsoever *Recreation* they find the Prince inclined to, not as by way of *flattery*, but as by way of yielding, and leaving their own pleasure to take pains to please the Prince; they never appear discontent although he do not *Remard* them in due time, they never challenge him of *breach of Promise* in case he break it. In many of these Rules I confess I have over-shot my self, for too great seryeancy towards the Princes Service, having never minded my own particular advancement and profit: For otherwise I should have at the earnest desire of the House of *Guise*, my old and great acquaintances while I was residing at the Court of *France*, tided in the Queens Ear, that her *Rebellious Subjects*, who had at their own hands, without her Authority, changed Religion, should have been exemplarily punished as *Rebels* and *Trayters*: That if she condescended to acquiesce to the establishing the *Reformed Religion*, it would be constructed as meanness of Spirit, and that she wanted Authority to curb such a mutinous People: That it was below her at the arrogant desire of her Nobility, and to remove the idle jealousies of her other Subjects, to lay aside *Rixio*, as being derogatory from her honour, that she could not have liberty to keep about her what Servants she pleased, seeing hence there might be ground to alledge, there were other bad designs to follow, when in the first place they desired to separate from her, such as they knew would be most trusty to her, and in whom she could

most

most confide. This kind of Language would probably have most suited her Majesties humour, and would have procured to my self great Bribes, from *Rico* and his Popish friends for my reward. But I thought it was more the part of a *True Friend* to her Majesty, to acquaint her, that seeing her Subjects had now embraced the Protestant Religion, looking upon the Popish Principles as *Damning*, it was not her interest to do any thing that could give them any jealousy that she intended to alter their Religion; that as the Entertaining of *Rico* gave to all such, some apparent ground of harbouring such apprehensions, he being a known Enemy to their Religion; that having so much of her favour, he would undoubtedly use his endeavours to persuade her to Reestablish that Religion, which she her self professed; so it gave just ground of discontent to the Nobility, who would look upon any extraordinary honour confer'd by her Majesty upon a *Stranger*, as highly prejudicial to them, who were as willing and able to serve her as he could be; and reflecting upon their *Loyalty*, as if she had more trust to place in a *Stranger* then in her own native Countrymen, and both Subjects. Had I not more regarded my Princess her Interest, then mine own, I should have accepted the large offers made me by the *Earl of Bathwel*, when he desired me to subscribe with the rest of his flatterers that Paper where in they declared it was her Majesties interest to *Marry* the said *Earl*, but I chose rather to lay my self open to his hatred and revenge, whereby I was afterward in peril of my life, and tell her Majesty, that those who had advised her, were betrayers of her honour for their own selfish ends, seeing her marrying a *Man* commonly judged her *Husbands* murtherer, would leave a *Tash* upon her name, and give too much ground of Jealousie, that she had consented to that *fool deed*. It waited not fair offers from *Randolph* and *Killegrew*, Residents here from the *Court of England*, if I would have in so far complied with their designs, as not to have divulged what I perceived to be their drifts, which I could not conceal, finding them so destructive to the Kingdom. I had the fair occasion of making a large fortune to my self; if I would have gone along with the *Earl of Aram*, by Consulting the King's Majesty



Majesty to follow his violent advices ; but finding them so far contrary to his interest, I did think my self ingaged to warn his Majesty that he was a dangerous man, who gave him such advices ; that if he followed the same, he would run himself upon inevitable Precipices ; that his Majesty's hearkening to the Duke of *Lennox* and him, the one a Papist, the other a wicked and ungodly man, would breed jealousies in his Subjects minds, which might produce dangerous effects. This freedom, and many times the like, I took ; which though his Majesty accepted in good part, yet I thereby contracted me store of Enemies : But it was always my Principle, rather to hazard my self by plain speech, when 'twas necessary, than to expose my Master to danger, by silence or base flattery. And though the Common Practice which I mention'd e're while, may seem to thrive best in some Courts for a time, yet under Grave and Wise Princes, and at long-run, the honest Maxims will prove most acceptable and safe. Therefore I willingly opened these things to thee, that thou mayst as well know what is usually done, as what ought to be. There is a certain discretion to be used, that is free both from Sawcyness and Assentation ; and a man may many times, if he skill it aright, give his Prince good Counsel, contrary to his inclinations, yet without incurring his displeasure. This thou oughtest to study, if ever thou be called to publique Affairs, and though thou mayst bend with the necessity of some Accidents, and yield to the times in some things, though not going just so as thou would have matters to go ; and humour the Prince in an ordinary business, to gain opportunity of doing greater good to him and thy Country at a more lucky Season ; yet be sure that thou never Engage in any Disloyalty, Cruelty, or Wickedness, nor suffer any thing to pass that thou seest will tend to his Ruine or grand Prejudice, without noticing it to him in some humble manner ; and though for that time it be dis-relishing or slighted, yet when he sees the Effects follow that thou admonishedst him of, he will love thee the better, and rather hearken to honest Advice for time future : And withal thou wilt obtain the Favour and Blessing of Almighty God, whom thou must at all times endeavour  
faithfully

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*The Author to his Son.*

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faithfully and uprightly to serve, if ever thou expectest  
Bliss in this or the other World ; To whose Gracious  
Providence I Commit thee, with the hearty well Wishes  
and Benison of

*Thy Dearly Loving Father*

**JAMES MELVILLE.**

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**SIR**

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James M. Flint  
James M. Flint  
James M. Flint

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# MELVILS MEMOIRS:

In reference to

MARY Queen of SCOTS

AND

JAMES VI.

**K**ing *Henry VIII.* of *England* being discontent with the Pope, for refusing to grant the Divorce from his wife Queen *Katharine* of *Castile*. For revenge he looked through his fingers at the Preachers of the Reformed Religion, who had studied in *Dutch-land* under *Martin Luther*, and were lately come to *England*. In process of time the hatred betwixt the King and the Pope came to so great a length, that he proclaimed himself *Head of the Kirk of England*, and discharged *S. Peters Pennies* to be paid from that time forth; with a strict command to all his Subjects, no manner of way to acknowledge the Pope. He obtained the said Divorce from his own Clergy, marrying another, which occasioned to him the hatred of the Pope, Emperour and King of *Spain*, and all their Assistants. He again desiring to strengthen himself at home, conjecturing the probability of a Combination against him, found it his Interest to entertain a strict Amity with *James V.* of *Scotland* his Nephew, for he was determined to Unite this whole Isle in one Religion, and in one Empire, failing of Heirs male procreate of his own body: Having then but one Daughter called *Mary* with the divorced Queen; which Daughter he declared to be a Bastard. Upon which consideration Ambassadors are sent thither, inviting that King to a Conference at *Tork*, whither *Henry* offered to come and meet him. Alledging by such an Interview, matters might be more effectually condescended upon conducing for the mutual Interests of both Kingdoms, then could be expected from the endeavours of Ambassadors to be employed in that Affair.

King *James* having seriously considered the Overture, and advised thereabout with his Council; upon their deliberation and advice, returns his resolution to attend his Uncle, Time and Place appointed. With which answer the Ambassadors highly satisfied, return to their Master who rejoiced exceedingly at so happy a Success of that matter. Whereupon great preparations are made at *Tork*, for the Entertainment of his Nephew with the greater Solemnity.

The Clergy of *Scotland*, sworn Clients to the Pope having had several Consultations hereanent, were alarm'd with this Proposal, and

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the Account they had of the Kings resolution to comply therewith : through an apprehension that the Uncles persuasion might oblige the Nephew to trace his Footsteps in overturning Popery in *Scotland*, as he had done in *England*. They therefore resolve to use the utmost of their endeavours for preventing the said intended Interview. They addressed themselves to such as were Minions for the time, who had most of his Majesties ear. These they corrupted with large Bribes, to dissuade the King, therefrom. These having joyned with such of the Clergy who were most in favour with the King, used many persuasions, telling him how King *James I.* was retained in *England* ; Of the old League with *France* : That upon this consideration it would be prejudicial to his Interest to keep that meeting : seeing the *French* would not take it well ; neither the Emperour, who was highly incensed against *Henry*. They told him of the Popes interdicting him, and what a great Heresie was lately risen up there, and had infected not only the greatest part of the Kingdom, but the King himself. And also that many of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, were likewise Favourers of the said Heresies : and that it was fit that timely he should prevent the spreading thereof, seeing the same would contribute much for his advantage, while he might enrich himself by their Estates ; the names of whom they gave up in a sheet of Paper. Which the King put in his Pocket, thinking it a very profitable Proposition, and therefore with all diligence to be executed.

The Laird of *Grange* had been lately made Treasurer, and was in great favour with the King. He had not yet discovered himself to be a Favourer of the Evangel, but the King esteemed him true ; and desirous to advance his profit, and very secret, therefore he thought fit to make him privy to this profitable Overture. He shewed unto him the written Roll of the Noblemen and Barons names, who were given up to be burnt for Heresie, telling him what great advantage he would make thereby. Whereat the Laird of *Grange* began to smile, and the King to enquire whereat he did laugh.

The Treasurer desired liberty from his Majesty to tell him the truth. Whereat the King drew out his Sword, saying merrily to him, *I shall slay thee if thou speak against my profit.* Then he put up his Sword, commanding him to shew him what reasons he could alledge against the Prelats Proposition.

The Treasurer declared what troubles his Majesty had been tossed in during his Minority, for the Government, first between the Queen his Mother and the Lords, then betwixt divers Factions of the Lords. How that he had been couped from hand to hand, sometimes kept against his will as Captive, sometimes besieged, sometimes brought to battle against his will by the *Duglasses* to fight against the Earl of *Lennox*, and his best Friends who were slain coming to relieve him, the Prelates being Partners for their ambition, sometimes with one Faction, sometimes with another : And how that they could never agree among themselves, nor let his Majesty take rest, until the Duke of *Albany* was chosen Governour, and brought out of *France*, who had enough to do also. For he would have fain done pleasure to *France*, and raised a great many Scotchmen to enter into *England*, who were making Wars in *France*, but he got a rebuke when he

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when he was at the Border, for they would march no further. Alledging that the King was but young, and Sister Son to King *Henry*: That they saw no reason to enter into war with *England*, to endanger their King and Country to serve *France*, being the King his Father, had to no purpose lost his life in their quarrel, having entered into *England* with an Army against his good Brother, whereby the whole Country was endangered. After that this Duke retired himself, your Majesty took the Government in your own hands at the Age of 13 years. Yet they clapped again about you, and kept you two years as captive. And now you are but lately come to your liberty, and your Country is not yet so well settled as were needfull. Albeit your Majesty hath done very much in so short space as to settle the Highland Islands, and the Borders. It were a dangerous thing if your Nobility should get intelligence, that some greedy Fetches should be put in your head, under pretext of Heresie, to spoil them of their Lives, Lands, and Goods. Wherein you may endanger your own Estate at the instance of these whose Estates are in peril, who would hazard you and yours, to save their own. The Prelates I mean, who fear that your Majesty at the example of the King of *England*, of *Denmark* and several Princes of the Empire, will make the like reformation among them. Therefore they have no will of your familiarity with the King of *England*, nor that your Estate should be so settled that your Majesty might put order to the abuses of the Kirk. Did not one of your Predecessors, called *S. David*, give the most part of the Patrimony of the Crown to the Kirk, erecting the same into Bishopricks and rich Abbacies? Whereby your Majesty is presently so poor, and the Prelates so rich, so prodigal, so proud, that they will suffer nothing to be done without them. And are also so sworn to the Pope of *Rome*, when they get their Benefices confirmed, that they ought not to be credited in any thing that toucheth the Popes Profit or Preferment. The *Venetians*, the wisest people in *Europe*, will not suffer any Prelate, albeit he be a born man of the Town, to abide or stand in their Council-house, when they are at Council, because they know them to be so strictly sworn to the Pope. Then he declared the gross abuses of the Roman Kirk, and the ungodly lives of the *Scots* Prelates which the King and whole Country might see. Therefore saith he, if your Majesty would be well and be rich, you may justly take home again to the profit of the Crown all vacant Benefices by little and little, as they may fall by decease of every Prelate.

He told his Majesty what his promise to the Ambassador of *England*, there would come great trouble and Wars if it were not kept. For King *Henry VIII.* was a couragious Prince, and high conceited, and appeared to have for the Time an upright meaning, his occasions pressing him thereto. Having so great turns in hand, and so many enemies, without succession, saving the foresaid Daughter. Being corpulent and fat, there was small hopes of his having any heirs. That therefore it was his interest to be in a good understanding with him, being his eldest Sisters Son, nearest of blood, and ablest to maintain and unite the whole Isle of *Brittain*. As for the retaining King *James I.* in *England*, that was a far different case, it was not the like time, he was not the Kings Sisters Son, nor his apparent heir. And what hard success the

King his Father had for making War against the King of *England* his good Brother, was too manifestly felt by the whole Subjects. And little better to be looked for, in case a new unnecessary War be made, for your Majesties staying away from the intended Meeting at *Tork*.

The King took such delight in this language, that he determined to follow the advice given therein. And at his first meeting with the Prelates, who had then very great rule in the Country, he could not contain himself any longer, when they came hoping to see their Plots put in execution. After many sore reproofs, that they should have advised him to use such cruelty upon so many Noble men and Barons, to the peril of his own Estate. *Wherefore, said he, gave my Predecessors so many Lands and Rents to the Kirk? Was it to maintain Hawks, Dogs, and Whores to a number of idle Priests? The King of England burns, the King of Denmark beheads you; I shall stick you with this Whingar.* And therewith he drew out his Dagger, and they fled from his presence in great fear. The King resolved tully to keep his promise with his Uncle the King of *England*, thinking it both his honour and advancement so to do.

The Prelates of *Scotland*, thinking themselves far out-shot, and thereby in a dangerous condition, consulted together how to bring the King again to their opinion. They resolved in the first place to offer to pay him yearly out of the Rents of the Kirk, fifty thousand Crowns, to maintain hired Souldiers, besides the ordinary Subjects which obey the Proclamation, in case the King of *England* should make Wars against *Scotland*, because of the Kings not keeping the appointment at *Tork*. They thought this would be an allurement to the King who liked well to be rich. Yet they concluded, that unless the matter were proponed and favourably interpreted to his Majesty by such as had his ear, that would not do the business. They bestowed therefore largely of their Gold to his familiar Servants, and further promised unto *Oliver Sinclair*, that they should cause him to be advanced to great Honours, and to be made Lieutenant of the whole Army against *England*; in case that King *Henry* would intend Wars against *Scotland*. Which they affirmed he would not, nor durst not, having already so many Irons in the Fire.

This was communicated by the Prelates to the Minions at Court, and cheerfully condescended to by them, who had by flattery gained greatest favour. And chiefly by drawing of fair Maidens to the King, and striving to be the first advertisers whose Daughter she was, and how she might be obtained; and likewise of mens Wives. They waited a convenient time when the Treasurer should be absent, who was a stout bold man, therefore they durst not speak in his presence. For he always offered by single combat and at the point of the Sword, to maintain what he spoke. At this time he was absent from Court, for the King had given the Ward and Marriage of *Kelley* in *Angus* to his second Son; and he was gone there to take possession thereof. In his absence then this was proponed to the King, and so backed by *Oliver Sinclair*, and such of the Clergy as had been best acquainted with his Majesty, as he was induced to give ear thereto. They having added several other persuasions, at such times as they brought unto him fair Maidens, and mens Wives. Then they took occasion in the next place, to shew his Majesty that the Laird of *Grange* his Treasurer, was also become a He-

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retick, and that he had always a New Testament in Engliſh in his Pouch. And likewise that he was become ſo proud, and puſt up by his Majeſties favour, that no man might abide him. And that he was ſo extream greedy, that he was unmeet to be Treasuſer: and too bold to have procured for his ſecond Son the rich Ward and Marriage of *Kelley* worth Twenty thouſand pound. The King answered, *That he eſteemed him to be a plain frank Gentleman, that he loved him ſo well, that he would give him again the ſaid Ward and Marriage for a word of his mouth.* The Prior of *Pittenweem* replied and ſaid, *Sir the heir of Kelley is a luſty fair Laſs, and I dare pledge my life, that if your Majeſty will ſend for her preſently, that he ſhall reſuſe to ſend her to you.*

The King affirming ſtill the contrary, there was a Miſſive written. And the Prelates and their Faction deviſed, that the ſaid Prior of *Pittenweem* ſhould carry the Letter, and bring over the Maiden-heir of *Kelley* to the King. But the Treasuſer, who knew him to be his deadly enemy, reſuſed to deliver her to him. Alledging the ſaid Prior to have been all his days a vile Whoremasteſr, having deflowred divers Maidens, therefore he thought him an unfit Meſſenger. Who was ſo glad as he, to return with this backward answer. He and his Associates kindled up the King in ſo great choler againſt the Treasuſer, handling the matter ſo finely and hotly, that they obtained a Warrant to charge the Treasuſer to Ward within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. Which they forgot not to do, at his firſt coming to Court. He again gheſſed that leeſings would be made againſt him, therefore uſed great diligence to be with the King; And notwithstanding of their charge, paſt peartly in to his Majeſty, who was at his Supper in *Edinburg*; but the King looked down upon him, and would not ſpeak to him, nor know him. He nevertheless ſteps forward, and ſaid, *Sir what offence have I done, who had ſo much of your favour when I parted from you with your permiſſion?* The King answered, *Why did you reſuſe to ſend me the Maiden whom I wrote for, and gave deſpiteful language to him I ſent for her?* Sir, ſaid he, *there is none about your Majeſty dare avow any ſuch thing in my face. As for the Maiden, I ſaid to the Prior of Pittenweem, that I was well enough to be the Meſſenger my ſelf to convey her to your Majeſty; but thought him unmeet, whom I knew to be a forcer of Women, and the greateſt deflowrer of Wives and Maidens in Scotland.* The King ſaid, *Haſt thou then brought the Gentlewoman with thee?* Tes Sir, ſaid he. *Alas, ſaith the King, they have ſet out ſo many leeſings againſt thee, that they have obtained of me a Warrant to put thee in Ward; but I ſhall mend it with a contrary command.* Then ſaid the Treasuſer lamentingly, *My Life, Sir, ſor Warding is a ſmall matter; but it breaks my heart that the World ſhould bear of your Majeſties facility.* For he had heard that in his abſence they had cauſed the King to ſend to *England*, and give over the intended Meeting at *Tork*. Whereat the King of *England* was ſo offended, in that he had been ſo publicly ſcorned and affronted, that he ſent an Army to *Scotland* to deſtroy it with Fire and Sword. Albeit the King liked nothing of this War, he was ſtill kept in hope that it ſhould tend to his great honour and advantage. And that *England* had ſo much to do as would buſie them elſewhere, ſo that they would ſoon repent themſelves and be compelled to ſue for Peace ere it was long. In the mean time their Gold was made ready the more to encourage the King, and large promiſes of much more, in caſe the War continued.

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The King was engaged to raise an Army to defend his Country and Subjects, who went to that War, to shew their obedience much against their hearts. But when they perceived *Oliver Sinclair* raised up upon mens shoulders, and proclaimed Lieutenant over the whole Army at *Salway Sands*; the Lords, in dispiight that the Court and Country should be governed by such mean men as were Pensioners to the Prelates, refused to fight under such a Lieutenant, but suffered themselves all to be taken Prisoners. So the whole Army being overthrown, the King took thereat great displeasure. There was great murmurings in the Country, that for pleasuring the Prelates the Kingdom should be thus endangered. The report whereof, and the justness of the complaint, made the King burst out with some language against them who had given him so bad advice. Which was carried over soon to their ears, and they fearing the effects of his displeasure, caused him to be poisoned, having learned that Art in *Italy*, called an *Italian Possit*: The Cardinal *David Beaton* was with his Majesty in the time of his death, and caused to be written the Form of a Testament at his own pleasure, being dictated by himself, which upon that reason was afterward annulled. The King of *England* could not forget this injury and displeasure done him of the Kings breaking of his promise. He was much troubled at his death, his Wars were rather to have moved the Estates of *Scotland* to know that his favour and friendship had been better for them than his feud. He was still in hope to have gained him with consent and advice of the best of his Subjects to have joined in a Bond Offensive and Defensive. For he had received information of the Kings worthy qualities, and rare natural endowments, and entertained a marvellous great love and liking of him. Thinking he could not have left the Kingdom in a better hand, than to his own Sisters Son, nearest in blood unto him, and meetest of any to build up a fair Monarchy to be first begun in a manner in his own person. In respect that for his time, which he looked would be but short, his Nephew would have been but his Coadjutor, and Lieutenant under him, and after him possess the whole under one Religion, one Law, and one Head. And thought that thereby *France* should never afterward have the occasion of stirring up the one Country against the other; and that the Pope should be secluded from gathering up such sums of Silver from his Subjects, for Confirmation of Benefices, or for Bulls or Dispensations. For his wrath and vengeance against the Pope was exceeding great, who had made him many promises, and had broken them all, fearing as said is, to offend the Emperor, who was so great and mighty a Prince. Therefore the King of *England* seeing he had now altogether lost the hopes of the Scots alliance and concurrence, he compelled the Gentlemen of *England* to exchange their Lands, with the Lands of Abbies, Cloisters, and other Temple Lands, giving them more than their own, that so the said Lands should never return to the Kirk without a manifest Rebellion, or a dangerous subversion of the whole state of the Kingdom. And to be revenged upon the said Cardinal *David Beaton*, who he thought had disappointed him of all the hope he had of *Scotland*, he dealt with *Sir George Donlass*, and the Earl of *Angus*, who were but lately returned out of *England*, where they had resided during the time of their banishment, till the death of King *James V.*

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These two Brothers appearing to be of the Reformed Religion, persuaded *Norman Lesly* Master of *Rothel*, the young Laird of *Grange*, and *John Lesly* of *Parkbill*, who had been persecuted by the said Cardinal for Religion, after he had taken their Preacher, Mr. *George Wisbard*, and burnt him at *St. Andrews*. These I say were easily stirred up to slay him whom they were persuaded to be an Enemy to the true Religion, to the welfare of the Country, and to themselves in particular.

This proud Cardinal was slain then in his Castle at *S. Andrews*, and so ended all his practices, having obtained nothing but vain travel for his pretences, and sudden death. Having been the occasion of the death of a worthy King, who was inclined to Justice, and gave no credit to his Officers in their two special points, to reward and punish. For whoever did him good service, he would see them rewarded, yea albeit they chanced to be absent; and as to punishing of Evil Doers, so soon as he had heard the complaint, he leapt upon his Horse, and did ride to the parties himself, with a few company, ere they could be aware of him, and he would see sharp execution. So that he was deservedly both loved and feared. He was very couragious, well favoured and stape, of a middle stature, very able of body. But evil company fell about him, entering out of Child-hood into furious Youth enticing him to Harlotry, striving who should spie out for him the fairest Maidens, and likewise at length mens Wives; with them he abused his body, to the offence of God and divers good Subjects. For which he was not left unpunished, for he had but two young Sons and they died both within eleven hours; so that at his decease he had but one Daughter called *Mary*, born when he was upon his Death-bed.

King *Henry VIII.* of *England*, having onely one Son called *Edward*, he and the Estates of both Countries, desiring still this whole Isle of *Britain* to be united in one Monarchy, made a contract of marriage between the said two, which was afterward broken upon our part, her Majesty being transported unto *France* by the West Seas. Whereupon ensued great War between the two Kingdoms, which was afterwards agreed upon this condition, that *Edward* should marry *Elizabeth* eldest Daughter to *Henry II.* of *France*, and *Francis* his Son should marry our Queen. My Lord *Hamilton* was advanced to the Government of the Country by the Laird of *Grange* Treasurer, Mr. *Henry Balnears*, and others that were of the Reformed Religion, when as he appeared to be a true Gospeller. But he had been afterward soon altered by the Abbot of *Pally* his Bastard brother, and became a great Persecuter of Gods Word, and had been by the persuasions of the said Abbot and Cardinal easily drawn to break the said Contract of Marriage made between King *Edward* and our Queen.

After that the young Queen came to *France*, there was great disputing whether the Marriage with the Dauphine should take effect or not. For at that time there were two Factions in the *French* Court, first the Brethren to the House of *Guise*, as the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, brothers to our Queen Dowager, and uncles to our young Queen *Mary*, pressed earnestly to set forward the said Marriage with *France*; the old Constable Duke of *Montmorancy*, was of opinion that

that it was meetest to give her in marriage to some Duke or Prince in *France*, and to send them both home to *Scotland* to keep that Country in good obedience. Because when Princes are absent, and far from their own, ruling their Countries by Lieutenants, most commonly the Subjects of such Countries use to rebel: which if *Scotland* should do, it would be hard and costly to get them reduced. And thereby in stead of making *France* the better of the Marriage with the Dauphin, it might make it to be in a far worse case. The House of *Guisse* againe desiring to have their Sisters Daughter Queen of *France* to augment their reputation and credit, alledged it would be both honourable and profitable to the Crown of *France* to have this addition. And that there were Revenues in abundance to maintain Garrisons within the Kingdom, to hold the Subjects under obedience, building Citadels, and having the whole strength in their hands. Herein they prevailed, she being married unto the Dauphine.

*John de Montluck* Bishop of *Valence*, was sent Ambassador from *France* to the Governour and Queen mother Sister to the Duke of *Guisse*. And when the said Ambassadour was to return to *France*, it pleased the Queen-mother to send me with him, to be placed Page of Honor to the Queen her Daughter, I being then 14 years of Age. But the said Bishop went first to *Ireland*, commanded thereto by the K. his Masters Letter, to know more particularly the motions and likelihood of the Offers made by *Oneel*, *Odoneel*, *Odocart*, and *Callock*, willing to shake off the Yoke of *England*, and become subject to the King of *France*; providing that he would procure the Popes gift of *Ireland*, and then send to their help 2000 Hacbutiers, 200 Light Horsemen, and 4 Cannon.

We shipped for *Ireland* in the Month of *January*, and were stormsted by the way in a little Isle called *Sandisle* before *Kintire*, where we were compelled to tarry 17. days, by reason of the Storm. Thence we hoised Sail toward *Ireland*, but the Storm was yet so extreamly violent, that with great danger of the Ship and our lives, we entered in at the mouth of *Loghsfeul* in *Ireland* upon Shrove-tuesday in the year 1545. for the Skipper and Marriners had lost all hopes of safety, having left their Anchors behind them the night before. Ere we landed we sent one *George Paris* who had been sent to *Scotland* by the great *Oneel* and his Associates, who landed at the house of a Gentleman who had married *Odocarts* Daughter, dwelling at the side of a Lake, who came to our Ship, and welcomed us, and convoyed us to his house, where we rested that night.

The next morning *Odocart* came there, and convoyed us to his house, which was a great dark Tower, where we had cold chear, as Herring and Bisket, for it was Lent. There finding two *English* Gray Friars who had fled out of *England* (for King *Edward VI.* was yet alive) the said Friars perceiving the Bishop to look very kindly to *Odocarts* Daughter, who fled from him continually, they brought to him a Woman who spoke *English* to lie with him. Which Harlot being kept quietly in his Chamber, found a little Glas within a Case standing in a window, for the Coffers were all wet with the Sea Waves that fell into the Ship during the Storm. She believing it had been ordained to be eaten, because it had an odoriferous smell, therefore she lickt

licked it clean out, which put the Bishop into such a rage, that he cried out for patience, discovering this harlotry, and his choler in such sort as the Friars fled, and the Woman followed. But the Irish men and his own Servants did laugh at the matter, for it was a Viol of the most pretious Balm that grew in *Egypt*, which *Solyman* the Great Turk had given in a Present to the said Bishop, after he had been two years Ambassadour for the King of *France* in *Turkey*, and was esteemed worth 2000 Crowns.

In the time that we remained at *Odocarts* house, his young daughter who fled from the Bishop, came and sought me, where ever I was, and brought a Priest with her who could speak English, and offered, if I would marry her, to go with me where ever I pleased. I gave her thanks, but told her that I was but young, and had no Estate, and was bound for *France*.

Now the Ambassadour met in a secret part with *Oneel* and his Associates, and heard their Offers and Overtures. And the Patriarch of *Ireland* did meet him there, who was a Scotchman born called *Wachop*, and was blind of both his eyes, and yet had been divers times at *Rome* by Post. He did great honour to the Ambassadour, and conveyed him to see *S. Patrick's Purgatory*, which is like an old Coal-pit which had taken fire by reason of the smoke that came out of the hole.

From *Odocarts* house we went to a dwelling place of the Bishop of *Roy*, not far from the narrow Firth that runs thorough *Lochfeul* to the Sea. The said Irish Bishop had been also at *Rome*, and there we rested other three weeks, waiting for a Highland Bark, which *James Macdonel* should have sent from *Kintire* with his Brother *Angus*, to carry us back to *Dunbarton*. Which being come for us, we parted to a Castle which the said *Macdonel* had in *Ireland*, and from that we embarked and rested a night in the Isle of *Jura*, and the next night in the Isle of *Bute*. But by the way we lost our Rudder, and were in great danger when we came to *Kintire*. *James Macdonel* did treat us honourably, and told the Bishop that he was the welcomer for my sake, because he had been kindly used by my Father when he was warded in the Castle of *Dunbarton*, during the time that my Father was Captain thereof, of whom he made an honourable report to the Bishop, which occasioned him the more kindly to notice me. After he had caused us to be landed at *Dunbarton*, we went streight to *Sterling*; where after eight days, the Ambassadour took leave of the Queen, and went again to *Dunbarton*, where there were two French Ships that had brought Silver to *Stratland* to pay the French Souldiers in Service, there ready to receive us. So sailing by the *Isle of Man* along the South Coast of *Ireland*, we landed at *Conquet* in *Brittany* eight days after our Embarking, not without some danger by the way both from English Ships, and a great Storm; so that once at Midnight the Mariners cried that we were all lost. At *Brest* in *Brittany* the Bishop took Post toward the Court of *France*, which was in *Paris* for the time. And because I was young, and he supposed I was not able to endure the toils of riding Post, he directed two Scottish Gentlemen, whose Fathers he had been acquainted with in *Scotland*, to be careful of me by the way. And we bought three little Nags, to ride to *Paris*. He desired the two Brothers to let me want for nothing by the way,

which he would recompense at the next meeting. He left with me as much money as would buy a Horse and bear my expence upon the Road to *Paris*.

Now we three enquired after other company, and found other three young men, the one a French man, the other a Brittain, and the third a Spaniard, who were to ride the same way. We were all six lodged in one Chamber at the first Inn we did quarter at, in which were three Beds, the two French men had one Bed, the two Scots another, the Spaniard and my self the third. I over-heard the two Scotch men discoursing together, that they were directed by the Bishop to let me want for nothing; therefore says the one to the other, we will pay for his Ordinary all the way, and shall accompt twice as much to his Master as we disburse, when we come to *Paris*, and so shall gain our own expence. The two French men not thinking that any of us understood that Language, were saying to themselves, These Strangers are all young, and know not the Fashion of the Hostleries, therefore we shall reckon with the Host at every Repose, and shall cause the Strangers to pay more than the custom is, and that way shall save our own charges. And accordingly the next day they went to put it in execution; but I could not forbear laughing in my mind, having understood so much French as to know what they were aiming at, wherewith I acquainted the young Spaniard; and so we were upon our guard: yet the two Scotch men would not consent that I should pay for my self hoping that way to beguile the Bishop: but the Spaniard and I wrote up every days accompt. By the way riding thorough a Wood, the two French men lighted off their Horses, and drew out their Swords, having appointed other two to meet them. But beholding our countenances, and seeing that we were making for our defence, they made a Sport of it, alleging that they had done it to try if we would be afraid, in case we should be assaulted by the way. But these two Rogues that met us, left us at the next Lodging; and when we came to *Paris*, the two Scotch men never obtained payment of the Bishop, for that they had disbursed, because of their intended fraud. We were 13 days in riding betwixt *Brass* and *Paris*, when we arrived in the Month of *April*.

Within a Month after our arrival at *Paris*, the Bishop of *Valois* was sent to *Rome*; and because he took Post, he left me behind him, having tumbled me in a very good Ordinary, and agreed with Master to teach me the French Tongue, and to Dance, Fence and play upon the Lute. I know not why he did not present me to the Queen, as he had engaged; albeit afterward he said that he was minded to make me his Heir.

The cause why he was at this time sent to *Rome*, was this: Pope *Pius* the Third had exchanged some Lands belonging to the Church, for *Parma* and *Placentia*, two Towns appertaining formerly to the Duchy of *Milan*, and gave them to his Son *Pierre Luis Farnes*, who married his eldest Son *Othavio* to the eldest Daughter of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth. The said *Pierre Luis* being murdered for his detestable Vices, the next Pope *Jules* pretended to bring again the said two Towns to the Church, in stead of the Church Lands that had been exchanged for them; compelling the Duke *Othavio* (finding him-  
self

self unable to withstand the Popes forces ) to put the said Towns into the King of *France* his custody: for he was in as great fear of the Emperour his Father-in-Law, who had gotten possession of the Dukedom of *Millan*. And for that effect he sent his Brother the Duke of *Casters* to *France*, to whom King *Henry* of *France* gave his Bastard Daughter in marriage. The King of *France* being as earnest to have an Estate in *Italy*, as the Emperour was to hinder him from it, by reason of *Millan* and *Naples*, to which the King claimed a right, though the Emperour had them in possession. Therefore so soon as he did see the French Garrison within the Town of *Parma*, he took part with the Pope: Which made the K. of *France* endeavour to make a Peace with K. *Edward VI.* of *England*, by the means of the Duke of *Northumberland*, who had a strict Friendship with *France*, having a hidden mark of his own that he shot at, as his Proceedings afterward declared. The Peace with *England* being concluded, that King *Edward* should marry *Elizabeth* Eldest Daughter to *Henry* the Second of *France*; and that he should give his consent that the Queen of *Scotland*, who was betrothed to him should be married with *Francis* Dauphin of *France*, in which Peace *Scotland* was also comprehended. The Bishop of *Valence* was sent to *Rome* to endeavour to oblige the Pope to desert the Emperour, but he returned without obtaining success in his Expedition: which was the cause that the dealing betwixt the King of *France* and *Ouel* in *Ireland* ceased. And in the mean time the King of *France* emits a Proclamation forbidding his Subjects to send to *Rome* for any Bulls, or Confirmation of Benefices; which together with the agreement with *England*, put the Pope in great fear that *France* would become Protestants in despite, as *Henry* the Eighth had lately done before. He was the more confirmed in this opinion, because an Army was shortly after made ready to pass into *Germany*, to the aid of the Protestant Princes, where King *Henry* himself did in person lead thousand men. For then many of the *Germans* were become Protestants, occasioned at first by the insolent avarice of the Pope, and the shameless proceedings of his selling of Pardons, and by the zeal and boldness of *Martin Luther*, who being persecuted, was maintained and assisted by the good Duke *Frederick* the of *Saxony*, Landgrave of *Hesse*, and other Princes of the Empire. Whereupon the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth took occasion under pretext of maintaining the Catholick Roman Religion, to pretend to bring the Empire and all the Dominions thereof, as Patrimony to him and his posterity. And therefore abandoned his Son-in-Law the Duke *Octavio* to the Popes discretion, for to obtain the greater assistance from him against the *Germans*. Which design the Emperor had once brought near to pass. For after that he had vanquished the Protestants in Battle, and taken Prisoner Duke *John Frederick*, he passed thorough the most part of the Provinces and Free Towns of *Dutchland*, and took from them their Liberties, placing Officers at his pleasure, and receiving from them of Gifts and Ransoms, Sixteen hundred thousand Crowns, and Five hundred Piece of Artillery. Yet he doubted the Landgrave, who was a valiant Prince, and chanced to be absent from the said Battle; therefore he dealt with Duke *Maurice*, Godson to the said Landgrave; to persuade his Godfather to come in, under assurance and promise, which the Emperour broke, retaining the said Landgrave captive upon the subtlety of a Syllable.



This Duke *Maurice* was Cousin to the Captive Duke of *Saxony*, and had obtained the Electorat of *Saxony*, which the Emperour took from his Cousin and gave to him. Whereupon he, as a fine Courtier assisted the Emperour, helping him greatly in his Victories against his Country and Friends for his own promotion. But when the Landgrave called him *Shelm*, *Pultroon*, *Traitor*, and deceiver of him whose Daughter he had married, he made earnest suit to the Emperour, for the Liberty of his Godfather, though in vain. The Emperour alledging no promise to have been broken to the said Landgrave, causing the Letter of Promise and Pacification to be read in his presence in the Dutch Tongue, wherein was a written word which admitted of two divers interpretations: to wit, this word *Enig* was interpreted by the Emperour *Perpetual*, and by the Landgrave and Duke *Maurice* it was taken for *Null* or *None*. But they could not help themselves, for the Landgrave was two years so straitly kept by the Spaniards, that oft in the night they held a light Candle to his face, to be assured that he was sleeping; and vexed him so, that through despite he would spit in their faces, crying out continually against *Maurice* who was not sleeping: But had sent secretly to the King of *France*, declaring how not onely his Godfather and he were so abused and deceived by the Emperour; but that he had begun already to rob the Empire of its Liberties, to change the State thereof to a Monarchy, against the Oath and Promise made at the Election and his Coronation. And that under pretext to suppress Heresie, he was so assisted by the Pope, that he was like to prevail. Intreating the King not to suffer them who were his Friends to be so oppressed, seeing it was no ways his Interest that his Competitor should grow so great, seeing thereby he should be the more in a capacity to annoy him at his pleasure. Whereupon the said King took occasion to levy an Army, and to convoy the same into *Almaign*, and assisting to seek their Liberty, he possessed himself in his way of *Metz*, *Towl*, and *Verdun*; three great Imperial Towns and Bishopricks.

In the mean time Duke *Maurice* lying at the Siege of *Magdeburg* Lieutenant for the Emperour, giving not the least ground of suspecting him discontent for the Landgraves retention, but rather endeavouring to make appear how far he was obliged to the Emperour, who had so highly advanced him, like a fine Courtier, evidencing publicly his resolutions of setting forward his Masters interest, and executing all his Commands, whether they should be right or wrong.

Yet the Duke of *Alva* alledged in secret Counsel with the Emperour, that *Maurice* lingered too long at the Siege of the said Town. And that it was to be suspected, that he was offended at the usage his Godfather did meet with. But *Granvil* Bishop of *Arras*, on the contrary, said, that such drunken Dutch heads needed not be suspected. Especially seeing two of the said Dukes Counsellours were Pensioners to his Sacred Majesty; and advertised him continually of all the Dukes most secret deliberations. Yet they thought expedient to send for the Duke, to see if he would presently obey, or pretend some excuse.

But Duke *Maurice* had as much subtilty as any Spaniard of the Emperours Council, having had intelligence that the Emperour had bribed

two of his Secretaries, yet he gave not the least ground to conjecture that he knew any thing thereof, appearing to do nothing without them, deliberating all his Enterprises in their presence, whereby the Emperour was deluded so as to expect no harm from him. And when the Duke was sent for, he took Post immediately for the Court, taking in his Company one of the Secretaries whom he knew to be the Emperors Pensioner, whom he sent before to shew the Emperor that he was following at leisure, by reason of a pain he had taken in his side occasioned with riding Post.

But the Duke had secretly commanded his Lieutenant to bring up the whole Army with all diligence, and to march night and day. So that he surpris'd the Emperour ~~as~~ he had received the least notice thereof: for he was compelled to rise from Supper, and fly forth of *Isbrugh* with Torch-light; and so clearly out of Dutchland, that he never set foot within it again.

This done he sent to the King of *France*, who was with his Army beside *Strasburgh*, giving him great thanks for his pains, advertizing him of the Emperors flight, intreating him to return home with his Army: for *Maurice* was dissatisfied that he had taken three of the Imperial Towns, and in the mean time he hasted through the whole Country, restoring the Free Towns to their former Liberty and Priviledges.

The Emperor again fearing to be compelled, set at liberty the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Landgrave of *Hess*. Finding himself frustrate of his expectation, and understanding that Duke *Maurice* had a great grudge against the King for taking fraudulently the three aforesaid Towns from the Empire, he dealt with *Maurice* secretly, allowing all that he had done. And so both being reconciled, they together laid Siege to the Town of *Metz*, though in vain. Whereby may be observed how dangerous it is in Civil Dissentions, to bring in great companies of Strangers to support any of the Parties. It may appear impertinent for me, to write thus much of the Affairs of *Dutchland*, being my self but young for the time, and not present in the French Army. But afterward when I was in *Germany*, I had this accompt from the good Elector Palatine, so that none could attain to more certain Information thereof.

The Bishop of *Valence* was at this time at *Paris*. He was desirous to have some knowledge in the Mathematicks; and for that effect he found out a great Scholar in divers high Sciences, called *Cavatus*. This *Cavatus* took occasion frequently in conference, to tell him of two familiar Spirits that were in *Paris* waiting upon an old Shepherd, who in his youth had served a Priest, and who at his death left them to him. The Bishop upon the Kings return from *Germany*, introduced the said *Cavatus* to the King. Who to verifie what he had said, offered to lose his head, in case he should not shew the two Spirits to his Majesty, or to any he should send, in the form of Men, Dogs, or Cats. But the King would not see them, and caused the Shepherd to be burnt, and imprisoned the said *Cavatus*.

The Bishop had another learned man to his Master, called *Lagot*, who had been curious in sundry of the said Sciences, and knew by the Art of Palmestry, as he said to me himself, that he should die before he attained



attained to the age of 28. years. Therefore, said he, I know the true Religion to be exercised at *Geneva*, there will I go and end my life in Gods service. Whither accordingly he went, and died there, as I was afterwards informed.

At this time the Bishop of *Valence*, being at Court in *St. Germans*, he was resolved to have presented me to the Queen. But in the interim, Captain *Ninean Cockbourn* then one of the Scots Guard, had obtained liberty to visit his Friends in *Scotland*, and was lately returned. This man was a Busie Medler, and had been sometimes entertained about my Fathers house. He finding that I could speak French, told me that he had a matter of consequence to impart to the Constable; and intreated that I would go along with him to be his Interpreter, because he had not the French Tongue. But he would not acquaint me with the matter, till he was in the Constables presence.

We attended till one day after dinner, when he was to give audience to divers Ambassadors. He commanded us to wait at his Chamber door till two Afternoon, which hour he failed not to keep, after he had heard the Ambassadors, and made report to the King of their demands, and advised him what to answer. We two were brought in to his Cabinet, where he was alone with a Secretary. Then the Captain began to declare, how that in his late being in *Scotland*, Bishop *John Hamilton*, whole Guider of the Governour his Brother, had been dangerously sick, so that his Speech was lost without all hope of recovery. That the Queen Dowager of *Scotland* had taken occasion hereof, to prevail with the Governour so effectually, that he had resigned the Government to her, she being made Queen Regent, and willing me to shew the same to the Constable. But I required to know what further he had to say; Then he proceeded to shew that when the Bishop of *S. Andrews* had recovered his Speech and health, by the help of *Cardanus* an Italian Magician, he curled, and cried out, that the Governour was a very Beast, for quitting the Government to her, seeing there was but a Skittering Lais between him and the Crown. But I blushed, when the Captain pulled upon me to tell these very words to the Constable. He perceived how loath I was to rehearse it, at last he pressed me. I told him I did not think it worthy to be communicated to his Lordship. He asked my name, and caused his Secretary to write it up, and enquire if I was of Kin to the Captain. Who said in bad French, that I was his Sisters Son. The Constable enquired of me, if that was truth. I told him I had no relation to him at all. Then he desired to know with whom I was in that Country. I answered his Lordship, that the Bishop of *Valence* had Commission from the Queen Regent of *Scotland*, to place me her Daughters Page. He desired to know if I would remain with him, in case he procured the Bishops consent. I answered, that I should think my self much honoured, by being in the company of a Person so famous in *Europe* as he was: but that I believed he durst not dispose of me, in respect of the Promise he had given to the Queen Regent. He answered, that he could present me when he pleased to the Queen; but if I would be satisfied to stay with him, he would not fail to advance me. I exprest my self much obliged to his Lordship, that he had so far taken notice of me, and willing if he procured the Bishops consent.

The Constable failed not at his first rencounter with the Bishop, to enquire concerning me, and expressed his desire to have me in his Service. To which the Bishop acquiesced, and acquainted me there with that same night, that the Constable was the best Master in France, and would not fail to promote me. Whereupon I entered into his Service, in the Year 1553.

I grant these Trifles are not worthy to be here inserted, were it not to testify Gods gracious goodnes to the posterity of the Faithful. As David observes in his Psalms, *I have been young, and now am old, yet did I never see the Just abandoned.* For it was God that moved the Queen Regents heart to take two of my Brothers into her Service, and to send me into France to be placed with her Daughter our Queen. Who also moved the Bishop to be so kind to me, that if I had been his own Son, he could not have had more affection for me: and the same God moved the Constables heart to desire me.

In the Year 1553, in the Moneth of May, the Constable of France raised a great Army. And being the Kings Lieutenant, led them first to Amience in Picardy. For when the King of France was in Dutchland with his Army, as he gave out, to help the Princes of the Empire, Mary Queen of Hungary then a Widow, Sister to the Emperour, and Regent of Flanders, entered with an Army into Picardy, and burnt the Kings Palace of Fontenbrey, with divers other little Towns and Villages. Thinking thereby to divert the King, that he should have come back to defend his own bounds. Thus they entered into host Wars, and the King in his return besieged several Towns and took them.

Therefore the Emperour in the Spring time of that same Year, entered in person with a great Army into Picardy, and won Tiron, and Sedan, and burnt divers Burghs and Villages; which caused the Constable to go with his Army to resist him. The two Armies being incamped seven leagues asunder, the Constable was advertised by a Spie, that all the Emperours Horsemen were to come in the night to assault the French Camp. Therefore he to shun that surpris, marched all night forward toward the Enemy, with all his Forces Horse and Foot, whereby he surpris'd those who thought to have found him in bed, and gave them the overthrow. Many were killed, and some taken; among the rest the Duke of Arceat, Leader of those designed for that Enterprise, was taken Prisoner.

After this Victory, King Henry the Second came to the Camp himself. The Emperour retiring toward the Town of Valenciennes, the Kings Camp following always upon his King, making divers days journeys before he came to the said Valenciennes; where the Emperour had set down his Camp without the Town upon an Hill, making Trenches round about the same. Where the King presented him battle, waiting in vain a whole day, to see if he might be provoked to come forth. And for that effect sent a number of Infantry Borders to his Trenches, to bring on the Skirmish, where the Emperour sent out some Companies of Horsemen, who were soon beat back within their Feet. In the mean time the Emperour caused his whole Artillery to fire at our Camp, though not much to our prejudice. We were advertised that the Emperour was determined not to hazard Battle, for he began to believe

believe that Fortune favoured no more his old age. Therefore when night drew near, the King retreated to *St. Quintin*, where the Constable fell deadly sick, being then in his great Chmacterick. Then both the Armies were sent to their Winter Garisons, the Emperour went for *Bruxels*, and the King to *Paris*, and the Constable to his Palace at *Chantilly*, to recover his health.

During this Winter there was a great Convention between *Calis* and *Ardres*, where Cardinal *Pool* was appointed Mediator by the Pope, to agree the two great Princes, but without any effect. Therefore the next Spring the King went first into the Field with his Army, in the Year 1554. as the Emperour had done the Year before. At which time I was made his Pensioner, by the Constables means. His Majesty besieged and took first *Marianbrugh*, a gallant Town, and of great strength. He took also *Bovineand*, and at length *Dyoan*. But the Castle of *Dyoan* situated upon a high Rock, was stoutly defended by a Spanish Captain, who at length coming forth to speak with the Constable about Composition, was retained; and the men of War came forth with their Bag and Baggage. Few or none of the Souldiers who came forth of *Dyoan*, but were hurt either with shelves of staves, by the force of our Battery; or were burnt with the Fire-brands, that they did roll down the steep hill whereupon the Wall was built. And thrice they repulsed our French Footmen, Eleven Banner-bearers whereof went up to the breach: to wit, First one with the Ensign in his hand, not followed with his Company, who was killed, and fell tumbling down the Hill. Then another Souldier to win the Office, took up the Ensign, and went up likewise to the head of the Wall, who was also killed. Then the third, and all the eleven one after another, lost their lives, not at all assisted by their Companies. Notwithstanding that the Constable, my Master, stood by crying and threatening in vain; for which he degraded their Captains, and brake their Companies. There was a Scotchman, Brother to *Barnabie*, called *Archibald Moultrie*, who with his drawn Sword ran up to the head of the Wall, and returned safe. But he got no reward, though I used all my endeavours for him. Thus many are readier to punish faults, than to reward good deeds.

After this the King entered far in the Low Countries, burning and carrying away great Booties. But so soon as the Emperour could convene any Forces together, our Army began to retire homeward. Then the Emperour sent five thousand Horsemen, to see if they might perceive any occasion of advantage. Which they frequently assayed, assailing our Rear-guard at the passing over a little Water. At which time the Constable laid behind himself, and turning his face toward them, he withstood their charge stoutly, with the French Footmen, and some Light-horsemen, until the whole Army had passed over the said Water, not far from *Calvray*. So the Emperours Horsemen followed no further at that time, believing that the King was resolved to return to *France*, and dismiss his Army for that year. But the King drew along the Frontier toward a place of great strength, called *Kenty*, where he planted his Camp, and besieged the said place: which I heard the Constable promise to deliver to the King in eight days. Which promise was not performed, for the Emperour came in person with his Army for

for the relief thereof. Which Army the Constable rode out to meet with the whole *French* Horsemen, leaving the Foot at the Siege. For he had great intelligence, and had heard where the Emperour was resolved to encamp, marching along a great Hight which had a Steep towards the part where our Camp lay. But it was easie to ride up and down at the side thereof. Where our Horsemen did ride, and the Emperour sent some on Horseback to skirmish. At which time *Normand*, Lesly Master of *Rifles* won great reputation; for with thirty Scotchmen he rode up the Hill, upon a fair Grey Gelding. He had above his Coat of black Velvet his Coat of Armour with two broad white Crosses, the one before and the other behind, with Sleeves of Mail, and a red bonnet upon his head, whereby he was known and seen afar off by the Constable, the Duke of *Anguien*, and Prince of *Conde*. Where with his 30 he charged upon 60 of their Horsemen with Culverines, followed but with seven of his number. He in our fight struck five of them from their Horses with his Spear before it brake. Then he drew his Sword and ran in among them, not valuing their continual shooting, to the admiration of the beholders. He slew divers of them, and at length when he saw a company of Spear-men coming down against him, he gave his Horse the Spurs, who carried him to the Constable, and there fell down dead: for he had many shots, and worthy *Normand* was also shot in divers parts, whereof he died fifteen days after. He was first carried to the Kings own Tent, where the Duke of *Anguien*, and Prince of *Conde* told his Majesty that *Hector* of *Troy* was not more valiant than the said *Norman*: Whom the said King would see dressed by his own Chirurgeons, and made great mean for him. So did the Constable, and all the rest of the Princes, but no man made more lamentation than the Laird of *Grange*, who came to the Camp the next day after, from a quiet Road whither he had been commanded.

Now the Emperour set down his Camp two miles from *Renty*, and in an instant entrenched the whole Camp round about, save onely the face of the steep Hill that looked towards our Camp.

All that night there were many upon the Watches of both Armies, for every man looked for a Battle the next day following. And therefore the Emperour, like an old experienced Captain, seized upon a Wood in the night time, that lay upon a Hill side between the two Camps; which was not onely a great advantage to him, but compelled the most part of our Army to stand in arms all night; whereby they were rendered the more unable against the next day, wanting the refreshment of rest, and then the place of Battle was a plain Valley that lay under the said Wood. The next morning early, after every man had said their prayers, and taken a little refreshment, we placed our Army in good order of Battle, under the said Hill and Wood. The King himself that day commanded the Battle, but he desired the Constable to abide with him, to give Counsel as occasion would fall out. The Duke of *Guise* led the Vant-guard, and the Marshal of *St. Andre* the Rearguard. First so many of our *French* Foot, as are called *Infant Perdews*, were led along the Hill and Wood, beginning to skirmish with the Spaniards, who were within the Wood; who had the great advantage, being covered with Bushes and Trees, that they compelled

pelled our Foot to retire fearfully. Which well favoured beginning, the Emperour might well perceive from the Hill whereon he was encamped. Therefore like a skilful Captain, he took the occasion to hazard a good part of the Vant-guard with seven Field-pieces, who by his direction came forward. The Spaniards with their Fire-arms through the Wood, a thousand Lance-Knights with bright Corsets, along the Hill side, with long Pikes. The Count of *Swertzenburg* with all his Reiters at the Hill Foot, and the whole Light-horsemen of the Emperours Army upon his right hand. At which time, our Foot, who were appointed to skirmish with the Spaniards, retired more and more, as also our Light-horsemen in the Valley, drew aside, and gave too great place to the Emperours Vant-guard. Which when it came where Monsieur D' *Tavannes*, and Monsieur D' *Lorge* stood with their Companies, seeing them make for defence, they marched more coldly. The Duke of *Guise* in the mean time said, that he would ride back to the Battle, and obtain the Kings Command before he would charge upon the Enemy. But Monsieur de *Lorge* who was an old Captain, alledged that there was no time to take Council, for the Enemy, said he, will be as soon at the King as you. Therefore it was resolved, to charge courageously upon the Enemy; which being done, and a little rencounter made, the Reiters shot off all their Pistols, and finding themselves not backed, nor followed with the rest of the Emperours Army, as they alledged was promised unto them, they gave back and fled, being pursued by our Horse, who slew several of the Dutch Foot, and some of the Spaniards, for the Wood was their relief, but the Horse all escaped, within the Ramparts of the Emperours Camp. Their Field-pieces were taken, and many Spaniards made Prisoners. Therefore we called it a won Battle, and marched forward, possessing the ground where the Fight was, and set down our Camp the same night hard beside the Emperours. Who seemed not that he had lost any thing, but remained steadfastly within his Trenches. All that night the Army for the most part was upon the Watch, and the next day the Armies looked peaceably one upon another. For we would not hazard to charge them within their Foot, and they staid for twelve thousand fresh men that were coming to their aid. But in the Evening, they discharged all their Canons, which overthrew part of our Tents; and we again discharged all our Cannon at them, and did laugh to see the bullets light and rebound among them. Yet the same night, without Trumpet or beating of Drum, we raised our whole Army, and retired home to our own Town of *Montreal*, and left *Renty* unwon, alledging that we had won a battle, which was better; and that we wanted Horse-meat in the beginning of Winter. But the Emperour suffered us patiently to pass away, not appearing to understand that he knew any thing of our retreat, being content that he had preserved *Renty* from being taken.

After this, the Emperour being aged, and finding himself vexed with the Gout and Gravel, he thought fit to leave the World, and retire himself to a Monastery of Monks in *Spain*. But first he made means with the Princes of the Empire, to elect his Son *Philip* to be Emperour, which they altogether refused, thinking him too mighty, and the more in a capacity to subdue their Liberties,

as his Father had attempted to do before. But they were content to chuse his Brother *Ferdinand*, who was King of *Bobemia*, and Archduke of *Austria*, which Dominions lay nearest the *Turks*. The said *Ferdinand* having also some Lands in *Hungary*, would be compelled to defend his own Lands, and that way would be content with less Contribution from the Estates of the Empire. He gave over to his Son *Philip* his other Kingdoms and Dominions that he had in *Spain*, *Italy*, and the *Low Countries*. And for the establishing his said Sons Estate, he drew on a Treaty of Truce for the space of five years with *France*. Which was agreed upon, and sworn between the Parties. But the said Truce was soon broken at the persuasion of Pope *Paul* the Fourth, who intending to bring back again to the Church, some Church Lands that his Predecessors had disposed to their Friends. As the common custom of Popes is, the one Pope disposes to his Bastards or Nephews, the next Pope revokes the Lands, pretending the same to be for the good of the Church, and gives them again to his Kindred and Friends. But those who had the Lands that Pope *Paul* the Fourth claimed, were a great Clan in *Italy*, called *Collonois*, who were dependers upon the King of *Spain*, and were under his Protection, and would not grant to give over any of their Possessions unto the Pope, neither for his Curling, Threatning, or Bragging, but stood in their own defence. Whereof the Pope impatient, put on by two of his Nephews, sent the one of them to *France* called the Cardinal *Caraff*. The said Legat had born before him a Hat upon the point of a Sword, both Hat and Sword to be presented to the King of *France*. The Sword, as an assured token of Victory, and the Hat as a token of triumph: requiring the King as eldest Son of the Catholick Church of *Rome*, to send an Army to *Italy*, to help the Popes Holiness recover again to the Kirk, such Lands as were wrongfully with holden from the same; by the said race of the *Collonois*. And for to take away all scrupulosity from the Kings Conscience, by reason of his Oath and Sacrament at the closing up of the Truce with the King of *Spain*, he the said Cardinal as Legat from Gods Vicar, having power, would give him full absolution, he having power to bind and loose. Alledging moreover that in doing so dutiful an Office for the Kirk, the King should reap a great advantage to himself, seeing he might thereby be put in possession of the Kingdom of *Naples* by the Forces of the Pope. Who should join with the Kings Army, after he had helped the Kirk to recover her Lands from them, who were maintained in the possession thereof, by his Competitor the King of *Spain*.

The Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorraine* his Brother, imbraced this Proposition very earnestly. For the Duke expected to be made Vice-Roy of *Naples*, whereby he might the more easily sometime make his Brother Pope. But the old Constable my Master, was utterly against the breaking of the Peace. Yet the two ambitious Brothers prevailed, persuading the King, that as the Constables age required rest, so the King being in the flower of his years, ought not to let slip so fair an occasion to recover again the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the Crown of *France*.

Thus a great Army was prepared and sent into *Italy*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Guise*, and likewise the Kings Lieutenant in *Pic-*

cardy entered in upon the King of Spains Dominions with Fire and Sword, so unexpected by those of the *Low Countries*, that some of the *French Light-horsemen* entered upon Horseback, within one of their Kirks upon a Sunday, and snatched the Chalice out of the Priests hands when he was mumbling his Mass.

The King of *Spain* took this breach of the Peace heavily to heart, and both assisted the *Collonists* against the Popes Forces more earnestly than he would have done; and also prepared a great Army against the next Spring to invade the Frontiers of *Piccardy* in *France*.

In the mean time that the Duke of *Guise* with his *French Army* was in *Italy*, the Pope took occasion hastily to compound with the *Colonnists*; who finding themselves like to be straitned, before the King of *Spains* Forces could be ready to support them, gave the Pope part of his desire, he securing to them the rest.

But the Duke of *Guise* judged himself greatly disgraced by the Popes guile; and disappointed as to the expectations he had of the preferment to the Kingdom of *Naples*, when he understood that the Pope was agreed without him, and that in stead of concurring and helping him to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, according to his engagement, he plainly refused; pretending that the Winter was near at hand, and that it was, by far more fitting, that all Christian Princes were agreed among themselves, to make War against the Great Turk. So that all the favour the Duke of *Guise* had, by undertaking this Journey into *Italy*, was to get a Kiss of the Popes Foot; which occasioned great anger in the King of *France*, both at the one and the other. Then for the space of two Months, every man at the Court of *France* had liberty to speak ill of the Pope, who at that instant agreed with the King of *Spain* by the mediation of that same Cardinal *Caraff*, who had carried the Sword and Had a little before to the King of *France*. Which Cardinal was afterwards strangled by the next Pope *Pius IV.* for practising to bring the Great Turk into *Italy*, against the Christians. Which he at his death confessed he had, for his own greatness. This I understood afterward, being at *Rome*.

Now to return to the Duke of *Guise* his Army, abandoned by the Pope. He returned to *France* with the loss of the most part dead for hunger, and weakened by sickness, and slain by the *Spaniards*, who waited at their heels all the way. Before the Duke of *Guise* his coming home to *France*, the King of *Spain* was entered upon the Frontiers of *France* with a great Army of . . . . . thousand men. Whom to resist, the Constable, my Master, was sent with sixteen thousand. The day before he took leave of the King at *Rhemes* in *Champaigne*, riding to the hunting, there came a man in grave apparel following him on Foot, crying for audience for Gods sake. Whereupon the Constable staid, willing him to speak. Who said, *The Lord says, seeing that thou wilt not know me; I shall likewise not know thee; thy glory shall be laid in the dust.* This strange language put the Constable in such a rage, that he strook the poor man into the face with the horse rod which was in his hand, and threatned to cause him to be hanged. The man answered, he was willing to suffer what punishment he pleased, seeing he had performed his commission. The Duke of *Nevers* perceiving the Constable troubled, drew near, desiring to know the cause. The Constable told

him



him that such a Knave had been preaching to him of God. Then the Duke did also threaten the poor man. But as they did ride forward after the King, I staid behind, and asked the man what had moved him to use such strange language towards the Constable; he answered, *That the Spirit of God gave him no rest till he had discharged his mind of that Commission given him by God.*

Now the Spanish Army above mentioned, was led by *Emanuel Duke of Savoy*, along the Frontiers of *France*, who at last planted his Camp about the Town of *St. Quintin*. Whither the Constable sent the Admiral of *Chastillon*, his Sifters Son, to defend the same, and lodged his Camp at *La Ferr*, five Leagues from the Town of *S. Quintin*: which was not sufficiently furnished with Men and Munition, wherefore he assayed the next day, in vain, to put in it more Companies, under the Conduct of *Monsieur d'Andelot*, Brother to the said Admiral. After the preparation of two days, he marched forward with his whole Army toward *St. Quintin*, carrying with him eighteen Cannons, with some Boats that are commonly in Camps, to pass the Army over Rivers and Waters. For there was a little Lough upon the South-west side of the Town, in the which the said Boats were set. And *Monsieur D'Andelot*, first with three hundred, entered the Town that way; but so soon as it was perceived, the Enemy stopped the rest from entering.

But so soon as the Duke of *Savoy* was coming with his whole Army towards us, the Constable alledging that he had furnished *St. Quintin* sufficiently, drew homewards towards *La Ferr* in good order, intending to eschew Battle if he could, the other being more powerful than he. His intention was to pass and besiege *Calis*, but the whole Horsemen of the Enemy were hard at us, against the time we had travelled four miles; where the Constable stopped a little time. At length he said that these Horsemen came to stay us till the Foot were advanced. Therefore he thought best to pass forward to a narrow Post betwixt a Wood and a Village, there to give them Battle if he could not escape them. In the mean time the Marshal *D' St. Andre*, a great Man for that time gave unhappy advice, that all the French Servants who were on Horseback should retire from among the men at Arms, lest they should be an impediment to them who were to fight; there being as many Servants as there were Masters. They were glad to get them out of the Prease, spurring their Horse with speed homewards, intending to stay upon some Hill to behold the Combat. The Enemy perceiving so great a number of Horsemen, as they thought flying, in the very instant, took occasion to charge upon our Light-horsemen. Whereupon the Constable being in a Valley between two Hills, marching toward the strait part where he intended to stay, spurred forward up the little Hill that he might see how to resist, and put order to the Battle: which gave an hard apprehension to others that he was flying. But when he turned on the top of the Hill to behold the Onset, no man would tarry with him for any command. Though he always cried return, return, their heads were homewards, and their hearts also, as appeared. Then his Master of the Horse bringing him a Turkey speedy Horse to run away with the rest, he answered in anger, *That it was against his Profession and Occupation to fly*; addressing himself fear-

lessly



lessly against the greatest Troop of Enemies, saying, *Let all true Servants to the King follow me*: though onely threescore Gentlemen accompanied him, who were all overthrown in an instant. The Constable desired to be killed, but the Master of the Horse cried continually, *It is the Constable, kill him not*. But before he was known, he was shot thorough the thigh, and then was taken prisoner. I being hurt by a stroke upon the head, was again mounted by my Servant upon a Scotch Gelding, which carried me through the Enemies, who were all betwixt me and home. Two of them struck at my head with Swords, because my Head-piece was stricken off in the first rencounter. These two were standing betwixt us and home, to catch Prisoners in a narrow strait. But my horse ran through them against my will, and through the Village, for the Field between it and the Wood was full of smoke of the Culverins. There most of our Foot were slain. The leaping over a Dike separated me from the two, and so being past the said Village there was room enough to escape. So I came late to *La Ferr*, where I did meet with Mr. *Henry Killegrew* an English Gentleman, my old Friend, who held my horse, till I late down in a Barbers Booth to be dressed of the hurt in my head. In the mean time a Proclamation was made that no man should remain within the Town, but the ordinary Garrison, because the Governour thereof looked for a Siege.

By the loss of this Battle, the Town of *St. Quintine* and several other Towns were lost. Whereby the King of *France* found himself reduced to so great straits, that he was compelled to accept of a very hurtful Peace at *Cambray*; where I was for the time with my Master the Constable, yet a Captive.

With the said Constable, was adjoined in Commission the Cardinals of *Lorraine* and *Chastillion*, the Marshal of *St. Andre*, the Bishop of *Orleans*, and the Secretary *Anbapin*: For the King of *Spain*, were the Duke of *Alva*, Prince of *Orange*, and Cardinal *Granvel*: for Queen *Mary of England*, were Commissioners, *William* Bishop of *Ely*, and Doctor *Wotton*. The Commissioners made peace betwixt *France*, *Spain*, *England* and *Scotland*. The Constable was much for the Peace, the Cardinal of *Lorraine* desired the continuance of the Wars. For by the Peace, the Constable would get leave to come home, to guide the King and Court again, as he had formerly done. By the continuance of the Wars, he would remain still Prisoner, leaving the Government of the King and Court of *France* to the Cardinal and the Duke of *Guise*, his Brother. *Spain* that was victorious, took advantage of their strife and emulation. *France* and *England* lost by the said Peace. The King inclined most to the Constables Counsel. *England* appeared desirous, that *Calis* should be restored, believing that the King of *Spain* would not agree till they had satisfaction of their demands. Yet they were frustrate of their expectations. At length perceiving the two great Kings careless of their satisfaction, they appeared content with a scornful mean (albeit it was not) cast in by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*: to wit, that *Calis* should be restored to them at the end of eight years, or else five hundred thousand Crowns. And for payment of the said sum, in case the said Town was not rendred unto them at the end of the time specified, that in the mean time they should have three great men of

France

*France*, to be kept as Pledges for the restitution of the said Town. Now the English Commissioners knew that nothing of this would be kept, nevertheless they appeared content finding themselves abandoned by *Spain*. So the Peace being concluded, *Spain* obtained all their desires, the Constable obtained liberty, the Cardinal of *Lorraine* could not mend himself, no more than the English Commissioners.

However the said Cardinal took this advantage of the said Peace, that the first Article of the Peace obliged all of them to leave their partialities, and join together to suppress the great number of Hereticks, who were so increased through all their Dominions, that it was thought hard enough to the Pope, the Emperour, the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, together with the Queen of *Scotland*, to reduce them again to the Catholick Faith. The said Cardinal proposed to himself another advantage, wherewith to recompence his losses: for he thought at the end of eight years, when *England* would look either to get *Calice* restored again to them, or else the sum above specified, he would cause his Sisters daughter, the Queen of *Scotland* to be proclaimed righteous Queen of *England*, and allegde that Queen *Elizabeth* was but a Bastard. And that way he thought not onely *Calice*, but all *England* should appertain to the Queen of *Scotland*. As for the Pledges, he resolved such men should be chosen that *France* would make little account of.

After the concluding of this Peace, Ambassadors were sent to *Flanders* and *England*. The Cardinal of *Lorraine* out of *France*, to take the King of *Spains* Oath, and to swear for the King of *France* his observation thereof. The Secretary *Dardits* also was sent out of *France*, to do the like in the name of the Dauphin of *France*, and the Queen of *Scotland* his Spouse, giving them this new stile, In the name of *Francis* and *Mary* King and Queen of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, Dauphin and Dauphinois of *Viennois*. Whereat the Duke D' *Alva* and Cardinal *Granuel* smiled, saying this will breed some business ere it be long. The Cardinal of *Lorraine* shortly after caused to be renewed all the Queen of *Scotlands* silver Vessels, and engraved thereon the Arms of *England*. The Marshal *Montmorancy* my Masters eldest Son, was sent to *England* to swear the Peace, and to take the Queen of *Englands* Oath. So soon as Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* understood of this new stile and Arms, usurped by the Queen of *Scotland*, to which he said he had no right, he being Ambassador from the Queen of *England* to *France*, complained thereof to the King and Council of *France*, though he got but Dutch excuses; alledging that in *Dutchland* all the Princes Brothers, Cousins, or Children, are stiled Princes or Dukes of that same House. The Constable advised the King to Commission me to swear the Peace in *Scotland*. But the Cardinal of *Lorraine* alledged Monsieur *Bertancourt* Master of the Household, to the Queen Regent was meet; because the Instructions tended to declare unto the Queen Regent, how that the first and principal Article of the Peace, was that the Pope, the Emperour, the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, should join together to reduce again the most part of *Europe* to the Roman Catholick Religion, and to pursue and punish with Fire and Sword all Hereticks, who would not condescend to the same, desiring the

Queen

Queen Regent to do the same in *Scotland*; and to begin in time, before the Heresie should spread any further; which was already too far spread by her gentle forbearance, as had been reported to the King of *France*. Praying her diligently to take course therein without fear, or respect of persons, seeing that no Country of it self was able to withstand the whole Forces of so many confederate Catholick great Princes.

It is above declared, that all those Prelats who had great Rule and Authority for the time, had assisted the Queen Regent in breaking the Contract of marriage with *England*, and transporting the young Queen to *France*. But the Archbishop of *S. Andrews* began to think that in case the young Queen died without succession to her body, that the Earl of *Arran* his Nephew might the easilier be Crowned, the Governour his Father being already in possession, was against the transporting the Crown matrimonial to *France*. And he having for the time, the guiding both of the Governour his Brother, and of the Country, drew easily the most part of the Clergy upon his side. Whereupon the Queen Dowager was compelled to address her self to a contrary Faction, to be the more in a capacity of compassing her design; to wit, to the Nobility and Barons, who were become Professors of the Reformed Religion, conniving at their secret Preaching, for further ingratiating her self with them: whereby the Protestants so increased, that the most part of the Country became Professors of the Reformed Religion. And such as had upon that accompt been formerly banished, as upon account of the slaughter of the Cardinal, were called home to fortifie the Faction that most furthered her designs. In the mean time the Bishop of *S. Andrews* fell sick, so that he lost his Speech and was given over for dead. The Queen Dowager looks upon this as a fit opportunity of wresting the Government out of the Lord *Hamiltons* hands, having the concurrence of the Lords that were Protestants, and their dependents, who were not a little incensed at the said Governour, because he had been so influenced by his Brother, as by his Council to endeavour the ruine of their Religion. And the ways they took became effectual, he having been at last induced to resign the Government into the Queens hands, who thereupon was declared Regent.

The Protestants were thus at this time her best friends, and by the diligent preaching of the Preachers, they were increased to so great a number, that she judged it would prove a dangerous and difficult matter to compel them to desert their Principles. But the instructions which *Bessacourt* brought to her, and to Monsieur *Dosel* Lieutenant in *Scotland* for the King of *France*, and to all others who had greatest credit about her Majesty were so strict, and mixed with some threatenings, that she determined to follow them. She therefore issued out a Proclamation a little before Easter, commanding every man great and small to observe the Roman Catholick Religion, to resort daily to the Mass, that all should make Confession in the ear of a Priest, and receive the Sacrament. By word of mouth she acquainted several of the Protestant Lords, that they behoved to desert their Principles, she shewed to them the Commission, that was sent her out of *France*, and the danger that would follow thereupon, if not obeyed.

When the Nobility and States of the Country perceived her to be in earnest,

earnest finding themselves also threatened by Monsieur *Dofel*, they left the Court: And consulting together what was meetest for them to do, they sent unto her Majesty the Earl of *Argile*, and Lord *James* Prior of *St. Andrews*, to shew her Majesty, in name and behalf of the rest, how that they had been permitted by her Majesty, to keep their own Ministers of a long time, sometimes secretly, and sometimes openly. That by her tolerance, their Religion had taken such root, and the number of the Protestants so increased, that it was a vain hope to believe, they could be put from their Religion, seeing they were resolved, as soon to part with their lives, as to recant.

The Queen Regent did as much dislike this kind of Language, as they had done her Proclamation, so that she began to persecute, and they to stand to their own defence, binding themselves together, under the name of the Congregation: Therefore they brake down Images, Kirks, and Cloisters.

The Queen Regent sent to *France*, advertising her Daughter, and her Husband of these Disorders, requiring help and Forces to suppress this in time, or else all would be lost: Declaring that she had ground of fear, that my Lord *James* Prior of *St. Andrews*, natural Son to *James*, the Fifth, would under pretext of this new Religion, usurp the Crown of *Scotland*, and pluck it clean away from the Queen her Daughter, unless sudden remedy were applied thereto: Upon this advertisement, some of the Council of *France* advised, presently to raise a great Army for reducing of *Scotland*; but the Constable counselled the King, whose Pensioner I was for the time, to send me unto *Scotland*. The King first gave me his Commission by word of mouth, and then the Constable his chief Councillor, directed me at length in his Majesty's presence, as followeth.

Your Native Queen, faith he, is married here in *France* unto the *Dauphine*, and the King is informed by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, that a Bastard Son to *James* fifth, called *Proxime St. Andre*, pretends under colour of Religion, to usurp the Kingdom unto himself; his Majesty knows that he was ever against the said marriage, fearing thereby to make our old Friends our new Enemies, as is like to come to pass this day. But I gave too great place to the House of *Guisse*, to deal in the affairs of *Scotland*; because the Queen Regent is their Sister: But now seeing their violent proceedings, are like to occasion the loss of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, I must needs meddle, and put to my helping hand, as having better experience of the nature of that Nation, than apparently they have: I assure you that the King is resolved to hazard his Crown, and all that he hath rather than that your Queen be robbed of her right, seeing she is now married unto his Son. And he resolved to send an Army to *Scotland* for that effect, though he would gladly shun the trouble thereof, if it were possible. For now after his Majesty hath had Wars long enough with his old Enemies, and hath agreed with them upon very rational considerations, he hath to enter again into a new unnecessary War, with his old Friends: Seeing there is probable ground of conjecture, that it is not their default, but that the fault is occasioned by the harsh usage they meet with. I hear that Monsieur *Dofel* is choleric, hasty, and too passionate. Such are not qualified to rule over remote, and form'd Coun-

tries. I have also intelligence, that the Queen Regent hath not kept all things promised unto them. The King my Master is not so rash, as readily to believe that *Scotland*, who had kept so long Friendship with *France*, would now so slightly break their old band, and abandon their duty to their Lawful Prince. The King is well acquainted with the inconveniencies which may arise upon so distant, and beyond-Sea Wars. He knows what charge it is to furnish out Ships, which perchance may be thrice victualled, ere they make Sail, by reason of contrary Winds, and that your Seas are very dangerous. The *Marquess de Albuiff* was driven upon the Coast of *Norway*, when he thought to have landed in *Scotland*, so that his Voyage did no good, though his preparations for the same was very expensive. Though our Army were well landed in *Scotland*, how oft might they stand in need of supply, when we by reason of these, and several the like difficulties, will not be able to help them, whereof we have too good experience when Monsieur de *Lorge* was there.

I have brought you up from a Child, I understand that you are come of an honourable Family; I have assured the King, that I have had good proof of your honesty, so that his Majesty is well minded toward you, at whose hand I hope you shall deserve a good reward, this is a Commission of a far greater importance, then that which *Betancourt* carried. For the King will stay, or send his Army, according to your report. Give it out, that you are only come home, to visit your Friends. Let neither the Queen, Regent nor *Dofel*, know of your Commission, wherein you are implored by the King, who is now your best Master.

First try diligently and perfectly well, whether the said Prior pretends to usurp the Crown of *Scotland* to himself, or if he be moved to take Arms only for Conscience sake, in defence of his Religion, himself, his dependants, and associates. Next try what promises are broken to him, and them, by whom, and at whose instance. Thirdly, if they desire another Lieutenant, in place of *Dofel*.

If it be only Religion that moves them, we must commit *Scots mens* Souls unto God, for we have difficulty enough to rule the Consciences of *French men*. It is the obedience due unto their Lawful Queen with the Body, that the King desires. If any promise be made to them, and not kept, the King nor I are not to be blamed. If they desire any other Lieutenant in place of *Dofel*, the King will send one, who I hope shall please them.

After that the Constable had ended his instructions, the King laid his hand upon my shoulder, and said, do as may Cousin hath directed you, and I shall reward you. So I kissed his Majesty's hand, and taking my leave, I went through *England*, and found the Queen Regent within the old Tower of *Falkland*: Because that same day, her Army under Duke *Hamilton*, and Monsieur *Dofel*, was ranged in battel upon *Couper Moor*, against the Lords of the Congregation; at what time her Majesty made a hard complaint unto me of her disobedient Subjects. And even as I was speaking with her, the Duke, and Monsieur *Dofel* returned from the said Moor, without Battel. Whereat the Queen was much offended, thinking they had lost a very fair occasion.

I laid my self wholly out, to be informed, if my Lord *James* intended, as was reported of him, to make himself King. Mr. *Henry Balneaus* was then in great credit with him, and loved me as I had been his own Son; by reason of some acquaintance I had with him in *France*, and small services I had done him there, during his banishment. He first acquainted me fully, so far as he knew of my Lord *James*'s intention, and encouraged me to be plain with the said Lord *James*, assuring me of secrecie and honest and plain dealing. He was a godly, learned, wise and long experimented Councillor. He went with me to the said Lord Prior, having shew'd him my Commission, which was very acceptable to him, he delayed not to advise with any other of his Council, what answer he should give me, but instantly and plainly told me his mind, in presence of the said Mr. *Henry*. First he declared, what acceptable service he and his associates had done to the Queen Regent, chiefly of late, when the Bishop of *St. Andrews* had drawn the most part of the Clergy against the transporting the Crown Matrimonial to *France*. Albeit he had been mainly instrumental of sending the Queen thither, and in perswading the Governour his Brother to break the Contract of Marriage with *Edward of England*. He told what liberty of Conscience her Majesty had granted unto them, until the time that the Master of her Household, Monsieur *Bertran-court* returned from *France*, with the news of the Peace; and that though since that time, she had changed her behaviour and countenance toward him, and those who had done her best service, he knew well enough that it proceeded not from her one nature, but was occasioned by the perswasions and threatenings of her Brother, and friends in *France*. And further he rehearsed unto me, all her and their former proceedings, whereof mention is made already, affirming still his good will to her Majesty's service. And he further declared, That the more effectually to remove all suspicions from his Sovereign and her Husband, of his design'd Usurpation, he was content to banish himself perpetually out of *Scotland*, if it would please the Queen, and the King of *France*, to grant him and his associates such liberty as the Queen Regent had permitted them, till the home-coming of *Belland court*. Providing that his rents might come to him to *France* or any other Countrey where he should reside. And for security hereof, he offered that sufficient pledges of the Noble-mens Sons in *Scotland*, should be sent to *France*. So that no King nor Queen of *Scotland*, did ever receive more chearful obedience, then her Majesty should do, notwithstanding of her absence.

With this answer, I took my Journey through *England* to *France*, and at *Newcastle*, fell in company with an *English* man, who was one of the Gentlemen of the Queens Chamber; a Man well skill'd in the *Mathematicks*, *Negromancy*, *Astrology*, and was also a good Geographer. Who had been sent by the Council of *England*, to the borders, to draw a Map of such Lands, as lye between *England* and *Scotland*, which part was alledged to be a fruitful Soil though at that time it served for no other purpose, but to be a retreat to thieves. For Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* was lately come to the Crown, and had been advised by her Council to this course, as tending not only to the enlarging of her bounds, but rendering these parts civil. I.

know not the reason why they followed it not, though I conjecture, that the variance which fell out between the Two Kingdoms hindered it. The *English* man and I, by the way, entered into great familiarity, so that he shewed me sundry secrets of the Country, and of the Court. Among other thing he told me, that King *Henry* the Eighth, had in his life-time been so curious, as to enquire at Men called *Diviners*, or *Negromancers*, what should become of his Son King *Edward* the Sixth, and of his two Daughters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*. That answer was made unto him again, that *Edward* should dye, having few days, and no Succession; and that his Two Daughters should the one succeed the other. That *Mary* his eldest Daughter should marry a *Spaniard*, and that way bring in many strangers to *England*, which would occasion great strife, and alteration. That *Elizabeth* should Reign after her, who should marry either a *Scottish* man, or a *French* man. Whereupon the King caused to give poison to both his Daughters, but because this had not the effect, he desired (for they finding themselves altered by vehement vomitings, and purgings, having suspected poison, had taken remedies) he caused to proclaim them both bastards. But the Women that attended about Queen *Mary*, alleged that her matrix was consumed. For she was several times supposed to be with Child to King *Philip* of *Spain*, yet brought forth nothing but dead lumps of flesh. Therefore to be revenged upon her Father, the *English* man told me, that she had caused, secretly in the night to take up her Father's bones, and burn them. This the honest Gentleman affirmed to be truth, though not known to many. He was a Man of great gravity, about fifty years of age. When he came to *London*, he shewed me great kindness, and made me a present of some Books.

Upon my return to *France* I found a great change, King *Henry* the Second being hurt in the head with a shiver of a Spear, by the Count of *Montgomery*, at the Triumphal Justings of his Daughter's marriage with the King of *Spain*, dyed Eight days after at *Paris*. And the Constable my Master was commanded to retire him from Court, to his House, by the new King, *Francis* the Second, Husband to our Sovereign: who was wholly guided by the Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal *Lorraine*, competitors to the said Constable in Court emulation. Which occasioned, that my Voyage, and the answer I had got, was all in vain: for the House of *Guise*, were the chief instruments of all the troubles in *Scotland*.

When I did shew the Constable at his House the answer, of my Commission, which was according to his hearts desire, the Tears came over his cheeks, crying alack for the loss of the King my good Master, that he should not have seen before his death, *Scotland* recovered again, which he esteemed lost: seeing you are thereby also frustrate of a good reward, which this your service merited. Now I have not such interest as I formerly had to advance you, but if you will take such part as I have, you shall be very welcome. I answered, that as I had been with him in his prosperity, I would not desert him in his adversity.

Now there was no more appearance of concord betwixt the Queen Regent, and the Congregation in *Scotland*. For the King of *France*



was raising Men to send thither: The Congregation again sought help from *England*, which they obtained, the rather because the *English* Ambassadour resident in *France*, had advertised his Mistress, how that the Queen of *Scotland*, and her Husband had taken the Style of *England* and *Ireland*, and also had ingraven the Arms thereof upon their Silver Plate.

The Queen Regent, and Monsieur *Dofel* with his *French* men, inclose themselves within *Leeth*, which they did fortifie to receive the *French* supply, which was daily expected. At length those who were besieged made a salley, caused the Congregation to fly, and took their Artillery, till an Army from *England*, came under the conduct of the Duke of *Norfolk*. At which the Queen Regent being indisposed by the Sea Air at *Leeth*, retired her self to the Castle of *Edinburgh*; where she took sickness and dyed, during the time that *Leeth*, was besieged, both by *Scotland* and *England*, regretting that she had occasioned to her self, and the Kingdom, so much unnecessary trouble, by following the advice of her *French* friends.

During the Siege of *Leeth*, all *Scotch* men who were in *France*, were detested; and divers of them upon suspicion made Prisoners. Which obliged me, to repair from the Constable's House, to the Court, to require License from the Queen my Sovereign, to visit other Countries, whereby I might be rendered more able afterward to do her Majesty agreeable service. Which she granted, and presenting me to the King her Husband, I had a kiss of his hand, and so took my leave.

The Constable my good Master, recommended me to the *Electer Palatine*, advising me to remain at his Court, to learn the *Dutch* Tongue. I was courteously received by the said Prince *Electer*, and obtained such favour at his hands, that he obliged me to attend at his Court, as one of his Servants. So soon as he heard of the death of King *Francis* the Second, King of *France*, who dyed at *Orleance*. I was sent to condole for the said King's death, as the custom of Princes is, and rejoice with the new young King *Charles* the Ninth, also to comfort our Queen, and the Queen Mother. The King's death made a great change, the Queen Mother was glad at the death of King *Francis* her Son, because she had no guiding of him, he being wholly counselled by the Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal his Brother, the Queen our Mistress, being their Sister Daughter. So that the Queen Mother was much satisfied to be freed of the Government of the House of *Guise*, and for this cause she entertained a great grudge at our Queen. In the mean time the King of *Navarr*, and Prince of *Conde*, who were imprisoned, and should have been executed three days after, the Scaffold being already prepared, were by the Queen Mother set at liberty. The Constable also having been charged to come to Court, expected no better measure, he therefore gave it out that he was sick, being carried in a Horse-Litter, and making little Journeys, he drew out the time so long by the way, that in the mean time the King dyed. Whereof being informed he leapt on a Horse, and came frankly to Court, and like a Constable commanded the Men of War, who were upon the Guards. The Duke of *Guise* and his Brother, were commanded out of the Town. The Queen Mother

was



was glad at the *Constable's* coming, seeing she found her self by his authority and friendship with the King of *Navarr*, the more in a capacity to drive the House of *Guise* from Court.

The Estates were convened at *Orleance*, and for the time the King of *Navarr* fell to be Tutor, and Governour to the young King, and the Countrey. But the Queen Mother knowing his faculty, handled the matter so finely by the *Constables* help, that the King of *Navarr* procured from the Three Estates, that the Queen Mother should be Regent of the Realm. To whom he rendered up his place, being satisfied to be but her Lieutenant. She having attained this great point, caused the Estates to require that an accompt should be made to them, by the Duke of *Guise*, the *Marshal de St. Andres*, and the *Cardinal*, of their intermission with the King's Rents, and affairs of the King and Countrey. Whereupon they left the Court, binding themselves together, to defend themselves against the Queen Mothers malice. For, in effect, she was a deadly Enemy to all of them, who had either guided her Husband, or her eldest Son.

I was all this time at *Orleance*, where I might see this change, and had great favour of the King of *Navarr*, for the *Electoress Palatine's* sake, who was his great friend. The Queen Mother also, highly esteemed the said *Prince Elector*, dispatching me with great thanks, and a gift worth a Thousand Crowns.

Our Queen in the mean time, seeing her friends in disgrace, and knowing her self not to be much liked, she left the Court, and was a sorrowful Widow, when I took leave of her at a Gentleman's House, four miles from *Orleance*. So I returned to *Dutchland*, with many instructions from the Queen Mother, and King of *Navarr*. For she appeared to be inclined to profess publicly the reformed Religion, thinking it the meetest way to retain the Government, and guiding of the King of *Navarr*, that being the only Faction, which appeared able to gainstand the House of *Guise*, who were banded with the *Pope*, and King of *Spain*. The said Queen Mother, likewise, entertained some resolutions of joining with the Protestant Princes in *Dutchland*, and with the Queen of *England*, Count *Egmont*, Prince of *Orange*, Count *Horn*, and such as had in the Low Countries embraced the Reformed Religion, or stood up for the liberty of their Countrey.

I being returned to *Dutchland*, received news out of *England*, from Mr. *Killegrew* my old friend, that the Peace was concluded in *Scotland*, at the Siege of *Lieth*, that the *French* men were to be carried to *France*, in the Queen of *England's* Ships: That the Queen of *Scotland* was to lay aside the Arms of *England*, and the Congregation to have the free Exercise of their Religion. I leave all the proceedings in the Wars in *Scotland*, to be declared by such as were present, who will probably write that whole History, I shall only touch such things, as I my self was employed in, which I did see with my Eyes, and hear with my Ears, which may serve for little *Parentheses*, to *Historiographers*, who had not the occasion of being so well therewith acquainted.

Our Queen, then Dowager of *France*, retired her self by little and little, further and further from the Court of *France*, that it might

not appear, that she was any way compelled thereto, as of a truth she was by the Queen Mother's rigorous dealing, who alledged that she had been despised by her Daughter-in-law, during the short Reign of King *Francis* the Second, her Husband, at the resignation of the House of *Guise*.

*Monsieur de Martignes*, *Monsieur Dofel*, *Labrosse* the Bishop of *Amience* and such other *French-men*, as were lately carried out of *Scotland* in the *English* Ships, resorted to our Queen, and declared unto her the whole progress of affairs, and the state of the Kingdom. These, as well as the rest of her friends, advised her to return to *Scotland*, (encouraging her with the hopes of succeeding to the Crown of *England*) rather than to endure the Queen Mother's disdain in *France*. Desiring her, as most conducing for her interest, to serve the time, to accommodate her self discreetly and gently to her own Subjects, to be most familiar with my Lord *James*, Prior of *St. Andrews*, her natural Brother; and with the Earl of *Argile*, who had married Lady *Jane Stuart*, her natural Sister; and to use the Secretary *Lidingtoun*, and the Laird of *Grange* most tenderly in all their affairs, and in sum to repose most upon those of the Reformed Religion. Thus, those who were a little before cruelly persecuted, are now to be esteemed for chiefest and truest friends. Thus can God by his Divine Providence, reverse the finest practises and pretences of mighty Rulers and Potentates, and turn all to the best, to such as serve him with a sincere heart. As on the other hand God abhorreth such Subjects, as hypocritically under pretext of Religion, take occasion to rebel against their native Princes, for ambition, greediness, or any other Worldly respect.

The Prior of *St. Andrews* being advertised of the Queen his Sovereign's deliberation, to return to *Scotland*, and to use his and his friends advice. He goeth himself to *France*, requesting her Majesty to return to her own, promising to serve her faithfully, to the utmost of his power. And returns again to *Scotland*, to prepare the hearts of her Subjects against her home-coming. After this, her Majesty went to *Jarville*, the Duke of *Guise* his dwelling place, about the marches of *Lorraine*, and at length went to visit the Duke of *Lorraine* at *Nancy*, where I chanced to come shortly after, in company of the Duke *Casimir*, second Son to the *Electer Palatine*. But the Queen was already parted from the Court of *Lorraine*, toward *Jarville*, whither I took occasion to go to tender to her Majesty the offer of my most humble and dutiful service. And the said Duke *Casimir*, understanding that I was to ride thither, did write a very kind Letter to her Majesty comforting her the best he could, offering his service in case any in *France* should wrong or injure her, and that he would bring to her aid, upon her Letter, Ten Thousand Men. Her Majesty was much refreshed with this friendly offer, and she was pleased to give me thanks for the demonstrations I had given, of being intirely devoted to her interest, shewing me she had been made acquainted therewith, while I was at the Court of *France*. She desired me earnestly when I resolved to retire out of *Germany*, to come home and serve her Majesty, with very friendly and favourable offers. So I returned back to the Duke *Casimir*, who was about contracting a Marriage with the Duke of *Lorraine*'s eldest Sister. Which took not effect, because the old Dutcheſs her

her Mother, who was King *Christiernus* Daughter of *Denmark*, begotten upon the Emperour *Charles* his Sister, who also lost the Kingdom of *Denmark*, pretending to make it Hereditary, whereas it was Elective. The said King *Christiernus* was kept in Prison, till his death. This Dutche's his Daughter, alledged that the Kingdom of *Norway* appertained unto her, as Heir unto her Father, and that the said Kingdom was Hereditary unto her Father, albeit *Denmark* was not, and intended then to marry her eldest Daughter unto *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, and to give over with her said Daughter the Kingdom of *Norway*. But the said Dutche's offer'd unto Duke *Casimir* her second Daughter, which he refused, and dealt with his Father to send me unto *England*, to propose Marriage for him unto the Queen of *England*. But I refused to undertake that Commission, having ground to conjecture, that she would never marry, upon the reflection I made upon that story, one of the Gentlemen of her Chamber had told me, seeing she knowing her self unable for succession, I supposed she would never render her self subject to any Man. The said Duke was very much displeas'd at me, because I refused.

About this time the Cardinal of *Lorraine* being at *Trent*, took occasion to visit the old Emperour *Ferdinand* at *Isbrack* his dwelling place, not far from *Trent*. And there the said Cardinal propos'd two marriages, first the King of *France*, *Charles* the Ninth, to the eldest Daughter of *Maximilian* Son to *Ferdinand*, lately chosen King of the *Romans*, and coadjutor to the Empire. Then he propos'd the Queen of *Scotland* Dowager of *France*, to *Charles* Arch-duke of *Austria*, brother to the said *Maximilian*.

The Queen was by this time returned to *Scotland*, and apparently had been advertis'd by the said Cardinal, that he had propos'd the said Marriage, and it seems she had relish'd the Overture.

Her Majesty returning was gladly welcomed by the whole Subjects. For at first, following the counsel of her friends, she behav'd herself humbly to them all, committing the chief handling of her affairs unto her Brother the Prior of *St. Andrews*, whom afterward she made Earl of *Murray*, and to the Secretary *Lindsay*, as meetest, both to hold the Courtrep at her devotion, and also to beget a strict friendship between her Majesty, and the Queen of *England*. For my Lord *Murray* had great credit with my Lord *Robert Dudley*, who was afterward made Earl of *Leicester*. And the Secretary *Lindsay* had great credit with the Secretary *Cecil*. So that these four made a strict and sisterly friendship, between the two Queens, and their Countries. So that there appeared outwardly no more difference, but that the Queen of *England* was the Eldest Sister, and the Queen of *Scotland* the Younger, whom the Queen of *England* promis'd to declare second person, according to her good behaviour. So that Letters and correspondence pass'd weekly between them, and at first there appeared nothing more desired by either of them, than that they might see one another, by a meeting at a convenient place, whereby they might also declare their hearty and loving minds, each to other. For our Queen was so nettled with the hard usage she had met with from the Queen Mother of *France*, who had likewise hardly used all her friends of the House of *Guise*, that she was the more earnest to make friend-

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ship with her, and with such whom she knew that *Queen* liked worst. The two *Queens* this way keeping on their outward friendship for a while, with the plain and honest meaning of our *Queen*, as I afterward did perfectly know. There came a Letter to me out of *Scotland*, from the Secretary *Lidingtoun*, at the *Queens* command, desiring me to make my self acquainted with the *Arch-duke Charles* of *Austria*, youngest Brother to *Maximillian*, then King of the *Romans*, and Emperour in effect, for the Emperour *Ferdinand* his Father had nothing but the Name, by reason of his Age. I was desired to inform my self concerning his Religion, his Rents, and his Qualities, his Age, and Stature, and desired to send home word, and therewith to send his Picture, if it could be done. It was thought I might obtain the occasion thereof, by means of the *Elector Palatine* my Master, for the time greatest in favour with the Emperour *Maximillian*.

Now my Lord *Elector* being at an Imperial Convention holden at *Ausbrugh*, had of his own head inquired of *Maximillian*, what the *Cardinal* of *Lorraine*'s business had been with his Father *Ferdinand*, when he came to see him from *Trent*. For the good *Elector* was afraid, it had been about some matters of Religion. For *Ferdinand* was a devout Catholick, and *Maximillian* appeared to be a zealous Protestant. For he was but lately chosen King of the *Romans* at *Francford*, not without difficulty. Being himself one of the *Seven Electors* as King of *Bohemia*, he was to sue six *Electors* for their Votes: To wit, the *Elector Palatine*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, three Protestant Princes; and three Bishops *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Collein*, Catholicks. Both these Factions were put in hope, that being Emperour he would declare himself of their principles. In the mean time he used secret preachings to please the Protestants, but he went openly to the *Mass*, whereby the Bishops thought themselves assured of him. But the good *Elector Palatine* believed firmly, that after his Fathers death, he would declare himself a plain Protestant. Thus he won both parties to make him Emperour. He told the *Elector Palatine* at the Convention in *Ausbrugh*, that the *Cardinal* of *Lorraine* had proposed two marriages to the Emperour his Father. The one was *Charles* young King of *France*, to his own Eldest Daughter; the other was the *Queen* of *Scotland* Dowager of *France*, to his Brother the *Arch-Duke Charles*. The *Elector* inquired how he relished these two marriages; he answered he could not but like well of them, seeing he was not to expect a better match to his Daughter than the King of *France*, nor to his Brother than the *Queen* of *Scotland*, who the *Cardinal* also alledged had right to the Crown of *England*. The *Elector* said, that since he was pleased with the Overture of marrying his Brother to the *Queen* of *Scotland*, that he had a *Scottish* Gentleman with him, who could be a good instrument to bring forward the said marriage.

Whereupon *Maximillian* desired to speak with me, and because for the time I was in the Countrey of *Hess*, he desired him to send me to him upon my return. Which the *Elector* did, and sent with me one of his Council, called Monsieur *Zuleger*, joining us in one Commission. When we had given accompt of our said Commission, my companion told the Emperour, that I had a particular with his Ma-

jesty, and so retired himself, leaving me alone in the Chamber. Where I presented a Letter to him, written with the *Electors*' own hand, in *Dutch*, signifying that I was the *Scotsman*, whom he promised to send unto him. After he had read the writing, he did shew me the part wherein the *Electors* assured him, that I would shew him the truth of all such things as I knew, which he would ask of me, saying You are much obliged to the *Electors* *Palatine*, for he hath given me a very good Character of you. I pray you, says he, tell me how long you have been in his company. I said more then three years: he inquired why I did not answer in *Dutch*; I answered, because I had the *French* more familiar, and knew that no Language could come wrong to his Majesty. For he could very promptly speak good *Latine*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *Sclavonian*, and *French*. Then he inquired again in *French*, how I came to the *Electors* *Palatine*. I told him, that being brought up at the Court of *France* with the *Constable*, there had fallen out some variance between *France* and *Scotland*, partly occasioned from difference in Religion, and partly from other particulars, whence proceeded a general dislike at the Court, of all *Scots-men* at that time in *France*, some being upon suspicion imprisoned, others lookt down upon. The consideration whereof, hast'ned my prosecuting a former intention I had deliberated upon, of visiting other Countries. That being minded to begin at *Dutchland*, the *Constable* of *France* had by his Letter addressed me to the *Electors* *Palatine*. He inquired how long I had remained with the *Constable*; I answered, nine years. He said I was happy who had been so long in company with two of the wisest Men in *Europe*, and was pleased to say that he was glad of the occasion of being acquainted with me. He began more particularly to shew unto me the cause why he desired to speak with me, inquiring concerning the Estate of *Scotland*, of the late troubles with *France*; of the agreement new made, what great Men had the greatest interest, and all the Noblemens Names who had assisted both parties. He proceeded to inquire further, what help *England* had made unto *Scotland*, during the troubles with *France*, if they were bandied together, if their friendship continued, and of the Queen's title to *England*, if the Nobility of *Scotland* would concur to advance her to the Crown of *England*, if they would think it the interest of *Scotland* to have the two Kingdoms joined in one: seeing it was to be supposed, that the Queen or Prince would certainly chuse to dwell in the best Country, and thereby would be further from them. These, and several other things he inquired, and I answered as I thought most pertinent. When he had heard my returns, he was pleased to say it was not the least good office that my Lord *Electors* had done him, in sending me to him, and gave me thanks that I had been at the pains to come. If *Charles* my Brother, says he, were so happy as to obtain your Queen in marriage, no Man shall have more credit with him then you. He desired me to abide with him some time, that he might discourse with me at more length. So I tarried with him twenty days, with very favourable entertainment and discoursing with me; several times, he put me in hope that his Brother *Charles* would be shortly at home: And gave me an accompt of such news as came to him from all Countries. It was he who first told me, of the death

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of the Duke of *Guise*, killed by *Poltrou*, at the Siege of *Orleance*. He appeared to be very glad at the death of that gallant Warriour, though I could not conjecture for the time what could move him. By frequent conference with him, I suspected that he would be an Enemy to the marriage of his Brother with our Queen, but to get some further tryal thereof, I requested my companion Monsieur *Zuliger*, to drink him self merry with some of his Secretaries, and then to cast in the purpose of the marriage of our Queen with Duke *Charles*, whether or no it was desired or relished by the Emperour. The said Secretary shew'd him plainly, that he was against any such preferment to his Brother, whereby he might become King both of *Scotland*, and *England*, by reason of an Essay that the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth had made once, to divide his Dominions among the three Sons of *Ferdinand* his Brother, failing Heirs of King *Philip* his Son, who then had but one Son, *Don Carlo*, sickly, and of a tender, weak complexion, whom he afterwards himself killed secretly in Prison, suspecting him to be of the Reformed Religion, and to keep intelligence with the Princes of *Flanders*, who professed the same. And *Maximilian* hoped to succeed to the whole, failing Heirs of the said King *Philip* as having married the said *Philip's* Sister, and having by her many Children of his own, whom he rather desired to be preferred, then his own Brother. For in case the Arch-duke *Charles* had been made King of *Scotland* and *England*, he thought thereby he would have the fitter occasion of usurping the Low-Countrys, upon the pretext of some old right.

Having understood this I would wait no longer, but pressed daily for my dispatch, that I might return to my Lord *Elector*: And the Emperour again used great intreaties to oblige me to stay with him, promising to advance me if I would enter into his service, but finding no inclination in me to comply with his desire therein, he at length willed me to stay with him but half a year. But I humbly excused myself, pretending that I behoved to be shortly in *Scotland*, which moved him the more earnestly to desire me to stay with him, which because I would not grant to do, I found he was discontent. One night late after Supper, he parted in a Boat towards the Town of *Lintz*, and sent his Secretary unto me, excusing himself, that he did not meet with me before parting, seeing an urgent occasion called for his speedy departure; and seeing I was to return to *Scotland*, he had written a Letter to the Queen in my favour, which the Secretary delivered unto me. I told the Secretary, that I had not yet seen *Italy*, and that I was purposed first to visit *Rome*, *Venice*, *Florence*, and the most remarkable Cities there, e're I returned to *Scotland*, upon which account, at first I refused the said Letter, but he answered, there was no danger how long it was undelivered, seeing there was no thing therein contained, but what concerned myself.

The Town of *Ausbrugh* being the nearest Port of *Germany* to *Venice*, I agreed with Monsieur *Buliger* to return toward my Lord *Elector*, and thence I took my Journey towards *Venice* and *Rome*. And came back through all the fairest Cities of *Italy*, and through *Switzerland*, to *Heidberg*, where the Prince *Elector* kept his Court.

I have above declared how that the Duke of *Guise* was slain by *Poltrót*, at the Siege of *Orleance*. It was after the battel of *Drues*, in the which baoth the chieftains were taken. The Prince of *Conde* for those of the Religion, and the *Constable* for the King. The Queen Mother incontinently made the Peace, far against the mind of Madam de *Guise*, who earnestly requested her, not to make the Peace so suddenly, lest it should be thought that the Duke of *Guise* had only had hand in the Wars. But nevertheless the Queen Mother went forward with the Peace, changing the Prince of *Conde* for the *Constable*, making them both good instruments of the agreement.

The Peace being made, the Queen Mother began to think upon a Wife for her Son King *Charles*. For that effect, she sent unto the Prince Palatine, a Secretary called Monsieur *Wyllot*, shewing unto him, that the King her Son, was very desirous to marry *Maximilian's* Eldest Daughter intreating him as a trusty friend, to propose the matter as of his own head, as a steadable Alliance, conducing for the weal of the Empire, and to send her the picture of the Princess, which she thought fit to be done upon some considerations, before she would proceed more publickly. Which affair he went about most diligently, and he was pleased to send me with the answer and picture, with a congratulation of the late made Peace.

At my coming to the Court of *France*, which was at *Paris* for the time, the *Constable* would needs be my convoy, to the young King, and Queen Mother, who had a misliking of the said *Constable* for the time, because he had brought in the *Admiral* to *Paris* against her will, who was accused to have promised reward unto the foresaid *Poltrót*, to kill the Duke of *Guise*. The *Admiral* again desired to come before the Privy Council to purge himself, offering to undergo his tryal. But the Queen Mother desired not these animosities among the great Men to be removed, but rather wished that their hatred might continue, and their contentions increase, as having laid her Plot to secure her own greatness, by the means of their strife, as was after manifestly seen. For during their divisions, the Duke of *Guise*, King of *Navarr*, Prince of *Conde*, the *Constable*, the Marshal de *St. Andre*, with the most notable great Men of *France* were all slain, and because the said *Admiral* escaped during the Wars, the Peace was made for the third time, and under the covert of marriage of the young King of *Navarr*, who was afterward King of *France*, the said *Admiral* was barbarously murdered with all that remained of the worstiest Noblemen, and Captains of *France*. But to return to the purpose the *Constable* and *Admiral* were at Court at that time, against the Queen Mother's will, where the *Admiral* was declared innocent of the Duke of *Guise* his slaughter. And at that time the *Constable* determined to abide at Court, and to maintain himself in his Office of great Master by the authority of his great Office of the *Constablr*, assisted by the force of his friends. For he sufficiently understood the Queen Mother's *Italian* tricks, therefore to win credit, he presented me to the young King, and fate down upon a *Stool* by him, and the Queen his Mother, and held his Bonnet upon his Head, taking upon him the full authority of his great Office, to the Queen Mother's great discontent whereat she was so impatient, that she turned away her face



face, when I was declaring my Commission, after the delivery of my Letters of Credence to the King, and her, which the King was very glad to hear, being thereby put in hope, that the marriage would take effect. He was so desirous to see the picture of that young Princess, that he cut the thread himself, that bound on the Wax-cloth about the said picture. In the mean time I retired me forth of the Chamber; and was earnestly sought after the rest of the day, but could not be found until the *Constable* and *Admiral* came to their Chamber, at Even, who inquiring of me the cause of my retiring, I remembered the *Constable*, in what a rage the Queen Mother was, when I delivered my Commission, and that I found my self obliged in honour to stand upon the reputation of my Master, who was a free Prince. Whereupon they appeared well satisfied, approving what I had done, but withal they told me, that they were the cause of that bad humour, the Queen Mother had been in, and that she had made a Proclamation, that all Ambassadors should Address themselves to the King, and her as Regent. Therefore they advised me, to go the next day to see her at Dinner, assuring me that she would not fail to call for me, and inquire the cause of my absenting, before I had told out my Commission, and he instructed me what I should say in answer. So soon as her Majesty perceived me, she desired me to stay till she had Dined, telling me that she would send for her Son the King, to come to her Chamber, to hear out the rest of my Commission.

The King being come, the Chamber was voided, and her Majesty first inquired, why I told not out the rest of my Commission the day before. I answered, as I had been instructed, how that it appeared to me, for the time, she desired not so many auditors, and that I stayed upon her better opportunity, which answer she appeared much to relish, desiring me when at any other time I should be sent again, to Address my self only to the King, and to her, and to no other. I answered, that among all the King's Servants, I was best acquainted with the *Constable*, and therefore had made him my Convoy to both their Majesties. No, says she, I find no fault that you Addressed your self to him; yet I knew she entertained a mortal hatred against him. So after I had ended the Declaration of my whole Commission, first congratulating the Congratulation of the Peace, and then made excuses in Name of the Confederate Princes of the Empire, for sending help to the Prince of *Conde*, during the Wars for Religion, with a request to keep the said Peace inviolate, and to make such Laws of Oblivion, as were wont to be done among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, after such Civil Dissentions. And then I gave a full account, how my Lord *Elector* had proceeded with *Maximilian*, and what his answer was. All the time that I spoke she remembered the King to take good notice, saying he was much obliged to that good Prince, that took such pains for his marriage, and the weal of his Kingdom. Then she drew me aside entering into a particular discourse with me, telling me that she hoped I would not make too long stay in *Dutchland*, but resolve to spend some of my time in the Court of *France*, seeing it was there I had been brought up. For albeit, she said she had several who could speak *Dutch*, yet there was none about her, who were so familiar with the Princes

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of the Empire as I was, or had such favour and credit, as she understood I had, to do the King and her service. Therefore she offered to make me a Gentleman of the King's Chamber, to provide me with an honourable Pension, to advance me to Offices and Honours, as if I had been a *French-man* born; and that she would employ me not only to *Germany*, but also to *England* and *Flanders*. I gave her Majesty many thanks, taking her offer to my consideration. In the mean time that I was waiting upon my dispatch, the *Admiral's* death was conspired by the Brother and Friends of the Duke of *Guise*, to be executed by Captain *Charry*, in great favour with the Queen Mother, as Chief Captain of her Guard, Commanding six hundred *Hagbutiers*, *Gascons*. The said enterprise being discovered to the *Constable* by the old Dutchess of *Ferrara*, Daughter to King *Lewis* the Eleventh, Mother to the Widow Dutchess of *Guise*. The *Constable* went to his House, four Leagues from *Paris*, and the next day after, the said Captain *Charry* was slain upon the streets of *Paris*, by Mounseur *Chattelier* the *Admiral's* friend. Which put the Queen, and all the Court into a fear, and firm opinion that the deed was done by the *Constable's* and *Admiral's* direction. But the *Admiral* purged himself; the *Constable* was sent for, and many requests made to him, to settle, and establish quietness in the Court and City.

While I was yet at *Paris* undispached, I received Letters from the Earl of *Murray*, and *Lidingtoun* at the Queens Command, calling me home, to be employed in her Majesties service, in some of her affairs of consequence; which I presupposed to be concerning her marriage. Whereupon I determined to obey my Queens Commands, and immediately after my return to *Germany*, to prepare for a Journey to *Scotland*. Though this resolution of mine, was far contrary to the mind of the *Constable*, *Admiral*, and Prince *Palatine*. But his Son Duke *Casimir*, took occasion to desire me to present his picture to Queen *Elizabeth*. I have said already that he was very dissatisfied, because I refused to go to *England*, to propose marriage for him to the Queen, he having been encouraged thereto by the *Vidam* of Charters, lately come hither from the Court of *England*, who thought himself so familiar with that Queen, that it sent an *Italian* Gentlemen of his, to propose that marriage, as he alledged, at the instance of the *Electer Palatine*, to whom the Queen gave a general answer, desiring the young Prince to come unto *England*, either openly, or privately disguised, and declaring that she would never marry Man, till she might first see him. Notwithstanding hereof, I still dissuaded his Father from sending him, alledging that he would be very chargeable to him, and that he would reap nothing but scorn in recompence. Whereat the young Prince was so moved, that he let the Court for three days. But the good Prince his Father sent for him, threatening to discountenance him, if he became not my friend. Whereupon we agreed, that at this time I should carry with me his picture, and present it to the Queen of *England* in my return to *Scotland*, seeing I was so averse from his going thither in person. Which I was satisfied to do, providing that I might also carry along with me, the picture of his Father and Mother, and of all the rest of his Brothers and Sisters, together with a familiar Letter from the *Electer*, whereby I might have

the more easie access, and fitter opportunity to bring in the purpose of the pictures, as by accident, hoping that she would desire to see them, especially the picture of the said young Duke.

So having obtained my desire, I parted from *Heidelberg*, where the Elector held his Court for the time, who gave me a Commission to the Queen of *England*; to wit, an answer to her demanded Alliance, offensive, and defensive, with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, which formerly had been but obscurely answered unto her Ambassadour, Sir *Henry Knolls*, at the Dyet Imperial, holden at *Francfort*, in the year 1562. Excusing himself, and the rest of the Princes his confederates, who had but lately chosen *Maximilian* to be King of the *Romans*, and Co-adjutor to the Emperour his Father, seeing he had promised unto them, to declare himself openly a Protestant, so soon as he durst, after the decease of his old Father *Ferdinand*: and in the mean time had their promise to keep correspondence with him, and to make no League with any foreign Prince, without his consent and knowledge. And that if they had done otherwise, he might perchance have taken occasion thereupon, to lay the blame upon them, in case he did not as he had promised. For they began to fear and doubt of his upright meaning in reference to Religion, and yet thought not fit upon their part, to give him any ground to lay the blame upon them; but in case he kept not his promise after the decease of *Ferdinand*, they should then presently make such Alliance with her, as she had required, which they durst not for the time discover unto her Ambassadour, requesting her Majesty to keep this secret to herself.

She appeared satisfied with this excuse, promising to discover it to none of her Council; but she lamented that the Princes of *Germany* were so slow and tedious in all their deliberations. Whereupon I began to praise them for their Truth, Constancy, Religion, Ardour, and quick execution, after they had concluded any weighty matter. But I set out most specially the Elector Palatine's humanity, his treating of Strangers, upholding of Universities, and how he was the mouth of his confederates, to deal with all other neighbour Princes. She answered, that I had reason to speak so concerning him, for he had written very much in my favour, regretting that the inclinations I had to serve my native Queen, had obliged me to leave him, though he would gladly have retained me with him a longer space. I told her Majesty, what a great trouble it was to me, to resolve to leave the service of so worthy a Prince, that no consideration could have engaged me thereunto, other then that duty I owed to my Sovereign, who had commanded me to attend her affairs. That for the better remembrance of him, I desired to carry home with me his picture, and the pictures of all his Sons and Daughters. So soon as she heard me mention the pictures, she inquired if I had the picture of the Duke *Casimir*, desiring to see it. And when I alledged I had left the pictures in *London*, she being then at *Hampton-Court*, and that I was ready to go forward on my Journey, she said I should not part till she had seen all the pictures. So the next day I delivered them all to her Majesty, and she desired to keep them all night, and she called upon my Lord *Robert Dudley* to be judge of Duke *Casimir's* picture, and appointed me to meet

meet her the next morning in her Garden, where she caused to deliver them all unto me, giving me thanks, for the sight of them. I again offered unto her Majesty all the pictures, so she would permit me to retain the Electors, and his Ladys, but she would have none of them. I had also sure information, that first and last she despised the said Duke *Casimir*. Therefore I did write back from *London* to his Father, and him in Cypher, dissuading them to meddle any more in that marriage. And received great thanks afterward from the said young Duke, who immediately married the Elector of *Saxony's* Eldest Daughter. Albeit this may appear something from the purpose of the Queen our Sovereign, yet it brings me home to her Majesty with some proposals of marriage to her self. For the Queen of *England* entertained me very familiarly, shewing me the Sisterly love that was betwixt her and the Queen our Sovereign, how careful she was of her well-fare, how desirous to see her well settled in her own Country with her Subjects, and also well married. That she was resolved to propose two persons for fit Husbands unto her, whereby their amity might best stand and increase, hoping that she would not marry without her advice, promising upon her faith to write to me, so soon as I was arrived at *Scotland*, with her own hand, that I might be a good instrument to move the Queen my Mistress to accept either the one or the other. Now though she forgot to write unto me about it, yet she sent instructions to Mr. *Randolph*, to propose my Lord *Robert Dudley* as a very meet Husband for our Queen. I supposed that my Lord *Robert*, afterward Earl of *Leicester*, had dissuaded her from employing me in that matter, seeing Mr. *Randolph* was there already, her Majesties Agent.

Now the Queen my Mistress, to keep promise and correspondence with the Queen of *England*, had sent and advertised her, of the proposal made to her of a marriage with the Arch-duke *Charles*, requiring her friendly advice and consent therein.

The Queen of *England* answered her by her Agent Mr. *Thomas Randolph*, as followeth, for after a little Preface, he declares, and gives in by writing, this to be the Queen his Mistress's mind.

The Queen my Sovereign, said he, hath not only deeply advised about that proposal of marriage with your Majesty, but hath also thought it necessary, by me to shew you, what she thinketh both meet and unmeet to be considered, and seemingly to her by way of friendship, to declare as a dear Sister, who intends your Majesties honour, and as a loving Friend, who is careful of your well-fare.

Three special things her Majesty thinks fit to be considered in marriage.

*First*, The mutual contentment betwixt both parties in respect of their private personages, so that their love each towards one another, may continue as well before God as Man.

*Secondly*, That the person may be such as your Majesty, being a Queen of a great Realm, and multitude of People, may be sure of an advantageous Alliance, such as cannot be prejudicial to your Countries interest.

*Thirdly*, She thinks fit that the choice be such, that the amity which is now so strict betwixt the Queens Majesty, and your Highness, not only

only for your own persons, but with both Realms, may be continued, and not dissolved nor diminished. Then he declares at length, how that he doubts not, but that her Majesty, who was once already married, will know how considerately to ponder the match, that it may be meet for her self, and her Subjects; but as to what belonged unto the Queen his Sovereign, it merited to be well considered.

It is true, that the seeking out a Husband to your Majesty is honourable, and expedient; a thing that her Majesty relisheth much in your Highness, albeit hitherto she hath not found such disposition in her self, remitting her heart and mind in that affair to be directed by the Almighty God.

But this herein her Majesty considereth, that to seek out such a Husband, as is sought for by your friends, in the Emperours Linage, will certainly procure at last some misunderstanding, and give apparent occasion of dissolving the Concord, that is now betwixt the two Nations, and an interruption of such a course, as otherwise might be taken, to further and advance such a Title as your Highness hath to succeed to her Majesty, to the Crown of *England*, if she should depart without issue of her Body.

Then he useth some unfit persuasions and menaces, threatening that some in *England* were going about with practices to set forward their pretended right, to her Majesties prejudice, which, by his best discreet behaviour and conformity to his Mistresses pleasure, might prevent, by moving her thereby, not only to proceed in the inquisition after your Majesties right, and with her power to further the same, but also to hinder that which appears to be to the contrary.

And now if your Majesty would know, what kind of marriage would best content her, and her Realm, such a one as would breed no jealousy, nor trouble betwixt your Majesties, and your Countries, as did the marriage with the *French King*. But rather it is to be wished, that there might be found out some Nobleman of great birth in *England*, who might be agreeable to you; with whom her Majesty would more readily, and more easily declare, that she inclineth, albeit failing of Children of her own Body, you might succeed to her Crown; otherwise I do plainly tell you, that my Sovereign can promise nothing in that matter, tending to your satisfaction.

These were Mr. *Randolph's* first instructions, and propositions, run to the Queen, concerning her Marriage with the Arch-duke *Charles*. But he had a secret Commission to my Lord of *Murray*, and Secretary *Lidington*, to propose my Lord *Robert Dudley*; and he desired me also, to set forward his marriage with the Queen, as meetest of all other.

By this kind of procedure it was apparent, that the Queen of *England* did not relish this proposal of marriage, of the Arch-duke *Charles* to our Queen. She gave a farther, and more clear demonstration thereof a little after, by sending the Earl of *Suffex* to the Emperours Court, as well to congratulate his Coronation, as indirectly to draw on the marriage of the Arch-duke *Charles* with her self. And she was put in hope, that it would take effect: Yet this design was not so secretly managed, but our Queen was thereof advertised, by force

of her friends in *England*. And from hence arose inward griefs and grudges between the two Queens, which within a little time bursted forth, occasion thereof being given by the Queen of *England*: For in a familiar Letter to our Queen, she appeared therein to give her, as formerly, a friendly advice: which our Queen thought but double dealing, remembering as well her late dissuading answer from the marriage of the Arch-duke *Charles*, as her late practises in the Emperours Court. The Queen of *England's* Letter was written at the desire of some of the House of *Hamilton*: For after that Mr. *Randolph* had spoken, as is above mentioned, against the marriage of the Queen with the Arch-duke *Charles*, and he alledged that some Noblemen in *England* would be fitter matches for her, he proceeded so far with my Lord of *Murray*, and Secretary *Lidington*, as to say, What would you think of my Lord *Robert Dudley* for your Queen? But finding small account to be made of him, he advertised the Queen his Mistress thereof. Whereupon liberty was granted to *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, who dwelt then in *England*, to go to *Scotland*, as desirous to see the Queen, and take course in some of his own affairs. Now his Eldest Son, my Lord *Darnly*, was a lusty young Prince, and apparently was one of the two that the Queen of *England* had told me that she had in her head, to offer unto our Queen, as born within the Realm of *England*. But to return unto the Letter written by the Queen of *England* unto our Queen, she would appear therein to be very careful for the Queen her Sisters quiet Estate and Government, desiring her to take heed that in shewing pleasure to the Earl of *Lennox*, she did not displease the House of *Hamilton*, seeing thereby trouble and strife might arise in her Country. Sundry other such purposes she had, which at some time would not have been taken in ill part; but now all advices given by the Queen of *England*, were misconstrued, partly because of her being instrumental in hindring the marriage with Prince *Charles*, and partly because *David Rixio* lately admitted to be her *French* Secretary, was not very skilful in inditing *French* Letters, which she did write over again with her own hand. The answer then that our Queen did write unto the said Letter, declared some suspicions and anger to have been taken, and these she manifested in some harsh expressions, which were construed by the Queen of *England*, as a violation of their former familiarity, and Sisterly correspondence, which had been ever kept up since the Queens return out of *France*. Whereupon ensued so great a coldness, that they left off for a considerable time from writing each to other, as they had formerly done weekly by Post. So that the Queen resolved to send me to *England*, to renew their outward friendship; for in their hearts from that time forth there was nothing but jealousies and suspicions. The Queen my Mistress thought that if their discord continued, it would cut off all correspondence between her and her friends in *England*: and that Queen had no inclination for War, but by all means possible desired to shun trouble, or any occasion of expences, the King of *Spain* and she being already entered into controversie. For he judged her a fomenter of the troubles in *Flanders*, and the Low Countries, and not without reason. For she thought her self abandoned by the King of *Spain*, at the late Peace made at *Cambray*, and her chief Councillers thought

thought it convenient for the interest of *England*, that Factious should be nourished in *France*, *Flanders*, *Scotland*, and *Spain*.

At my home-coming to *Scotland*, I found the Queen's Majesty at *St. Jobstoun*, in the Year of God 1564, the fifth day of *May*. I was very favourably received by the Queens Majesty, and presented unto her Letters from the Emperour *Maximilian*, the *Electors*, the *Duke of Lorrain*, and Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and *Duke of Aunbr*, all in my favours. After that I had at length informed her, that I found *Maximilian* was against the marriage of his Brother *Charles*; she likewise understanding the Queen of *Englands* part therein, as is above specified, she altogether laid aside any further thoughts of the marriage with the Arch-duke *Charles*. And whereas she had once resolved to have sent me to *Germany*, she takes another resolution, intending that I should be sent to *England*. Though I was not yet resolved in settling my self in *Scotland*, seeing small probability of advantage, and greater appearance of troubles and disorders, then I could ever imagine to find at my home-coming. And I was somewhat loath to lose the occasion and offers of great preferment, that had been made to me in *France*, and other parts. But I found the Queen my Sovereign, so urgent, and of her self well inclined, and indued with so many Princely vertues that I could not find in my heart to leave her, requiring so earnestly my help and assistance, to draw the hearts of her Subjects to her, which were alienated upon account of difference in Religion. I knew she stood in need to gain friends, and that it was much her interest to keep correspondence with the Queen of *England*; so that I resolved rather to serve her my native Queen for little profit, then any other Prince in *Europe* for great advantage. I found her naturally more liberal then her Revenues allowed her. For she not only settled upon me in pensions, one thousand Marks yearly, out of her Revenues in *France*, but she also offered me her heritage of her Lands in *Aghtermuchtie*, which I refused to accept, alledging I could better want it then she. Though another hearing of so liberal an offer, a little after sought and obtained it.

Thus I was engaged to resolve to wait upon her commands, and to lay aside all hope of any other preferment in *France*, and other Countries, albeit, for the time, I had no heritage but my service. So within a few weeks I was dispatched to *England*, ith these following Instructions out of the Queens own mouth, to deal with the Queen of *England*, with the *Spanish* Ambassadour, and with my Lady *Margaret Douglas*, and with sundry friends she had in *England* of different opinions. The general Instructions were written with the Secretary *Lidingtoun's* own hand, subscribed by her Majesty as follows.

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Instructions



*Instructions to our familiar Servitor James Melvil  
presently directed to our dearest Sister the Queen  
of England. Given at Edinburgh the 28th of  
September, 1564.*

**I**N the first, after that you have presented our Letters, and our commendations, in most hearty manner, you shall declare unto our good Sister, That having been upon my progress towards the Northmost parts of our Realm this two months, during which time we have had neither Letter nor other Advertisement from our good Sister: Therefore for continuation of the mutual Intelligence betwixt us, by all good Offices of amity, we resolved to direct you towards her, to visit her on our behalf, to inform her of our health and good estate, that, at your return you may be able to report the like of her unto us, she being the person in the World, to whom next our self, we wish most good luck and prosperity.

*Item,* That by Letters of my Lord Robert to Lidingtoun, as also of her Secretary to Our Brother Murray, and to Lidingtoun, We have perceived that Our said good Sister finds some fault with Our Letters written to her in answer of hers in the Earl of Lennox's matter, as if We had taken her motion therein in evil part. We are most sorry that Our Letters have been so interpreted, for of a truth We had no other meaning of her in that matter, then that her Advertisement came from a friendly mind, and was both worthy of thanks, and to be answered with the like good will, as We believe We did in Our Letter, albeit We remember not presently the very words or substance thereof. For We use not to reserve any Copy of Our familiar Letters written with Our own hand, whereof We now repent because of that Letter. For if We had any Copy thereof, We might now clear Our selves of that doubt, *viz.* What words therein could give her ground of offence. Therefore you shall pray her in Our Name, to let you see in that Letter, what words they are which have offended her, that you thereupon declaring my meaning, may put her out of any such suspicion. It is true, at the receipt of the Letter, We were somewhat offended, and judged We had good cause, seeing it appeared that Our Nobility were grieved with Our License granted to the Earl of Lennox, that his coming was like to disturb the peace and quiet of Our Realm. Our Brother and Lidingtoun, shew unto Us, that they perceived by their Secretaries Letters, that they were also thought partakers in this matter; and that they mistaking also his coming, desired the stay thereof to be procured by these undecent means. Though they protested the contrary unto Us, and indeed We have better proof of their fidelity toward Us, then that We can suspect any such double dealing from their hands, they being so far obliged to Us, and so much intrusted by us. We thought Our selves little indebted to that person, whosoever he was, that made such report of Our Subjects, that they

they would make known their grievances to any other then Our selves.

These, and the like considerations, moved Us to great choller, which probably might have occasioned Us to write the more freely, and that We were not curious to cover Our passions, writing to her with whom We esteemed Our Selves so familiar, that We had ground to believe she would take all in good part that proceeded from Us, especially what was no ways designed for her offence. Therefore you shall pray her to put away all such opinions, as she have conceived any, and if there be any word in Our Letter having two senses, so that any one may be misconstrued, and so give to her occasion of offence; intreat that she will rather interpret the same to the gentlest signification, and not take it in the worst sense. And then I doubt not but the whole Letter, shall appear to her as it was by Us conceived and directed, that is from one dear friend to another.

We have further hereupon, imparted Our mind to you by *ambush*, which you may enlarge as occasion requires.

You may desire her to give you an answer conform to the substance of *Lidingons*'s Letters, written to my Lord *Robert*, and Mr. *Civil*. Especially concerning the drawing on another meeting of Men of credit, fully instructed with both Our minds, and to deal so plainly, and frankly, as all suspicion may have an end.

You must also inform your self diligently concerning the proceedings, and intentions of this present Parliament, of all such as can give you any knowledg therein, for what cause it is called, what is to be treated in it, how long it will sit. Endeavour to inform your self, if any thing touching Us, will be therein handled. You may say to that *Queen*, as out of your own head, that your Mistress expects that she will suffer nothing to be treated therein, that may directly, or indirectly, tend to Our prejudice. We not being by her forewarned thereof. She knows that as well Our self, as our Ministers whom We have at any time directed to these parts, have ever depended upon her only advice, and followed the same in all points. And seeing the special matter moved, in the beginning of the last Parliament, was the establishing of the Succession, and that it was probable, that the Subjects would yet be earnest to bear a certainty in that point. And if she omits so good an occasion, of doing something for Us, whereby the World may understand that she useth Us, and esteems Us, as her next Cousin, and only Sister, the World will think that her amity is not so great, as We take it to be. And such as envy our familiarity, and would have it broken, will hence take occasion to speak, that our friendship is rather in words, then deeds.

Being arrived at *Louchin*, I lodged near the Court, which was at *Westminster*. My Host immediately gave advertisement of my coming, and that same night her Majesty sent Mr. *Hutton*, afterward Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, in her name to welcome me, and to show me, that the next morning she would give me Audience in her Garden at eight of the Clock. She had been advertised by the Eral of *Bedford* Governour of *Bermouth*, that I was upon the way. That same night



night I was visited by Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, one of my old and dearest friends, by long acquaintance. First during his banishment in *France*, in the Reign of *Queen Mary*; and afterward while he was Ambassador in *France* for this *Queen*, where I was, for the time, Pensioner to King *Henry* the Second, and Servant to the Constable. This *Sir Nicholas* was my dear friend, and had procured a Pension for me from his Mistress, to help to entertain me on my Travels, when I had willingly banished my self the Court of *France*, so long as there were Civil Wars between *France* and *Scotland*. He was a devout friend to the *Queen* my Mistress, and to her Right and Title to the Succession to the Crown of *England*. From him I had full information of affairs, and friendly advice how to proceed with the *Queen*, and every Courtier in particular. For he was a special instrument of helping my Lord of *Murray*, and Secretary *Lidington*, to pack up the first friendship betwixt the two *Queens*; and betwixt the Earl of *Murray* and Lord *Robert*; and between the two Secretaries. Albeit he had no great kindness either for my Lord *Robert* or Secretary *Cecil*, yet he knew that nothing could be done without them. Among other counsels, he gave me advice to use great familiarity with the Ambassador of *Spain*, in case I found the *Queen* his Mistress hard to be dealt with, alledging that it would be a great Spur to move the *Queen* of *England*, to give our *Queen* greater, and more speedy contentment in her desire, than yet she had done.

The next morning Mr. *Hatton*, and Mr. *Randolph* late Agent for the *Queen* of *England* in *Scotland*, came to my Lodging, to convoy me to her Majesty, who was, as they said, already in the Garden. With them came a Servant of my Lord *Robert*'s, with a Horse and Foot-mantle of Velvet laced with Gold, for me to ride upon. Which Servant, with the said Horse, waited upon me all the time that I remained there. I found her Majesty walking in an Alley. And after I had kissed her hand, and presented my Letter of Credence, I told her Majesty in *French* the effect of my Commission, as near to the aforesaid Instructions as I could, and sometimes being interrupted by her demands, I answered as I judged most pertinent. The reason why I spoke *French*, was, that being but lately come home, I could not speak my own Language so promptly as was requisite. Her first demand was concerning the Letter, that the *Queen* had written to her with such despitiful Language, that she thence conjectured all friendship and familiarity to have been given up. Which had made her resolve never to write any more, but another as despitiful, which she took out of her pocket, to give me to read, she having had it already written to shew it me. She told me she had hitherto delayed to send it, because she thought it too gentle, till she had written another more vehement, for answer to the *Queens* angry Bill. For my part I appeared to find such hard interpretation to be made upon the *Queen*'s loving and frank dealing, very strange. I told her Majesty that my Mistress could not call to mind, what words they were which had given her such offence. Whereupon she brought forth the *Queens* Letter, giving it me to read. Which when I had perused, I said I could find therein no offensive word, when I considered the familiarity had formerly been betwixt them. Alledging that albeit her Majesty could speak as good

*French*,

*French*, as any who had not been out of the Country, that yet she was out of use of the *French* Court Language, which was frank and short, and had frequently two significations, which familiar friends took always in the best part. Intreating her Majesty to tear the angry Letter, which she thought to have sent in answer. And in revenge of the Queens, I protested that I should never let her Majesty know that her true plain meaning had been so misconstrued. Having tossed some words upon this matter, she being desirous of an honest colour or pretext, she appeared the more readily satisfied in that point. For the fear she had that friendship and correspondence should altogether break off, our Queen being the first seeker to renew and continue the same, by sending me thither, thereby evidencing that she did not stand upon Ceremonies with her Eldest Sister, in my presence then she did rent her angry Letter, with promise of such friendly and frank dealing in times coming, as all her good Sister's dealings and proceedings should be interpreted to the best.

Thus the old friendship being renewed, she inquired, if the Queen had sent any answer to the proposition of marriage made to her by *Mr. Randolph*. I answered, as I had been instructed, That my Mistress thought little or nothing thereof, but expected the meeting of some Commissioners upon the Borders, with my Lord of *Murray*, and the Secretary *Lidington*, to confer and treat upon all such matters of greatest importance, as should be judged to concern the quiet of both the Countries, and satisfaction of both their Majesties minds. For seeing your Majesty cannot so soon find the opportunity of meeting betwixt your selves; so much desired, which in it self is not so expedient until all other jealousies be first removed, and all former doubts cleared by your most trusty and familiar Councillors, the Queen my Mistress, as I have said, is minded to send for her part my Lord of *Murray*, and the Secretary *Lidington*, and expects that your Majesty will send my Lord of *Bedford*, and my Lord *Robert Dudley*. She answered, It appeared that I made but small account of my Lord *Robert*, seeing that I named the *Earl of Bedford* before him, but said, that ere long she would make him a far greater Earl, and that I should see it done before my returning home. For she esteemed him as her Brother, and best friend, whom she would have her self married, had she ever minded to have taken a Husband. But being determined to end her life in Virginity, she wished that the Queen her Sister might marry him, as meetest of all other with whom she could find in her heart to declare her second person. For being matched with him, it would best remove out of her mind all fears and suspicions, to be offended by any usurpation before her death. Being assured that he was so loving and trusty, that he would never permit any such thing to be attempted during her time. And that the Queen my Mistress might have the higher esteem of him, I was required to stay till I should see him made Earl of *Leicester*, and Baron of *Denbigh*; which was done at *Westminster* with great solemnity, the Queen her self helping to put on his Ceremonial he sitting upon his knees before her with a great gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, smilingly tickling him, the *French* Ambassadour and I standing by. Then she turned, asking at me, *How I liked him*: I answered

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ed, that as he was a worthy Servant, so he was happy who had a Princess, who could discern and reward good Service. Yet, says she, you like better of yonder long Lad, pointing toward my Lord *Darnly*, who as nearest Prince of the Blood, did bear the Sword of Honour that day before her. My answer was, That no woman of spirit would make choice of such a Man, who more resembled a Woman then a Man. For he was handsom, beardless, and Lady faced. And I had no Will that she should think that I liked him, or had any eye or dealing that way. Albeit I had a secret charge to deal with my Lady *Lennox*, to endeavour to procure liberty for him to go to *Scotland* ( where his Father was already ) under the pretext of seeing the Countrey, and conveying the Earl his Father back again to *England*. Now I found the Queen of *England* was determined to treat with my Sovereign, first concerning her marriage with the Earl of *Leicester*, and for that effect she promised to send Commissioners unto the Borders. In the mean time, I was very favourably, and familiarly used. For during nine days that I remained at the Court, it pleased her Majesty to confer with me every day, and sometimes thrice in a day, in the morning, after Dinner, and after Supper. Sometimes she would say, that seeing she could not meet with the Queen her good Sister, to confer with her familiarly, that she was resolved to open a good part of her inward mind to me, that I might shew it again unto the Queen. She told me she was not so much offended with the Queens angry Letter, as that she seemed so far to disdain the marriage of my Lord of *Leicester*, which she had caused Mr. *Randolph* to propose to her. I answered, That it was probable he had let fall something thereof to my Lord of *Murray*, and *Lidingtoun*, but that he had never proposed the matter directly to her self, and that as well her Majesty, as those who were her most familiar Councillors, could conjecture nothing thereupon, but delays and driving off time concerning the declaring of her to be second Person, which would be clearly tryed at the meeting of the Commissioners above specified. She replied, That the tryal and declaration thereof, would be hasted forward according to the Queens good behaviour, and applying her self to follow her pleasure and advice in her marriage. And seeing the matter concerning the said declaration was so weighty, and of so much import, she had ordered some of the best Lawyers in *England*, diligently to search out who had the best right, and she heartily wisht it might be found to be her dear Sister, rather than any other. I said I was very confident that her Majesty was ingenuous in that Declaration, and that my Mistress expected no other at her hand. But I lamented, that even the wisest Princes, did not sufficiently pry into the hidden designs of their familiar Councillors, and Servants, except it were such an honourable and rare Prince as *Henry* the Eighth, her Majesties Father of happy memory, who of his own head was determined to declare his Sisters Son, King *James* the Fifth, Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, failing Heirs to be gotten of his own Body, while her Majesty was not yet born, but only her Sister Queen *Mary*, and that for the earnest desire he had to unite this whole Island. She said she was glad he did it not. I said, that then he had but one Daughter, and expected no more Children, and yet he had not so many suspicions in his head



as your Majesty hath, though you are certainly convinced you will never have any Children, seeing your Majesty declares your self resolved to dye a Virgin. Yes, says she, I am resolved never to marry, if I be not thereto necessitated by the Queen my Sister's harsh behaviour toward me. I know the truth of that Madam, said I, you need not tell it me. Your Majesty thinks if you were married, you would be but Queen of *England*, and now you are both King and Queen. I know your spirit cannot endure a Commander. She appeared to be so affectionate to the Queen her good Sister that she expressed a great desire to see her. And because their so much, by her, desired meeting could not be so hastily brought to pass, she appeared with great delight to look upon her Majesties picture. She took me to her Bed-chamber, and opened a little Cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures wrapped within Paper, and their Names written with her own hand upon the Papers. Upon the first that she took up was written, *My Lord's Picture*. I held the Candle, and pressed to see that picture so named; she appeared loath to let me see it, yet my importunity prevailed for a sight thereof, and found it to be the Earlof *Leicester's* picture. I desired that I might have it to carry home to my Queen, which she refused, alledging that she had but that one picture of his. I said, your Majesty hath here the Original, for I perceived him at the farthest part of the Chamber, speaking with Secretary *Civil*. Then she took out the Queens picture and kissed it, and I adventured to kiss her hand, for the great love therein evidenced to my Mistress. She shewed me also a fair Ruby, as great as a Tennis Ball, I desired that she would either send it, or my Lord of *Leicester's* picture, as a Token unto the Queen. She said, if the Queen would follow her counsel that she would in process of time get all she had; that in the mean time she was resolved in a Token to send her with me a fair Diamond. It was at this time late after Supper, she appointed me to be with her the next morning by Eight of the Clock, at which time she used to walk in her Garden. She inquired several things of me relating to this Kingdom, and other Countries wherein I had travelled. She caused me to dine with her Dame of Honour, my Lady *Strafford* (an Honourable and godly Lady, who had been at *Geneva* banished during the Reign of Queen *Mary*) that I might be always near her, that she might confer with me. I had formerly been acquainted with my Lady *Strafford*, as she passed through *France*, I had good intelligence from her and my Lady *Throgmorton*. At divers meetings we had divers purposes. The Queen my Mistress had instructed me to leave matters of gravity sometimes, and cast in merry purposes, lest otherwise I should be wearied, she being well informed of that Queens natural temper. Therefore in declaring my observations of the customs of *Dutchland*, *Poland*, and *Italy*, the Buskins of the Women was not forgot, and what Countrey Weed I thought best becoming Gentlewomen. The Queen said she had Cloths of every sort, which every day thereafter, so long as I was there, she changed. One day she had the *English* Weed, another the *French*, and another the *Italian*, and so forth. She asked me which of them became her best? I answered, in my judgment the *Italian* dress, which answer I found pleased her well, for she delighted to shew her golden coloured

hair, wearing a Caul and Bonnet as they do in *Italy*. Her hair was more reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally. She desired to know of me, what colour of hair was reputed best, and whether my Queens hair or hers was best, and which of them two was fairest. I answered, the fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare, which of them I judged fairest? I said she was the fairest Queen in *England*, and mine the fairest Queen in *Scotland*. Yet she appeared earnest. I answered, they were both the fairest Ladies in their Countries; that her Majesty was whiter, but my Queen was very lovely. She inquired which of them was of highest stature? I said, my Queen: Then, saith she, she is too high, for I my self am neither too high nor too low. Then she asked what kind of exercises she used? I answered that when I received my dispatch, the Queen was lately come from the High-land hunting. That when her more serious affairs permitted, she was taken up with reading of Histories: That sometimes she recreated her self in playing upon the Lute, and Virginals. She asked if she played well? I said reasonably for a Queen.

That same day after Dinner my Lord of *Hunsdean* drew me up to a quiet Gallery, that I might hear some Musick, but he said that he durst not avow it, where I might hear the Queen play upon the Virginals: After I had hearkned awhile, I took by the Tapistry that hung before the door of the Chamber, and seeing her back was toward the door, I entered within the Chamber, and stood a pretty space hearing her play excellently well, but she left off immediately, so soon as she turned her about and saw me. She appeared to be surprized to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand, alledging she used not to play before Men, but when she was solitary to shun melancholly. She asked how I came there? I answered, as I was walking with my Lord of *Hunsdean*, as we past by the Chamber door, I heard such melody as ravished me, whereby I was drawn in ere I knew how, excusing my fault of homeliness, as being brought up in the Court of *France*, where such freedom was allowed; declaring my self willing to endure what kind of punishment her Majesty should be pleased to inflict upon me for so great an offence. Then she sat down low upon a Cushion, and I upon my knees by her, but with her own hand she gave me a Cushion, to lay under my knee, which at first I refused, but she compelled me to take it. She then called for my Lady *Strafford* out of the next Chamber, for the Queen was alone. She inquired whether my Queen or she played best? In that I found my self obliged to give her the praise. She said my *French* was good, and asked if I could speak *Italian*, which she spoke reasonably well. I told her Majesty I had no time to learn the Language perfectly, not having been above two Months in *Italy*. Then she spake to me in *Dutch*, which was, not good; and would know what kind of Books I most delighted in, whether Theology, History, or Love matters: I said, I liked well of all the sorts. Here I took occasion to press earnestly my dispatch, she said I was weary sooner of her company, than she was of mine. I told her Majesty that though I had no reason of being weary, I knew my Mistress her affairs called me home, yet I was stayed two days longer, till I might see her Dance,

as I was afterward informed. Which being over, the Inquired of me whether she or my Queen Danced best? I answered, the Queen Danced not so high, and disposedly as she did. Then again she wished, that she might see the Queen at some convenient place of meeting. I offered to convey her secretly to *Scotland* by Post, clothed like a Page, that under this disguise she might see the Queen as *James the Fifth* had gone in disguise to *France* with his own Ambassadour, to see the Duke of *Vendom's* Sister, who should have been his Wife. Telling her that her Chamber might be kept in her absence, as though she were sick; that none needed to be privy thereto except my Lady *Strafford*, and one of the Grooms of her Chamber: She appeared to like that kind of Language, only answered it with a sigh, saying, alas if I might do it thus. She used all the means she could, to oblige me to persuade the Queen of the great love she did bear unto her, and that she was fully minded to put away all jealousies and suspicions, and in times coming to entertain a stricter friendship then formerly. She promised that my dispatch should be delivered to me very shortly at *London*, by Secretary *Cecil*: For now she was at *Hampton Court*, where she gave me my answer by mouth her self, and her Secretary by writing.

The next day my Lord of *Leicester* desired me to go down the River in his Barge with him to *London*. He had in his company Sir *Henry Sidney* Deputy of *Ireland*. By the way my Lord entered familiarly into discourse with me, alledging that he was well acquainted with my Lord of *Murray*, *Lidington*, and my Brother *Sir Robert*, and that he was by report so well acquainted with me, that he durst upon the Character he had heard of me, desire to know what the Queen my Mistress thought of him, and the marriage that *Mr. Randolph* had proposed. Whereunto I answered very coldly, as I had been by my Queen commanded. Then he began to purge himself of so proud a pretence, as to marry so great a Queen, declaring he did not esteem himself worthy to wipe her Shoes, declaring that the invention of that proposition of marriage proceeded from *Mr. Cecil* his secret Enemy. For if I, says he, should have appeared desirous of that marriage, I should have offended both the Queens, and lost their favour. He intreated me to excuse him at her Majesties hands, and to beg in his Name, that she would not impute that matter to him, but to the malice of his Enemies.

Being landed at *London*, our Dinner was prepared by the Earl of *Pembroke*, who being great Master, yet humbled himself so far as to serve the said Table, as Master of the Household himself. He was a devout friend to my Queens Title of succeeding to the Crown of *England*.

After Dinner, I took leave of the *French* Ambassadour, and of the *Spanish*, having received divers advertisements from them. My Lord of *Leicester*, beside what he had spoke to me, did write to my Lord of *Murray* to excuse him at the Queens hands. The day appointed I received my dispatch from Secretary *Cecil*, together with a Letter of Credit and a more ample Declaration of the Queens mind, touching the same answers she had made me her self. He gave me also a Letter to Secretary *Lidington*. For as is above said, Secretary *Cecil*, and



*Leicester*, my Lord of *Murray*, and Secretary *Lidington* ruled both Queens, and as yet kept good correspondence together. When I took my leave, Secretary *Cecil* conveyed me through the Close, to the outer Gate of the Palace, where he himself put a fair Chain about my Neck. My Lady *Lennox*, and Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* sent many good advices to the Queen, to be followed according as occasion offered. My Lady *Lennox* sent also Tokens, to the Queen a Ring with a fair Diamond; she sent an Emefauld to my Lord her Husband, who was yet in *Scotland*; a Diamond to my Lord of *Murray*; a Watch set with Diamonds and Rubies to the Secretary *Lidington*; a Ring, with a Ruby to my Brother Sir *Robert*. For she was still in good hope, that her Son, my Lord *Darnly*, would come better speed concerning the marriage of our Queen, than the Earl of *Leicester*. She was a very wise and discreet Matron, and had many favourers in *England* for the time.

At my return, I found the Queens Majesty still at *Edinburgh*. To whom I declared at large my manner of proceeding with the Queen of *England*, and gave her Majesty her answers to the special heads of my instructions in writing.

Her Majesty answered to the first, that whereas the Queen thought the time very long since she received either word or writ from her, whereby she might understand of her good estate, and had sent me thither to visit her in her behalf, that she thought the time as long, albeit she had conceived some displeasure concerning the angry Letter, which was the greater, in respect it appeared that she disdained the offer of the best good she had to give, to wit, the Man whom she esteemed as her Brother. And whereas she had sent me to visit her, she was more satisfied with my coming, than she would have been with any other, being formerly of her acquaintance, with whom she could the more familiarly declare her inward mind to the Queen my Mistress, seeing she could not meet with her self, so soon as she desired. As I might declare how familiarly she had conferred with me, acquainting me with all her inward griefs and desires, and how well she was satisfied, and how willing to continue all good offices of amity, and that she would for that effect, send shortly down to the Border, Commissioners, who were named by her self, to meet with my Lord of *Murray* and *Lidington*.

As for the Parliament, it was yet in doubt whether it held or not. If it held, she Queen should get no hurt in her Right, neither directly nor indirectly, but she should be forewarned in due time.

Then I shewed her Majesty at length, of all other purposes that fell out occasionally betwixt that Queen and me, together with the opinions and advertisements of divers of her friends in *England*, as well Catholics as Protestants. I gave her, at the desire of the *Spanish* Ambassadour, the intimation of his Kings good will toward her.

Her Majesty was very glad that matters were brought again to this pass, between her and the Queen of *England*, having thereby occasion of getting intelligence from a great number of Noblemen, and other her friends in *England*. For she was also afraid, that the blame of the discord, would have been laid upon her if it had continued.

After,

After that her Majesty had at great length understood all my management and proceedings in *England*, she inquired whether I thought that Queen meant truly toward her inwardly in her heart, as she appeared to do outwardly in her speech. I answered freely, that in my judgment, there was neither plain dealing, nor upright meaning, but great dissimulation, emulation and fear, lest her Princely qualities should over soon chase her from the Kingdom, as having already hindered her marriage with the Arch-duke *Charles* of *Austria*. It appeared likewise to me, by her offering unto her with great appearing earnestness my Lord of *Leicester*, whom I knew at that time she could not want.

Shortly after my Lord of *Murray* and *Bedford* met near *Berwick*, to treat concerning the marriage with *Leicester*, with slenderer offers, and less effectual dealing then was expected. But the said Earl of *Leicester* had written such discreet and wise Letters unto my Lord of *Murray* for his excuses, that the Queen appeared to have so good liking to him, as the Queen of *England* began to suspect that the said marriage might take effect. Her apprehensions of this, occasioned the Lord *Darnly* his getting more readily license to come to *Scotland*, in hope that he being a handsome lusty youth, should rather prevail, being present, then *Leicester* who was absent. Which license was procured by the means of the Secretary *Cecil*, not that he was minded that any of the marriages should take effect, but with such shifts to hold the Queen unmarried so long as he could. For he perswaded himself, that my Lord *Darnly* durst not proceed in the marriage without consent of the Queen of *England* first obtained to the said marriage, his Land lying in *England*, and his Mother remaining there. So that he thought it lay in the Queen his Mistress her own hand, to let that marriage go forward, or to stay the same at her pleasure. And in case my Lord *Darnly* should disobey the Queen of *England*'s command, to return upon her call, he intended to cause for fault him whereby he should lose all his Lands, Rights, and Titles that he had in *England*.

The Queens Majesty, as I have said before, after her returning out of *France* to *Scotland*, belated her self so Princely, honourably, and discreetly, that her reputation spread it self in all Countries. She was determined, and of her self inclined to continue so unto the end of her life, desiring to entertain none in her company, but such as were of the best conversation, abhorring all vice and vicious persons. In this her resolution she desired me to assist her by affording her my good counsel, what way was most effectual to ingratiate her self with her Subjects. And in case she (being yet young) might forget her self by any unseemly gesture or mis-behaviour, that I would warn her thereof, by admonishing her to forbear and timely reform the same. Which Commission I did at first altogether refuse to accept of, saying That her virtuous actions, her natural judgment, and the experience she had learned in the Court of *France*, had instructed her so well, and qualified her so abundantly, to be an example to all her Subjects and Servants, that she needed none to admonish her. But she would not leave it so, but said she knew she had committed divers errors, upon no ill meaning, only for want of the admonition of loving and concerned



cerned friends. Because that the greatest part of Courtiers commonly flatter Princess, to insinuate for their favour, and will not sell them the truth, fearing thereby to disoblige them. Therefore she adjured and commanded me to accept that charge, which I said was a very ruinous Commission, begging her Majesty to lay that burthen upon her Brother my Lord of Murray, and the Secretary Lidington. She answered, she would not take it in so good part from them, as from me. I said, I was afraid that through process of time, it would cause me to lose her favour. She said, it appeared I entertained an ill opinion of her constancy and discretion: which opinion she doubted not but I would alter, after I had undertaken, and practised that friendly and familiar charge. In the meantime she made me privy to all her most urgent affairs, but chiefly to her dealings with any foreign Nation. She shewed unto me all her Letters, those which she received from other Princes. She desired me to write in her favour, to such Princes as I had been acquainted with, and to such foreign Counsellors as I knew to be eminent Men. In which Letters, I did not omit to set out her virtues. I used to shew to her their returns, which ordinarily gave me an account of the most remarkable occurrences of those Countries, to her Majesties great contentment. For she was of a quick spirit, curious to know and get intelligence of the state of other Princes. She was something sad when solitary, and was glad of the company of such as had travelled to other Kingdoms.

Now there came here in company with the Ambassadour of Savoy, one David Rixio of the County of Piedmont, who was a merry fellow, and a good Musician: Her Majesty had three Valets of her Chamber who sung three parts, and wanted a Bass to sing the fourth part. Therefore they told her Majesty of this Man, as one fit to make the fourth in Consort.

Thus he was drawn in to sing sometimes with the rest, and afterward when her French Secretary retired himself to France, this David obtained the said office. And as he thereby entered in greater credit, so he had not the prudence how to manage the same rightly. For frequently in presence of the Nobility, he would be publickly speaking to her, even when there was greatest Conventions of the States. Which made him to be much envied and hated, especially when he became so great, that he presented all signatours to be subscribed by her Majesty. So that some of the Nobility would frown upon him, others would shoulder and shut him by, when they entered the Queens Chamber, and found him always speaking with her. For these who had great Actions of Law, new investments to be taken on who desired to prevail against their Enemies, at Court, or in Law Suits before the Session, addressed themselves to him, and depended upon him, whereby in short time he became very rich. Yet he wanted not his own fears, therefore he lamented his estate to me, asking one day my counsel how to behave himself. I told him that strangers were commonly envied, when they meddled too much in the affairs of other Countries. He said he being Secretary to her Majesty in the French Tongue, had occasion thereby to be frequently in her Majesties company, as her former Secretary used to do. I answered again that it was thought that the greatest part of the affairs of the Countrey pass through

through his hands, which gave offence to the Nobility. I advised him in their presence to retire from the Queen, giving them place. And that he might desire the Queen to permit him so to take that way. I told him for an example, how I had been in so great favour with the Elector Palatine, that he caused me to sit at his own Table, and that he used frequently to confer with me in presence of his whole Court, whereat divers of them took great indignation against me. Which so soon as I perceived, I requested him to permit me to sit from his own Table with the rest of his Gentlemen, and no more to confer with me in their presence, but to call me by a Page to his Chamber, when he had any service to command me. Seeing otherwise he would prejudice himself and me, both by giving ground of discontent to his Subjects, in too much noticing a stranger, and so expose me to their fury. Which I obtained, and that way my Master was not hated, nor I any more envied. I advised him to take the like course, if he was resolved to act as a wise Man. Which counsel he said he was resolved to follow, but afterward told me that the Queen would not suffer him, but would needs have him carry himself as formerly. I answered, that I was sorry for the inconveniencies that might follow thereupon. And afterward finding the envy against *Rixio* still to increase, and that by his ruine which I did foresee to be inevitable, her Majesty might incur displeasure, and her affairs be prejudged, seeing I clearly perceived that the extraordinary favour she carried to that Man, did much alienate the hearts of her own Subjects from her. I remembered her Majesties command lately laid upon me, when she particularly enjoined me, to forewarn her, of any circumstance to be observed in her carriage, which I thought could tend to her prejudice. I had before this time taken some such freedom, in desiring her to desist from some things which I knew were dissatisfactory to her Subject; and upon my acquainting her Majesty therewith, she had been pleased to reform them. The reflection hereupon, encouraged me the more cheerfully, in hope of the like success, to forewarn her Majesty of the inconveniencies I did clearly foresee would inevitably follow, if she in time did not alter her carriage to *Rixio*. Therefore upon the first opportunity, I took occasion to enter with her Majesty upon this discourse, in most humble manner representing, what I did upon rational considerations conjecture would be the consequences, of the too publick demonstrations of favour, she gave to *Rixio*, a stranger, and one suspected by her Subjects to be a pensioner of the Pope. That though they were resolved not to challenge her Majesties Religion, though contrary to theirs, allowing her Liberty of Conscience, yet it was not to be supposed, but the too much owning of *Rixio*, a known Minion of the Pope, would give ground of suspicion, that some design to the prejudice of the Established Religion, would be by him contrived. That to prevent this, her Subjects would find themselves obliged, to use all their endeavours to ruine a Man, and a stranger, from whom they could expect no good office, as being a known Enemy to their Religion. For the Nobility would certainly take it as an high affront upon them, to see her so visibly more countenance a stranger, then them her native Subjects. I told her her Majesty very freely what advice I had given to *Rixio*. She answered me, that he

meddled

modded no further then in her *French* writings, and affairs; as her later *French* Secretary had done formerly. And that whosoever found fault therewith, she would not be so far restrained, but that she might dispence her favours so such as she pleased. I remembered her Majesty what displeasure had been procured to her, by the rash misbehaviour of a *French* Gentleman called *Chacteller*, who transported to encrease himself by her affability, had thereby highly injured her Majesty. I told her Majesty that a grave and comely behaviour toward strangers, not admitting them to too much familiarity, would bring them to a more circumspect and Reverent carriage. I told her, how necessary it was, that she particularly noticed all her actions, seeing those of her Subjects who were not of her Religion, were easily allured with any thing which could be therein misrepresented. That if their hearts were once lost there would be great difficulty of regaining that place in their affections, which yet they found her due as their Sovereign Princess. She thanked me for my continual care, evidenced in this free advice, and engaged to take such order in reference thereto, as the case required.

I have already told, how that my Lord *Darnly* was advised to ask License to come unto *Scotland*. At his first coming he found the *Queen* at *Windsor*, making her progress through *Windsor*. Her Majesty took very well with him, and said, That he was the properest and best proportioned long Man that ever she had seen; for he was of a high stature, long and small, even and straight. He had been from his Youth well instructed in all honest and comely exercises. After he had haunted Court some time, he proposed marriage to her Majesty, which proposal she at first appeared to dislike, as that same day she herself told me, and that she had refused a Ring, which he then offered unto her. I took occasion freely hereupon to speak in his favour, and to convince her Majesty, that no marriage was more her interest then this; seeing it would render her Title to the Succession to the Crown of *England* unquestionable. I know not how he came to fall in acquaintance with *Ritch*, but I found he also was his great friend at the *Queens* hand, so that she took ay the longer the better liking of him, and at length determined to marry him. This being made known to the *Queen* of *England*, she sent and charged him to return. She also sent her Ambassadour *Sir Nicholas Throgmorton* to *Scotland*, to dissuade the *Queen* from marrying him, and in case the *Queen* would not follow her advice, to persuade the Lords, and so many as were of the Protestant Religion, to withstand the said marriage, till the said Lord *Darnly* should subscribe a Bond to maintain the Reformed Religion, which he had ever professed in *England*.

The *Queen* again perceiving the *Queen* of *England*'s earnest opposition to all the marriages that offered unto her, resolved to delay no longer. But my Lord Duke of *Chatterault*, my Lords of *Argile*, *Rocher*, *Murray*, *Glenairr*, and divers others Lords, and Barons, withstood the said marriage. Who after they had made an Essay to take the Lord *Darnly* in the *Queens* company at the Raid of *Baith*, and as they alledged, to have sent him to *England*. Failing in this their enterprise, they took them to the fields to her Majesties great dissatisfaction, and heart-breaking. Her Majesties Eques were sooner ready then

then theirs, so that she pursued them here and there, whereby they were so straitned that they could never have the opportunity of drawing together. And at length, they were compelled to flee unto *England* for refuge to her, who by her Ambassadors had promised to hazard her Crown in their defence, in case they were driven to any strait, because of appearing against the said marriage. Though this was expressly denyed them, when coming to demand help. For when they sent up my Lord of *Murray* to that Queen, the rest abiding at *New-castle*, he could obtain nothing but disdain and scorn, till at length he and the Abbot of *Kilwinning* his Companion in that message, were perswaded to come and confess unto the Queen upon their knees, and that in presence of the Ambassadors of *France* and *Spain*, that her Majesty had never moved them to that opposition and resistance against their Queens marriage. For this she had desired to satisfie the said Ambassadors, who both alledged in their Masters names, that she had been the cause of the said Rebellion, and that her only delight was to stir up dissention among her Neighbours. Yet by this cunning, she overcame them. For she handled the matter so subtilly, and the other two so cowardly, in granting her desire contrary to what was truth, being put in hopes relief, if they would so far comply with what was judged her interest for the time, that she triumphed over the said Ambassadors for their false allegiance. But unto my Lord of *Murray*, and his neighbour, she said, now you have told the truth, for neither did I, nor any in my Name stir you up against your Queen. For your abominable Treason, may serve for example to my own Subjects to rebel against me. Therefore get you out of my presence, you are but unworthy Traytors. This was all the reward they procured at her hands, and had not some of the Protestants in her Kingdom, who favoured them upon account of their Religion, interposed what they could with her, they would not have been permitted, during their banishment, to have remained within her dominions. Although a little before, she had promised to give them what assistance they demanded to the uttermost of her power, upon condition that they would please her so far, as to sit down upon their knees in presence of the said Ambassadors, and make the foresaid false confession. And as for secret help, she gave them none, only they obtained a small contribution among some of their own Religion there, who were their friends, which was distributed among them at *New-castle*, where they remained comfortless; and in great trouble.

The Queen finding the shifts the Court of *England* made to delay her marriage with any Man proposed, hasted forward her marriage with my Lord *Darnly*, which was solemnized in there Palace of *Halyrood-House*, within the Queens Chappel at the *Mars*, wherein *Rixio* was no small instrument. *Scotland* being by this time almost wholly of the Reformed Religion, took a dislike of the King, because of this, he having formerly professed the Reformed Religion in *England*. Hence were occasioned rumours, that there was some design on foot, for planting again in *Scotland* the Roman Catholick Religion, there being ground of suspicion, that *Rixio* was a Pensioner of the Popes. And at this same time, the Pope sent Eight Thousand Crowns in Gold

to be delivered to our Queen, which augmented these suspicions. But the Ship wherein the said Gold was, did Ship-wrack upon the Coast of *England*, within the Earl of *Northumberland's* bounds, who alledged the whole to appertain to him by just Law, which he caused his Advocate to read unto me (when I was directed to him for the demanding restitution of the said Sum) in the old *Norman Language*. Which neither he nor I understand well, it was so corrupt. But all my intreaties were ineffectual, he altogether refusing to give any part thereof to the Queen, albeit he was himself a Catholick, and otherwise professed secretly to be her friend.

After that the Queens Majesty had married my Lord *Darby*, she did him great honour her self, and desired every one who expected her favour, to do the like, and to wait upon him. So that for a little time, he was well accompanied, and such as sought favour by him, sped best in their Suits. But because he had married without advice of the Queen of *England*, my Lady *Lennox* his Mother was committed to the Tower of *London*, where she was kept for a long time.

All this time I attended still upon the Queen, but with less familiarity then formerly. And seeing my service for the time no more needful, humbly begged liberty of the Queen to return to *France*, and other places, where I had spent the greatest part of my life. But this her Majesty absolutely refused to grant, expressing some desire to know what could move me to desert her service. I said the time was full of suspicions, and that I was confident I could do her more service abroad then at home as matters had fallen out. She answered, that she knew I could do her more service at home, then any Servant she had if I pleased, but that I had left off using my wonted freedom with her in giving her my opinion of her proceedings. I told her Majesty I was somewhat apprehensive that my opinions would be unpleasant to her, but she affirmed the contrary, telling me that I had Enemies, who used their endeavours to imprint a bad Character of me in the King, as if I had been a favourer of the Earl of *Murray*, which she had put out of the King's head, as being better acquainted with my nature and conditions: Saying, that she knew well that I had a liking to the Earl of *Murray*, but not to his actions of taking up Arms against her. That she was assured that I loved her ten times better then him. She said moreover, that if any did endeavour to misrepresent her as much to me, that she wisht I should give them no more credit against her, then she had done, or should do against me. She advised me to wait upon the King, who was but young, and give him my best counsel, as I had formerly done to her, which might help him to shun many inconveniencies. And she gave me her hand, that she would take all in good part whatever I did speak, as proceeding from a loving and faithful Servant. Desiring me also to befriend *Rexis*, who was hated without a cause. The King also told me, who they were who had spoken to him in my prejudice. And said they were known to be such common liars, as their tongue was no slander. By these and such like means, the Queens Majesty obliged me more and more to be careful, to be serviceable to her. And I judged my self ingaged as the greatest demonstration I could give of my being faithful to her, to give her my opinion, what use she might make for her own advantage,

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of the harsh usage the Earl of *Murray* and his associates had received in *England*. How uncourtously that Queen had used them before the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors, she having broken all her fair promises unto them.

First, I told her Majesty that ever since her return to her own Country, she had been endeavouring to get her Nobility and whole Subjects, intirely affected to take part with her in all actions whatsoever, and chiefly against *England* in case she might have occasion of employing them. Though she could never hitherto obtain her desire, because of the secret bond and promise was made among them, when the *English* Army was at the Siege of *Liech*, helping to put the *Frenchmen* out of *Scotland*.

Now, said I, Madam the occasion is offered, whereby your Majesty may bring your desired intention to pass, if you could find in your heart either to pardon the Earl of *Murray*, and his associates, or at least to prolong the Parliament, wherein they are to be forfaulted until your Majesty may duly advise, and see whether it will be more your interest to forfault them, or give them ground of hope of obtaining your pardon, according to their carriage for the future. To this she answered, now when they could do no better, they sought her; but when she sought their concurrence, such as Subjects owe to their native Prince, they would not hear her, no more would she now notice their Suits. I said, whensoever they were to make their Suits it should not be by me, but this I propose of my self to your Majesty, who can choose the best, and leave the worst in all accidents. Seeing it is no little matter to gain the whole hearts of all your Subjects, and also of a good number in *England*, who favour them and their Religion, who would admire such Princely vertues. When they should see so pregnant a proof of your Majesties being able to Master your own passions and affections, all will then conclude, that you were most worthy to reign over Kingdoms, finding you so ready to forgive, and so loath to use vengeance, especially against Subjects already vanquished, and not worthy of your wrath. If your Majesty consider seriously, clemency at such a time will be found most convenient, and that part of Justice called Equity, more profitable then rigour. For extremity frequently brings on desperate enterprises. At this her Majesty entred into choller, saying, I defie them, what can they do or what dare they do? Madam, says I, with your Majesties pardon, my proposition is in obedience to your own Commandment, to shew you my opinion at all times for the weal of your affairs. Then she said she thanked me, granting that it was a good advice, and necessary to be done, if she could in so far command her self. But that yet she could not find in her heart to have to do with any of them upon divers considerations, intreating me nevertheless to continue giving her my advice at all occasions. For albeit she did not follow this, she might perchance do better at another time. I answered, that it was only the consideration of her interest, that made me appear so concerned. Many Noblemen being banished, and so near as *Newcastle*, having many other Noblemen at home, of their kindred and friends, so malecontent, as I knew them to be for the time, made me fear some attempt towards an alteration. For I told her, I had heard dark speeches,

ches, that we should hear news ere the Parliament was ended. Her Majesty answered, that she likewise wanted not advertisements of the like rumours, but that our Countrey-men were talkative. I used the same freedom with *Rixio*, for then he and I were under great friendship. But he evidenced a disdain at all dagger, and despised counsel, so that I was compelled to say, I feared over late Repentance.

You have heard that Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was one of the two *English* Ambassadors who were sent hither to stay the marriage, and to make many promises in his Mistresses Name, to so many as would resist the same, which promises were afterward denied by the Queen of *England*, and by Mr. *Randolph*. But Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* stood neither in awe of Queen or Council, to declare the verity, that he had made such promises to them in her Name, whereof the Councillors and craftiest Courtiers thought strange, and were resolving to punish him for avowing the same promise to be made in his Mistresses Name, had not he wisely and circumspectly obtained an Act of Council for his Warrant, which he offered to produce. And the said Sir *Nicholas* was so angry that he had been made an instrument to deceive the *Scots* banished Lords, that he advised them to sue humbly for pardon at their own Queens hand, and to ingage never again to offend her for satisfaction of any Prince alive. And because as they were then stated they had no interest, he penned a persuasive Letter, and sent unto her Majesty as followeth.

“ Your Majesty hath in *England* many friends of all degrees, who  
 “ favour your Title, but for divers respects. Some for very  
 “ Conscience sake, being perswaded, that in Law your Right is best ;  
 “ some for the good opinion they have conceived, by the honourable  
 “ report they have heard of your vertues and liberality, the considera-  
 “ tion whereof ingageth them to esteem your Majesty most worthy to  
 “ Govern ; some for factions, who favour your Religion ; some for the  
 “ ill will they bear to your competitour, seeing their own danger if  
 “ Lady *Katharine* should come in that place.

“ Of these, some are Papists, some Protestants, and yet however they  
 “ differ among themselves, in Religion or other particulars, they are  
 “ both of one mind for the advancement of your Title. Your Ma-  
 “ jesty hath also divers Enemies for various respects, not unlike to the  
 “ other, whose study hath always been, and will be, unless they be  
 “ made friends, to hinder any thing that may tend to your advantage.  
 “ In one point all concur, both Friends and Enemies, yea the whole  
 “ People, that they are most desirous to have the succession of the  
 “ Crown declared and assured, that they may be at a certainty, only the  
 “ Queen her self is of a contrary opinion, and would be glad the matter  
 “ should always be in suspence.

“ Your un-friends have done what they could, to take the ad-  
 “ vantage of the time, to your prejudice: And for that end, pressed  
 “ the holding of the Parliament, which was before continued till *Octo-  
 “ ber* last. Knowing assuredly, that if the Parliament held, the Suc-  
 “ cession of the Crown would be called in question. And they thought  
 “ the time served well for their purpose, when there was division and  
 “ trouble



trouble in your own Realm, and no good understanding betwixt you and the Queen of *England*. And her Subjects your friends, for eschewing that inconvenience and winning of time to give your Majesty place to work, and remove all impediments, so far as wisdom may have found the means to drive it off till the next spring. Now their advice is, that in the mean time your Majesty endeavour by wisdom to assure your self of the whole Votes, or at least of the best and most considerable of the Parliament, when ever the matter shall be brought in question. Which may be done, by retaining the hearts of those you have gained already, recovering of those who are brangled, winning of the neutrals, and so many of your adversaries as may be gained; for it is not to be supposed that all can be won who are already so far addicted to the contrary Faction, but when the cause of their aversion is removed the effect will cease.

Generally your Majesty will do well to forbear any act that will offend the whole people, and use such means as will render you most acceptable to them. Strangers are universally suspected to the whole people, against which your Majesty hath in your marriage wisely provided, by abstaining to match with a forreign Prince. So do they advise your Majesty to abstain from any League or Confederacy, with any forreign Prince that may offend *England*, till you have first essayed what you can purchase by the benevolence of the born Subjects thereof. Not that they would desire your Majesty to forsake your friendship with *France*, and *Spain*, but rather that you should wisely entertain them both to remain at your devotion, in case afterward you have need of their favour. Nevertheless it is their wish that the same may rather remain in general terms as heretofore, then that you proceed to any special act which may offend *England*, which you cannot with honour bring back again when you would. As many of our adversaries as are addicted to the contrary Faction for hatred of your Religion, may be gained when they see your Majesty continue in the temperance and moderation you have hitherto used, within your own Realm in matters of Religion, without innovation or alteration. As many as by misreports have been carried to the contrary Faction, may by true report be brought back again, when they shall hear of your clemency used towards your own Subjects, which vertue in Princes, of all others, most allures the hearts of people to favour, even their common Enemies. As many as can deal warily and discreetly with your friends of both the Religions, and are only addicted for Conscience sake to my Lady *Katharine*, being perswaded of the preference of your Title in Law, may be gained to your Majesty by contrary perswasions, and by adducing of such reasons and arguments, as may be alledged for proof of your good cause, whereof there are abundance to be had. Some your Majesty will find in *England*, who will hazard as far as they dare, to serve your turn in this behalf. But because it is so dangerous to Men to deal in, and may endanger Lives and Lands, if they be seen earnest medlers, travelling in that point so as would be necessary, it will require such instruments of your own when time comes, who may boldly speak without danger, and with whom the Subjects of *England* dare freely communicate their minds, and enter into conference.



"ference. If any be afraid of your Majesty, thinking that you have  
 "an ill opinion of them, the assurance by a trusty Minister of your  
 "good will, whom they may credit, will quickly put them out of  
 "doubt and make them favourable enough. They who are constant-  
 "ly yours, are easily retained at your devotion: Those who hereto-  
 "fore have born any favour, and by the late occurrences are any way  
 "dissatisfied, will be brought home again, when they shall see your  
 "Majesty, now when it is fallen in your hands to use rigour or mer-  
 "cy, as you please, rather incline to the most plausible part, in shew-  
 "ing your magnanimity, when you have brought your Subjects to  
 "submission and gentleness, as the good Pastour to reduce his Sheep  
 "that were gone astray home again to the fold. Those who are yet  
 "neutrals, by the same means, and true information of your interest  
 "by Law, may all be won to your side. This done, when the mat-  
 "ter comes in question, your friends will earnestly press your interest  
 "at this Parliament, and you will without controversie bear it a-  
 "way.

"This device, in so far as concerns your reconciliation with your  
 "Subjects, is not a fetch for their favour, but is thought expedient for  
 "your service by many who have no favour for them, and are dif-  
 "ferent from them in Religion. For it will bring the Queen of *Eng-*  
 "*land* greatly to favour you, when she shall see such an Union in your  
 "own Kingdom, of the Head and whole Members together. She will  
 "not know how to disturb your Majesties estate, especially when the  
 "Reconciliation takes effect in the hearts of the Subjects in *England*,  
 "who will think themselves in an happy condition, if they should  
 "come under the Government of so benign a Princess who can so rea-  
 "dily forgive great offences. For albeit it must be acknowledged that  
 "my Lord of *Murray*, hath by his inconsiderate carriage given your  
 "Majesty great ground of offence, yet it is hard to perswade the Pro-  
 "testants, that your quarrel against him hath any other foundation,  
 "then that he differs from you in Religion. Upon this ground, they  
 "find themselves engaged to espouse his quarrel. If then they per-  
 "ceived your Majesty graciously inclined to take him again unto fa-  
 "vour, and forgive what is by past, the Protestants in *England* would  
 "doubtless declare themselves more affectionate to your intrest, when  
 "they shall see more of their own Religion so clemently handled.  
 "And that your Majesty may have experience, that it is your advance-  
 "ment your friends would by this means procure, and not the advan-  
 "tage of those with whom your Majesty is offended, a middle way  
 "may be followed, as is frequently used in such like cases, where not  
 "only the multitude is spared, but the chief authors are preserved. It  
 "may please your Majesty to cause a Letter to be pen'd in good terms  
 "and form, and publish the same by Proclamation, declaring the just  
 "cause of your anger against all of them; and that yet for declaring  
 "your own good nature above their deservings, you are content to re-  
 "mit the whole, except such principles as you please to reserve and ex-  
 "cept by name from the general Pardon. And that with whom you  
 "will not take such severe order as you might in Law, till you have  
 "further tryal and experience of their Penitence. The persons so to  
 "be nominated and excepted shall depart out of *England*, to what Coun-  
 "try

" they pleaseth your Majesty, there to remain during your pleasure.  
 " In this mean time, if your Majesty find that this benign usage of  
 " yours, shall produce such fruit as is here spoken, your Majesty may  
 " further extend your favour, as you find convenient and profitable for  
 " your self. For your Majesty hath still the crimes lying above their  
 " heads. In the meantime all who favour them in *England*, will  
 " plead in their cause with your Majesty, so far as their power extends  
 " as if they were Agents for your Majesty. They will in no ways, if  
 " they can eschew it, be again in the Queen of *Englands* debt, neither  
 " by obtaining of any favour at your hand by her intervention, nor yet  
 " for any support in the time of their banishment. But rather it may  
 " please your Majesty, that their charges be allowed them of their own  
 " Lands. By following this advice, which in no ways can be prejudi-  
 " cial to your Majesty, but will much conduce for your interest, you  
 " may recover the greatest part of the Bishops of *England*; many of  
 " the greatest Nobility and Gentlemen, who are yet Neutral.

Their Names were declared to her Majesty in Cypher, by whose  
 means he alledged her Majesty should obtain so great an interest in  
*England*, that albeit that Queen would appear against her, she needed  
 not to care. For in sending but one thousand Men of her own, out  
 of four parts of *England*, a sufficient number should join with them,  
 by whose forces, without any strangers, her Majesty should obtain the  
 thing which is wrongfully refused and retained.

When her Majesty had seriously pondered this discourse, it had  
 great influence upon her, to move her to follow the desire thereof, as  
 well for the good opinion she had of him who sent it, as being of her  
 own nature more inclined to mercy then rigour; she being also wise,  
 and being convinced that it tended to the advancement of her affairs  
 in *England*. She was therefore fully resolved to have followed the  
 advice thereof, and to prolong the Parliament which had been called  
 to forfault the Lords who had fled. *Rixio* appeared also to have been  
 gained for counselling her hereto. My Lord *Murray* had sued to him  
 very earnestly, and more humbly then could have been believed, with  
 the present of a fair Diamond inclosed within a Letter, full of repen-  
 tance and fair promises, from that time forth to be his Friend and Pro-  
 tector. Which the said *Rixio* granted to do with the better will,  
 that he perceived the King to bear him little good will, and to frown up-  
 on him.

Following this advice and advertisement given by Sir *Nicholas Throg-  
 morton*, the Queens Majesty sent my Brother, Sir *Robert Melvil*, to re-  
 main her Ambassadour in Ordinary at the Court of *England*, to be  
 ready at all occasions in case any thing were treated at the Parliament  
 concerning the Succession, and to pursue the Design laid down by Sir  
*Nicholas*, and her other friends in *England*.

In this mean time, there was a *French* Gentleman sent home here;  
 called Monsieur d' *Villamonte*, with a Commission to treat with the  
 Queen, that in no wayes she should shew any favour to the protestant  
 banished Lords. Because that all Catholick Princes were bandied to  
 root them out of all *Europe*. Which was a device of the *Cardinal* of  
*Lorraine* lately returned from the Council of *Trent*. He had caused  
 the

the King of *France*, to write earnestly to that effect. Which unhappy Message, occasioned divers tragical accidents. For the Queen was loath to offend her friends in *France* of the house of *Guise*, albeit she would have done little at that time by her own pleasure to satisfy the King of *France* who was but young and only guided by his Mother whom she had no good cause to like well of. But *Rixio* was thought also not to think fit to offend so many Catholick Princes confederated, and especially the Pope with whom he had secret intelligence. Hereby the Queen was again induced to hold the Parliament to forfault the banished Lords, against her own intention and her former deliberation. Now there were a number of Lords at home, friends to the Lords who were banished, as the Earl of *Mortoun*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Lord *Lindsay*, and divers other Gentlemen who favoured them only for their Religion, some of them were discontent, that their friends should be forfaulted, others had special reasons inducing them to fear the Sitting of that Parliament. Especially the Earl of *Mortoun*, and his dependers feared a revocation that was alledged to be made at the said Parliament, to bring back again to the Crown divers great dispositions given out during the Queens minority, and some benefices which had been taken by Noblemen at their own hands during the Civil-Wars under pretext of Religion. These and such considerations, moved them to consult together how to get the Parliament stayed, and to make a change at Court. The Earl of *Mortoun* had a crafty head, and had a Cousin called *George Douglafs*, the natural Son to the Earl of *Angus*, who was Father to Dame *Margaret Douglafs* Countess of *Lennox*, the King's Mother. The said *George* was continually about the King, and by his Mother, and Brothers means, put in his head such suspicions against *Rixio*, that the King was prevailed with to give his consent to his slaughter. This the Lords of *Mortoun*, *Lindsay*, *Ruthven*, and others had devised, to become that way Masters of the Court and so to stop the Parliament.

The King was yet very young, and not well acquainted with the nature of this Nation. It was supposed also, that the Earl of *Lennox* knew of the said design. For he had his Chamber within the Palace, and so had the Earl of *Athol*, *Bothwel* and *Huntly*, who escaped, by leaping over a Window toward the little Garden where the Lyons were lodged. This vile act was done upon a *Saturday* at six a-Clock at night, when the Queen was at Supper in her Closet. A number of Armed Men entered within the Court, before the closing of the Gates, and took the Keys from the Porter. One part of them, went up through the Kings Chamber, conducted by the Lord *Ruthven* and *George Douglafs*; the rest remained without, with drawn Swords in their hands, crying, *A Douglafs, A Douglafs*. The King was before gone up to the Queen, and was leaning upon her Chair, when the Lord *Ruthven* entered with his Helmet upon his Head, and *George Douglafs*, and divers others with them, so rudely and irreverently, that the Table, Candles, Meat and Dishes were overthrown. *Rixio* took the Queen about the waste, crying for mercy, but *George Douglafs* plucked out the Kings Dagger and stroke *Rixio* first with it, leaving it sticking in him. He making great shrieks and cries, was rudely snatcht from the Queen, who could not prevail either with threats or intreaties,

intreaties, to save him. But he was forcibly drawn forth of the Closet and slain in the outer Hall, and her Majesty kept as a Captive. That same night the Earl of Arbol, the Lord of Tullibardine, and Secretary Lidington, and Sir James Balfour were permitted to retire themselves out of the Palace, and were in great fear of their lives. The next morning being Sunday, I was let forth at the Gate, and passing through the outer Closet, the Queen being looking forth at a Window, cryed unto me to help her. I drew near, and assured her of all the help that lay in my power. She desired me with all haste to go to the Provost of Edinbrugh, and desire him to convene the Town to relieve her out of these Fraytors hands. But run fast, says she, for they will stay you. As this word was spoken, one Mr. Wisbet, Master of the Household to the Earl of Levox, was sent with a Company to stay me. To whom I gave good words, saying, that I was only going to Sermon at St. Giles's Church. But I went in haste to the Provost, and told him my Commission from the Queen. He answered, That he had another commandment from the King, but that he should draw the people to the Tolbooth, and see what they would do, though he expected no help from their hands, because the most part of them were so discontent with the present Government, that all desired a change. Yet he convened them, though in vain. Which backwardness of theirs, I did intimate to her Majesty, by one of her Ladys, whom she sent again unto me, to tell me that she supposed my Lord of Murray and his associates, who were yet banished, remaining at Newcastle, would be sent for by those who were about her: Willing me at his coming, to persuade him not to join with those who had so highly affronted her, but to hold himself free, and be her friend in this strait, which doing should be his great advantage and purchase her love and favour for ever. Which commission I did not fail to execute at his coming upon Monday, but he was more moved at his meeting with her Majesty, who embraced and kissed him, alledging that if he had been at home he would not have suffered her to have been so unparagonably handled. Which so much moved him, that the Tears ran from his eyes. He knew sufficiently well that it was not for his cause, but for their own particular ends, that the greatest part who had made that interprise had therein engaged, which made him the less concerned in them. Yet he and his Company resolved to keep the day, against which they were summoned to the Parliament.

In the meantime, the King repeated himself of his accession to that affair; whereupon her Majesty took occasion to persuade him to abandon those Lords, who had committed so odious a crime, as to hazard her life, together with his Child which was in her Belly. That notwithstanding she was resolved to forgive them, and give them what security thereupon they would demand. The Lords seeing the King drawn from them, and my Lord of Murray not so frank for them, as they expected, were necessitated to do the next best, and consented that a pacification should be penned, which was divers times written over, to put in and out certain heads and clauses, to drive it through the writing might appear plausible. Her Majesty caused the King to advise them, to discharge the Guard that kept her, that so the security might be subscribed, she being at liberty. Seeing otherwise it would

would not avail them in Law, if there were the least appearance of restraint upon her, during the time thereof. So upon *Tuesday* they went all to their rest, but the Queen, King, *Traquair*, and *Arthur Arskine* Master of the Horse for the time, went out of *Halirood-House* at midnight toward the Castle of *Dunbar*, and left word with one of her Ladies to me, that I should be earnest to keep the Earl of *Murray* from joining with the other Lords. Who the next morning found themselves greatly disappointed being left without any appearance of a pacification. In the mean time, I used my endeavours very effectually to keep my Lord *Murray* from joining with the late offenders. I engaged to him, that in so doing, I should procure a pardon to him, and all his followers. They on this manner being destitute of all assisters, were compelled to flee unto *England* to *Newcastle*, where in a manner they might find the other Lords nests yet warm.

A few days before, my Lord *Duke*, my Lords of *Glencairn* and *Roths* had obtained their pardons. For they were divided during their banishment, and her Majesty found it not her interest to have so many Lords against her. She had also now again indeavoured to draw the Earl of *Murray* from the Earl of *Mortoun*, and his accomplices, because he had for the time a great friendship and many dependers, that she might be the more easily revenged upon that most detestable deed of murdering her Servant in her presence. For she being big with Child, it appeared to be done to destroy both her and her Child. For they might have killed the said *Rixie* in any other part, at any time they pleased. My Lord *Murray* and his dependants, desired me to carry their humble thanks unto her Majesty, and to signify unto her, how willingly they acquiesced to her Majesties desire, and how they had discharged themselves to such as had committed that vile act. And that they promised her Majesty never any more to have to do with them, or intercede for them.

I rencountred her Majesty coming from *Dunbar* to *Haddington*, and was very favourably received with great thanks for my care of her honour and welfare. That night in *Haddington* she subscribed divers remissions for my Lord *Murray* and his dependers, lamenting unto me the King's folly, ungratitude, and misbehaviour. I excused the same the best I could, imputing it to his youth, which occasioned him to be easily led away by pernicious Council, laying the blame upon *George Douglas* and other bad Councillors, praying her Majesty for many necessary considerations, to remove out of her mind any prejudice against him, seeing that she had chosen him her self against the opinion of many of her Subjects. But I could perceive nothing from that day forth, but great grudges that she entertained in her heart. That night in *Haddington*, the King inquired of me, if the Lord of *Murray* had written to him. I answered, That his Letter to the Queen was written in haste, and that he esteemed the Queen and him but one. He said, he might have also written to me. Then he enquired what was become of *Mortoun*, *Rutbven* and the rest of that Company. I told him, I believed they were fled, but I knew not whither. As they have Brewed, says he, so let them drink. It appeared to me that he was troubled he had deserted them, finding the Queens favour but cold. The next day they came to *Edinburgh*, and lodged within the Castle where

where some were apprehended and executed, who had been in the Court of the Palace, and had kept the Gates that night wherein *Rix* was slain.

Her Majesty was now far gone with Child, and went to *Sterling*, intending to ly in there. Thither the King followed her, and from that to *Allway*. At length she came back to the Castle of *Edinbragh*. It was thought that she fled from the King's company. I travelled earnestly to help matters betwixt them, and was therein so importunate, that I was thought troublesome. So that her Majesty desired my Lord of *Murray* to reprove me, and charge me not to be any more familiar with the King: Who went up and down all alone, seeing few durst bear him company. He was disliked by the Queen, and by all such as secretly favoured the late banished Lords: So that it was a great pity to see that good young Prince cast off, who failed rather for want of good Counsel and Experience, then from any bad inclinations. It appeared to be fatal to him, to like better of flatterers and ill Company then plain speakers and good Men: Which hath been the wrack of many Princes, who by frequenting good Company would have proved gallant Men.

About this time the Queen of *England* was taken with a great Fever, that none believed she could live: All that Kingdom was thereby in great perplexity. But a strange thing is to be marked, that two contrary Factions there, had both determined, unknown to other, to send for our Queen, and set the Crown of *England* upon her head. My Brother Sir *Robert Melvil* was then Ambassadour there resident, and I served in place of Secretary here at home, because Secretary *Ladington* was absent under some suspicion. He sent home continual advertisements how to proceed, and I again returned the answers at her Majesties direction.

Now began the Earl of *Rotbuel* to be in great favour, to the great dissatisfaction of many. He and the Earl of *Hunthy*, and the Bishop of *Rosse*, envied the favour that the Queen shewed unto the Earl of *Murray*; for they were upon contrary courses. The Queen on the other hand, knew how generally he was well liked of both in *England* and *Scotland*, and that she would be the better liked of in both Kingdoms that she shewed favour to him. And as she resolved to follow the former advice and information sent her by Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, so she forgot not the late help he had made her at his home-coming. These two Earl with the foresaid Bishop, took occasion when the time of her Majesties delivery drew near, to perswade her to imprison my Lord of *Murray*; to remain no longer then she should be delivered, alleging that they were assuredly advertised, that he and his dependers were resolved to bring in the banished Lords, even at the very time of her Child-bearing: For they thought, if once he were warded, they should find devices enough to cause him be kept, and disgraced, especially when he should be absent, and not have opportunity of answering and resisting their Calumnies. Whereof her Majesty gave me an account, desiring me to mind her of their secret designs against *Murray*, without any just cause, flowing only from their own hatred who had devised his ruine.

The Earl of *Mortoun* was now in a hard condition, though many of the Barons of *Lauthran* were his friends, they could be little sted-able to him. Among the rest the Laird of *Elphinstoun*, my Brother-in-law, whose Mother was a *Duglas* of the House of *Whittengem*. Upon account of this friendship, the Earl of *Mortoun* caused to write unto my Sister the Lady *Elphinstoun*, desiring her to perswade me to write in his favours to the *Electoꝛ Palatine*, and other Princes of my acquaintance in *Germany*, to suffer him to live in their Country. For my Brother, by her Majesties direction, pressed the Queen of *England* to put them forth of her Kingdoms. And they durst not go to *France*, where the Queen had so many friends. This I did shew unto her Majesty that she might be the more confirmed how groundless that report was, made by the aforesaid Lords against *Murray*. Wherewith she appeared well satisfied, resolving to continue her kindness for my Lord *Murray*, but that withal she charged me not to write in favours of *Mortoun*.

In the mean time, Mr. *Henry Killegrew* was sent hither Ambassadour from the Queen of *England*, who was in great suspision of her estate, finding so many of her Subjects favourers of our Queen. The said Ambassadour complained against one Mr. *Ruxbie*, who was harboured in *Scotland*, being a Rebel and a Papist: Declaring how that the Queen his Mistress had commanded *Mortoun* and his Complices forth of her Country: Which was done by open proclamation, to please the Queen and her Ambassadour, who cryed out continually for her suffering them to abide so long in *England*: Yet as we afterward understood, they were secretly over-lookt, upon condition that they would keep themselves quiet. Mr. *Killegrew* alledged also that the Queens Majesty had been practising with *Oncl* in *Ireland*, who had his Ambassadour presently in *Edinbrugh*, in company of the Earl of *Arguile*. And Thirdly he complained of some disorders upon the Borders, made by *Scottishmen*. But the principal pretext of his Commission, was to comfort the Queen over her late troubles, to congratulate her freedom, and good success over her wicked and rebellious Subjects.

It may appear sufficiently by that Queens former proceedings, that all the Sisterly familiarity was ceased, and in place thereof nothing but jealousies, suspicions and hatred. And yet they kept an outward correspondence, for keeping up Neighbourhood and Intelligence. The *Scots* Ambassadour for the time in *England*, had so good hap that his credit was great, for he was esteemed sure and secret. Which caused a great number of the Nobility, Protestants and Papists to Communicate their inward minds, and secretest intentions unto him. Mr. *Randolph* had not the like credit in *Scotland*, but only with some of the simplest sort of the Ministers. For this *Ruxbie* was sent in hither to appear to be a zealous favourer of her Majesties Right and Title to the Crown of *England*. He was to endeavour to speak with the Queen, and to take an occasion of informing her Majesty of the great friendship divers of the Catholicks had for her, who durst not deal with the *Scots* Ambassadour being a Protestant; but that he would deal himself betwixt her Majesty, and them. All this was to essay what he could draw out of her Majesty to give advertisement thereof to Secretary *Cecil*. He addressed himself unto the Queens Majesty by



by the Bishop of *Ross*, who was a Catholick. The said Bishop desiring her Majesty to be secret. What he learned for the time I cannot tell, but he did write sundry intelligences unto the Secretary *Cicil*, which did prejudice. But this fine contrivance was not so secretly kept, but my Brother Sir *Robert* had knowledge thereof, and also of a Letter that the Secretary *Cicil* wrote again unto *Scotland*, to the said Mr. *Ruxbie* promising to see him rewarded, and desiring him to continue in his diligence. Of all which my Brother by his good intelligence was so well advertised, that in due time he gave her Majesty and me information thereof. He gave his advice, how to carry for the future in that affair. So that when Mr. *Killegrew* made his complaint upon the receipt of Mr. *Ruxbie*, her Majesty incontinently caused him to be apprehended, and all his Cyphers and Writings, among the which was found the Letter written by Secretary *Cicil* above-mentioned. *Ruxbie* finding himself discovered, fell immediately upon his knees, granting himself worthy of a thousand deaths, humbly craving pardon. Her Majesty caused him to be so secretly and straitly kept, that the *English* Ambassadour could get no intelligence for what cause he was apprehended, until that the Queen did shew him her self, that upon his complaint to satisfie the Queen her good Sister, she had caused to apprehend the said *Ruxbie*, who should be delivered so soon after his return as it should please her Sister to send for him.

But as this Mr. *Ruxbie*, was secured, so was the complaint made against him kept secret. For her Majesty was advised, to appear altogether ignorant of any of his practises against her devised by Secretary *Cicil*, it not being thought her interest to put that shame upon one who professed so much to be her friend. Nor was it time to cast off intelligence, so long as it was found profitable to entertain it, as it would have indeed proved, had not such unhappy chances fallen out shortly after,

The Queens Majesties reckoning being near run out, she caused me to dispatch for *England*, to be in readines to give an accompt of the news of her delivery to that Queen; leaving a Blauk in her Letter to be filled up either with a Son or a Daughter, as it should please God to grant unto her. And to require the Queen of *England* to send hither in her name, such of hers as she knew to be best instruments for entertaining good love and friendship betwixt them, to be Gossips, as also to satisfie her concerning the most part of *Killegrew's* demands.

All the while I lay within the Castle of *Edinbrugh*, praying night and day for her Majesties good and happy delivery of a fair Son. This prayer being granted, I was the first who was thereof advertised by the Lady *Boin* in her Majesties Name to part with diligence the 19<sup>th</sup> of *June* 1555 betwixt Ten and Eleven in the morning. By Twelve of the Clock I took Horse, and was that night at *Berwick*. The fourth day after, I was at *London*, and did first meet with my Brother Sir *Robert*, who that same night sent and advertised Secretary *Cicil* of my arrival, and of the Birth of the Prince, desiring him to keep it quiet till my coming to Court to shew it my self unto her Majesty, who was for the time at *Greenwich*, where her Majesty was in great mirth, dancing after Supper. But so soon as the Secretary *Cicil* whispered in her Ear the news of the Prince's birth, all her mirth was



was laid aside for that night. All present marvelling whence proceeded such a change, for the Queen did sit down putting her hand under her Cheek, bursting out to some of her Ladies, That the Queen of Scots was Mother of a fair Son, while she was but a barren stock. The next morning was appointed for me to get Audience, at what time my Brother and I went by Water to Greenwich, and were met by some friends who told us how sorrowful her Majesty was at my news, but that she had been advised to shew a glad and cheerful countenance: Which she did in her best Apparel, saying, That the joyful news of the Queen her Sister's delivery of a fair Son, which I had sent her by Secretary Cicil, had recovered her out of a heavy sickness which she had lyen under for fifteen days. Therefore she welcomed me with a merry volt, and thanked me for the diligence I had used in hastening to give her that welcome intelligence. All this she said, before I had delivered unto her my Letter of Credence. After that she had read it, I declared how that the Queen had hastened me towards her Majesty as one whom she knew of all her friends, would be most joyful of the glad news of her delivery, albeit dear bought with the peril of her life, she being so sore handled that she wished she had never been married. This I said by the way to give her a little scare from marriage. For so my Brother had counselled me, because sometimes she boasted to marry the Arch-duke Charles of Austria, when any Man pressed her to declare a second person. Then I requested her Majesty to be a Gossip to the Queen, to which she gladly condescended. Your Majesty, said I, will now have a fair occasion to see the Queen, whereof I have heard your Majesty so oft desirous. Whereat she smiled, saying, she wished that her estate and affairs might permit her. In the mean time she promised to send both honourable Lords and Ladies to supply her room. Then I gave her Majesty, in my Queen's name, most hearty thanks, for her friendly visiting and comforting her by Mr. Henry Killegrew. She inquired if I had left him in Scotland, and what was the cause of his long stay. I answered, That the Queen took her Chamber shortly after his arrival, which was the chief cause of his delay. But I had in Commission to tell her Majesty something thereof, to satisfie her mind in the mean time, and to thank her Majesty for the putting away of the Scots Rebels out of her Country, albeit there were some Reports that they were yet secretly entertained by some of her Subjects, though I hardly believed that any of her Subjects durst be so bold, or so disobedient. She affirmed, they were out of her Dominions, and if it might be otherwise tryed out it should not pass without rigorous punishment. I told her Majesty, that upon her desire, and Ambassadors complaint, the Queen had caused to apprehend Mr. Rux-die, and had ordered him to be delivered to her Majesty whenever she should please to send for him. And as concerning Oneel, she had no dealing with him, nor knew that there had been any Servant of his sent to my Lord Arguile, until Mr. Killegrew's coming that she caused to enquire at the said Earl, who acknowledged that Oneel had sent one unto him about private purposes betwixt themselves, but that she did neither see nor speak with that Man, nor had any dealing with any Man in Ireland.

Her

Her Majesty seemed to be well satisfied with the matters of *Ireland*, and concerning Mr. *Ruxbie*, but she forgot to send for him. Before I took my farewell in order to my return, I entered with her Majesty concerning the Title: For my Lord of *Leicester* was become my Queens avowed friend, and had been twice in hand with the Queen of *England* a little before my coming, desiring her to declare my Mistress next Heir: Alledging it would be her greatest security, and cried out in anger that *Cecil* would undo all. Likewise the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and several others, shewed themselves openly her friends, after they understood the birth of the Prince. So that her Majesty's matters in *England* were hopeful; and therefore I was advised to say unto her Majesty, That I was assured she had formerly delayed the declaring the Queen second person, only till she might see such Succession of her body as now God had graciously granted: intreating her Majesty to embrace that fair offered opportunity of satisfying the minds of many, as well in *England* as in *Scotland*, who desired to see that matter out of doubt. And the rather because that the Queen my Mistress, would never seek any Place or Right in *England*, but by her Majesties favour and furtherance. She answered, That the birth of the Prince, was a great Spur to cause the most skilful Lawyers in *England*, to use greater diligence in trying out that matter, which she esteemed to belong most justly to her good Sister, and that she wished from her heart that it should be that way decided. I replied, That at my last being with her, I found her Majesty upon the same tears, but that as I had brought her good news from the Queen, I was very desirous to be so happy as to carry home with me unto her Majesty, the good tydings of that so long delayed Declaration. She answered, she was resolved to satisfy the Queen in that matter, by those Noblemen she was resolved to send unto *Scotland*, for the Baptism of the Prince. All this I perceived to be but shifts, and so took my leave, because my Brother was to remain there. The next day her Majesty sent unto me her Letter, with the Present of a fair Chain.

My Brother gave me the advice of her Majesties friends, together with his own instructions how to proceed after my coming home as followeth.

First, that he is in such suspicion for his handling there, by the advertisements of Mr. *Ruxbie*, and practices of her Enemies, that her Majesty must signifie to Mr. *Killegrew* that she is minded shortly to call him home, else he fears he shall be commanded to return.

Secondly, That her Majesty require the Earl of *Leicester* and Secretary *Cecil* to be sent to be her Gossips, as fittest instruments to perfect all Articles and good Offices of Amity betwixt them.

Item, That Mr. *Killegrew* be well treated and rewarded, that he may make good report to hold off discord, that intelligence may continue; and desire him to declare unto the Earl of *Leicester*, and Secretary *Cecil*, that it cannot stand with good friendship, to be so long fed with fair words without effect.

Item, That her Majesty cast not off the Earl of *Northumberland*, albeit as a fearful and facile man he delivered her Letter to the Queen of *England*; neither appear to find fault with Sir *Henry Pearce* as yet, for his dealing with Mr. *Ruxbie*, which he doeth to gain favour at Court.

Court, being upon a contrary faction to his Brother the Earl:

*Item*, That Mr. *Ruxbie* be well kept, and sent far North to some se-  
out-post that he give no hasty intelligence, for he hath already written  
unto Secretary *Cecil* by Sir *Henry Percy* his convoyance, that he can  
discover all your practises and secrets.

Let my Lord *Argyle* intreat *Queen* as of himself, the *Queen* not  
appearing to know thereof.

The Secretary *Cecil* devised strange practises against the meeting,  
which because my Lord of *Leicester* discovered unto the *Queen* his  
Mistress, *Cecil* stirred up the Earl of *Stafford* to forge a quarrel against  
him, but the *Queen* took the Earl of *Leicester*'s part, and finally agreed  
them, and also *Leicester* and *Ormond*.

*Item*, That her Majesty should write two Letters with Mr. *Killegrew*  
to my Brother, the one that he might shew unto the *Queen* of  
*England*, the other that he might shew unto the Secretary *Cecil*.

*Item*, To advertise my Brother what he should do more for my La-  
dy *Donna*, whose liberty might do much good.

Now to conclude, seeing the great mark which her Majesty shodds  
at, let her Majesty be more careful and circumspect that her desires be-  
ing so near to be obtained, be not all over-thrown for lack of secrecy,  
good management, and Princely behaviour, having so many factious  
Enemies lying in wait to make their advantage of the least appearance  
that can be made.

Shortly after my coming home Mr. *Killegrew* the *English* Ambassa-  
dour obtained his dispatch, with a friendly answer to his contentment,  
and a fair Chain; and with him her Majesty sent these two Letters fol-  
lowing to my Brother by his own advice that he might take occasion  
to let the *Queen* of *England* see the one, and Mr. *Cecil* the other, partly  
to serve to put some doubts out of their heads suggested by Mr. *Rux-  
bie*'s advertisements, for, as I have said, the Bishop of *Roth* made the  
said *Ruxbie*'s relation to the *Queen*, for neither he nor the Earl *Bothwell*  
desired her Majesty's affairs to prosper under my Brother's manage-  
ment, because he was not of their Faction, so that by their means *Rux-  
bie* got that intelligence as put all her Majesty's affairs once in a ven-  
ture, until my Brother's extraordinary intelligence from such as were  
most intimate with the *Queen* of *England*, made him cause to apprehend  
the said *Ruxbie* with his whole Letters and Memoires; as said  
is, so are many good Princes handled, and commonly their truest Ser-  
vants decourted by the envy and craft of their factious Enemies, for  
wicked men who have lost their credit by trumpetery and tricks, where-  
by they get no place to do good service to Princes, essay to creep un-  
to their favour by wiles, flattery, and other unlawful means, whereby  
they may decourt such as surmount them in vertue, and honest repu-  
tation, her Majesty's Letter to my Brother was as followeth.

" **T**Rusty and well-beloved, We Greet you well, Whereas your  
" Brother *James* hath told Us of the friendly and faithful advice  
" which unto you and him, by Mr. Secretary *Cecil*, toward the conti-  
" nuation of the unity betwixt the *Queen* Our good Sister and Us, ten-  
" ding also to Our own particular advantage, We thought meet to send  
" these

“ these few lines to you, that you may thank him heartily in Our  
 “ Name, and declare unto him our meaning and intention, as you find  
 “ opportunity touching the three Points that he did mention, at that  
 “ time.

“ The first, as we understand, touching our towardlines to them of  
 “ the Religion. The second touching strict justice to be observed upon  
 “ the Borders. The third, that we will endeavour by no other means to  
 “ come to the Succession of the Crown of *England*, but by the favour and  
 “ forth-letting of our good Sister.

“ As to the first, you shall answer in Our name, That since Our  
 “ return out of *France* We have neither constrained nor persecuted any  
 “ for cause of Religion, nor yet minds to do; their credit with Us be-  
 “ ing so manifest, that they are intrusted with the principal Offices,  
 “ and bear the chiefest charges in the Kingdom, and principally employ-  
 “ ed in our most urgent Affairs before all others: Sir *Nicholas Throg-*  
 “ *morton* can testifie what he hath seen and heard at his being here  
 “ thereanent, howbeit that contrary Brutes are blown abroad by the  
 “ malice and practises of our Enemies. To the second, concerning  
 “ the borders, it is most certain that the principal Officers on both the  
 “ sides are special instruments of all the disorders, taking occasion up-  
 “ on Our late troubles, when as they perceived that we might not so  
 “ well take order with them, as We were willing; as now when it  
 “ hath pleased God to grant unto Us more quietness. Desiring him  
 “ also to procure at the Queen his Sovereign's hands that the like di-  
 “ ligence be taken for her part as shall be seen used by Us; and then  
 “ we doubt not but that both he, she and all other who complain  
 “ shall be satisfied. As to the third and last head, you shall shew unto  
 “ him the tenor of Our other Letter, for satisfaction to the Queen and  
 “ Our other Friends in these parts. So with my friendly commenda-  
 “ tions to him and his wife, I commit you to the protection of the Al-  
 “ mighty. From the Castle of *Edinbrugh* this Year 1566.

“ **T**Rusty and Well-beloved, We Greet you well. We have recei-  
 “ ved great comfort and contentment by the Declaration your  
 “ Brother hath made to Us, of the Queen Our good Sister's continu-  
 “ al affection and constant love towards Us; which she hath now  
 “ shewn unto you, and your Brother at his coming; as also by her  
 “ Letters unto Our Self: Likewise for the grant she hath made to  
 “ be Our Gossip, and promises to send so honourable a Company of  
 “ Lords and Ladies, for solemnizing the same in her Name; for which  
 “ in Our behalf you shall give her Majesty most hearty thanks, and  
 “ shew unto her that We desire nothing to be done therein, but as may  
 “ conduce best for her advantage, and least to her expence; praying  
 “ her always that the principal Man, whom it will please her to send,  
 “ be such a one as We have by long experience known to have been  
 “ most familiar with her, to whom We may the more freely open  
 “ Our mind, and signifie divers things which We intended to have spo-  
 “ ken by mouth unto her self if God had granted Our desired meeting.  
 “ As concerning *Ouel*, *Ruxbie* and all other matters, We hope that Mr.  
 “ *Killebrew* will satisfie her sufficiently, and also how that We desire to  
 “ have.

“ have no advancement in that Country, but by her only means and  
 “ help, hoping and intending so to direct our course and behaviour  
 “ toward her, as she shall have cause more and more to procure ear-  
 “ nestly and carefully her self, all things that may further Our Weal  
 “ and Advancement, in this Country, that Kingdom, or any other. In  
 “ the which hope We will do our best to follow such measures as may  
 “ please her, and to avoid all things that may offend her; and We  
 “ give our most strict command unto you to do the like, so long as  
 “ you remain there; And wherever you be about Our service even as  
 “ I gave you Commandment of before, nevertheless in the mean time,  
 “ entertain most kindly and discreetly all those in that Country who  
 “ profess to bear good will unto Us, and to our Title, yet in such sort  
 “ as neither you nor they offend the Queen Our good Sister: And  
 “ if there chance to come to you any hasty or seditious persons, ad-  
 “ monish them gently to cease, and if they forbear not, shew unto  
 “ them, that We have promised to the Queen to declare the Names  
 “ and Practises of such unto her; and that we will not fail to do it in-  
 “ deed if they cease not: So shall it be known, that such as are about  
 “ to sow discord between the Queen our good Sister and Us, doth it  
 “ rather upon particular respects and for their own advantage, then for  
 “ any design to advance her Affairs or Ours.

These kind of Writings were for that time devised to overthrow and  
 cast down some intelligences, which were discovered by *Ruxbie*, and  
 some reports raised by Enemies, that my Brother by his practises and  
 persuasions had kindled a great fire, and had raised a great faction in  
*England*; he did not deny but he had dealt with many to win what fa-  
 vour he could to his Mistress, but that he had done nothing that  
 could offend the Queen of *England*, and that he had no Command-  
 ment to enterprize any thing which could be displeasing to her; by this  
 means *Ruxbie's* intelligence was suppressed, and my Brother suffered  
 to stay still in *England*, whereby the Queens friends so increased, that  
 many whole Shires were ready to Rebel, and their Captains already  
 named by the Election of the Nobility.

About this time her Majesty was advertised by my Brothers Let-  
 ters, that the Earl of *Bedford* was upon his journey toward *Scotland*  
 with an honourable Company: As also the Ambassadour of *France* and  
*Savoy* for the Baptism of the Prince, which moved her Majesty to pass  
 to *Sterling* with the Prince, for the solemnizing thereof, but she was  
 still sad, and pensive for the late foul act committed in her pre-  
 sence so irreverently, she being their born Queen, and thereby in ha-  
 zard of losing the fruit of her Womb, so many great sighs she would  
 give that it was pitty to hear her, and few there were to indeavour to  
 comfort her.

Sometime she would declare part her of grief to me, which I essay-  
 ed the best I could to assuage, by telling her that I thought the greater  
 multitude of friends that she had got in *England*, should cause her  
 to forget in *Scotland* the lesser number of Enemies and unruly offen-  
 ders, unworthy of her wrath, and that her excellent qualities in Cle-  
 mency, Temperance, and Fortitude should not suffer her mind to be  
 possess

possess or suppress with the remembrance of offences, but that rather she should bend up her spirit by a Princely and Womanly behaviour; whereby she might best gain the hearts of the whole people, both here and in *England*, humbly requesting her Majesty first to consult with her God, next with her honour, and thirdly with her interest in the establishing of her state, and in joining the two Kingdoms in a happy Monarchy, which she knew to be so near effectuate in her person, seeing also the banished estate of the offenders so miserable, they not having a hole to hide their head in, nor a penny wherewith to buy their Dinner; that the most noble natures would think them sufficiently punished; that it was a comely thing for a woman to be pitiful, and to want vengeance. I leave it, said I Madam, to your own judgment, whether presently it be more for your honour, and advancement of your interest, to cease from any desire or pursuit of any further revenge, whereupon may ensue more desperate enterprises, or to give place unto necessity and reason to rule over the beastly passions of the mind. For as Princes are called divine persons, so no Prince can pretend to this Title but he who draws near the nature of God by godliness and good Government, being slow to vengeance and ready to forgive. It is manifestly known that wise Princes entertain no longer feud at their Enemies, then they see it may be needful for the weal of their Affairs and State; and they change their favour and hatred according to time and occasions. Your Majesty may remember that many things might have been better managed, I speak this with love and reverence. Your Majesty might have been as well obeyed as ever was any King in *Scotland*, if you had taken such Princely care as was requisite. You know how that by your Majesties own express Commandment, I did shew you long before what inconveniencies were like to fall out upon the grudges I perceived before the slaughter of *Rixio*, and God is my witness I did what lay in my power to have them eschewed, and prevented. And since that time your Majesty hath repented that my advice was not followed: I pray God that the like repentance fall not out again too late. At my being in *England*, your adversaries were beginning to vaunt upon vain reports, that our Westerly winds had blown East among them; so that my Brother and I had enough to do to beat it out of the heads of divers, who were devotedly addicted to the advancement of your Title.

This communing began at the entry of her Supper in her Ear in *French*, when she was casting up great sighs, refusing to eat upon any persuasion that my Lord of *Murray* and *Mar* could make to her. The Supper being ended her Majesty took me by the hand, and went down through the Park of *Sterling*, and came up through the Town, ever reasoning with me upon their purposes. And albeit she took hardly with them at the first, she began to alter her mind, thinking fit that my Lord of *Bedford* should intercede for her Rebels; they to be banished out of *England* and *Scotland* during her pleasure, so to be by time reconciled to them according to their future deportments, and for her part she purposed to proceed with such a gracious Government, as should win the victory over her self, and all her Competitours, and Enemies in time coming: which she could have done as well as any Prince in Europe. But, alas, she had bad Company about her, for  
 L 2 the

the Earl of *Bothwell* who had a mark of his own that he shot at, as soon as he understood of her wise and merciful deliberations, he took occasion to bring in the Earl of *Mortoun* and his associates, thereby to make them his friends, and by them to fortifie his faction. For apparently he had already in his head the resolution of performing the foul murder of the King, which he afterwards put in execution, that he might marry the Queen. Both which he brought to pass to his own utter wrack and confusion, and thereby great trouble and mischief upon the Country; and was also at last the Queens wrack, and the hinderance of all our hopes in the hasty obtaining of all her desires concerning the Crown of *England*.

The Queens Majesty being advertised that the Earl of *Bedford* was come to *Berwick* on his Journey to the Baptism, sent me well accompanied with diligence to meet him at *Coldingham* to be his first Convoy, and to inform him rightly of all her proceedings, and to overthrow all evil brutés invented by the malice of her adversaries. For as I have said, it was a perverse time, and the more that the number of her friends increased in *England*, the more practises her Enemies made, and the more lyes were invented against her. But the good Earl gave me more credit, then he did to any wrong report that was made. For he was at this time become one of the truest and most affectionate friends she had in *England*.

There came with him Mr. *Cary* eldest Son to my Lord of *Husdean*. Mr. *Hattoun* greatest in favour with the Queen of *England* for the time, and one called Mr. *Lignish* greatest in favour with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and a good number of Knights and Gentlemen of *Tork-shire*. with the most part of the Captains of *Berwick*. Her Majesty was sufficiently informed by my Brother's writing to her and me, what kind of language and entertainment was most proper for the Earl, and each of them.

When all the rest of the Ambassadors were come, they repined to see the *English-men* more friendly and familiarly used then themselves. For then we had more to do with *England* then with *France*. And the *French* Earl who was sent, was no Courtier, but a simple Man. And *Monfieur de Morat* the Duke of *Savoy* his Ambassador being far off, came after the Baptism. During their abode at *Sterling*, there was daily Banqueting, Dancing, and Triumph. And at the principal Banquet there fell out a great grudge among the *English-men*; for a *French-man* called *Bastien* devised a number of Men formed like *Satyrs* with long Tails, and whips in their hands, running before the meat which was brought through the great Hall upon a Machine or Engine marching as appeared alone, with Musicians clothed like Maids, singing and playing upon all sorts of Instruments. But the *Satyrs* were not content only to make way or room, but put their hands behind them to their Tails, which they wagged with their hands in such sort as the *English-men* supposed it had been devised and done in derision of them, weakly apprehending that which they should not have appeared to understand: for Mr. *Hattoun*, Mr. *Lignish*, and the most part of the Gentlemen desired to Sup before the Queen and great Banquet, that they might see the better the Order and Ceremonies of the Triumph. But so soon as they perceived the *Satyrs* wagging their Tails, they all late

late down upon the bare floor behind the back of the Table, that they might not see themselves derided as they thought. Mr. *Hatton* said unto me if it were not in the Queens presence he would put a Dagger to the heart of that *French* knave *Bastien*, who he alledged had done it out of despight that the Queen made more of them then of the *Frenchmen*. I excused the matter the best I could, but the noise was so great behind the Queen's back, where her Majesty and my Lord of *Bedford* did sit, that they heard and turned about their faces to enquire what the matter meant. I informed them that it was occasioned by the *Satyns*, so that the Queen and my Lord of *Bedford* had both enough to do to get them appeald. It fell out unhappily at such a time; and the *English* Gentlemen committed a great oversight to notice it as done against them. But my Lord of *Bedford* was discreet and interpreted all things to the best.

My Lord of *Bedford* was rewarded with a rich Chain of Diamonds, worth two thousand Crowns; Mr. *Cary* with a Chain of Pearl, and a Ring with a fair Diamond; Mr. *Hatton* had a Chain with her Majesties Picture, and a Ring; Mr. *Lignish* and five other of Quality had each of them Chains. I was commanded with many others to attend them towards the Road. They parted all very well content and satisfied, with the Queens Majesty, but lamented that they perceived the King so much slighted. My Lord of *Bedford* desired me to request her Majesty to entertain him as she had done at the beginning, for her own honour and the advancement of her affairs, which I forgot not to do at all occasions.

After the Baptism and parting of the Ambassadors, her Majesty desirous to put good order upon the Borders, sent the Earl of *Bothwel* before, who in the pursuit of Thieves was hurt. Her Majesty past afterward to *Fedbrug* her self, where the Earls of *Bathwel* and *Huntly* enterprised the slaughter of the Earl of *Murray*, but the Lord *Hume* came there with forces and prevented that enterprise. Her Majesty returned by the *Merse*, and desired to see *Berwick* afar off, where she was honoured with many shots of Artillery, and Sir *John Foster* Warden upon the *English* Border came and conferred with her Majesty for keeping of good order. And the mean time while he was speaking with her Majesty on Horse-back, his Courser did rise up with his formost Legs, to take the Queens Horse by the Neck with his Teeth, but his Feet hurt her Majesties Thigh very ill. Incontinent the Warden lighted off his Horse and fate down upon his knees craving her Majesties pardon. For then all *England* did much reverence her; her Majesty made him to rise, and said that she was not hurt, yet it compelled her Majesty to tarry two days at the Castle of *Hoome* until she recovered again. The King followed her about whithersoever she rode, but got no good countenance. So that finding himself slighted, he went to *Glasgow*, where he fell sick, it being alledged that he had got poison from some of his Servants.

In the mean time the Earl of *Bothwel* ruled all at Court, having brought home the banished Lords, and packed up a quiet friendship with the Earl of *Mortoun*. After her Majesties return to *Edinburgh*, she reconciled the Earls of *Huntly*, *Bothwel*, *Arguile* and others. From that her Majesty went to *Sterling*, to see the Prince, and returned again

to



to *Edinbragh* whither the King was afterward brought, and lodged in the Kirk-field, as a place of good Air, where he might best recover his health. But many suspected that the Earl of *Bothwel* had some enterprize against him, few durst advertise him because he told all again to some of his own Servants, who were not all honest. Yet Lord *Robert* Earl of *Orkny* told him that if he retired not hastily out of that place, it would cost him his life, which he told again to the Queen; and my Lord *Robert* denied that ever he spoke it: This advertisement moved the Earl of *Bothwel*, to hast forward his enterprize: he had before hid a train of Powder under the House where the King did lodge, and in the night did blow up the said House with the Powder; but it was spoken that the King was taken forth, and brought down to a Stable, where a Napkin was stopped in his mouth, and he therewith suffocated.

Every body suspected the Earl of *Bothwel*, and those who durst speak freely to others, said plainly that it was he. Whereupon he drew together a number of Lords of his dependers to be an Assize, which cleansed and acquitted him; some for fear, some for favour, and the greatest part in expectation of advantage. This way being assailed, he remained still the greatest favourite at Court, My Lord of *Murray* was retired from the Court several days before. Her Majesty kept her Chamber for a while. I came to the door the next morning after the murder, and the Earl of *Bothwel* said that her Majesty was sorrowful and quiet, which occasioned him to come forth. He said the strangest accident had fallen out which ever was heard of, for Thunder had come out of the sky, and had burnt the King's House, and himself was found dead lying a little distance from the House under a Tree. He desired me to go up and see him, how that there was not a hurt nor a mark on all his Body. But when I went up to see him he had been taken into a Chamber, and kept by one *Alexander Durham*, but I could not get a sight of him.

The bruit began to rise that the Queen would marry the Earl of *Bothwel*, who had six months before married the Earl of *Huntly's* Sister, and that for this design he was resolved to part with his own Lady. Whereat every good Subject who loved the Queens honour, and the Prince's safety, had sore hearts, thinking thereby her Majesty would be dishonoured, and the Prince in danger to be cut off by him who had slain his Father. But few or none durst speak in the contrary; yet my Lord *Herries* a worthy Nobleman came to *Edinbragh* well accompanied, and told her Majesty what reports were going through the Country, of the Earl of *Bothwel's* murdering the King, and how that she was to marry him, requesting her Majesty most humbly upon his knees to remember her honour and dignity, and the safety of the Prince, which all would be in danger if she married the said Earl, with many other great persuasions to shew the utter wrack and inconveniencies would be thereby occasioned. Her Majesty appeared to wonder how these reports could go abroad, seeing, as she said, there was no such thing in her mind. He beg'd her Majesties pardon, and prayed her to take his honest meaning in a good part. And immediately took his farewell, fearing the Earl of *Bothwel* should get notice thereof. He had fifty Horse with him for the time

time, and caused each of them to buy a new Spear at *Edinbrugh* and so rode home.

I was resolved to have said as much to her Majesty; but in the mean time there came a Letter to me from one *Thomas Bishop* a *Scottishman*, who had been long in *England*, and was a great perswader of many in *England* to favour her Majesties Title. He used oft to write unto my Brother and me, informations and advertisements. At this time in his Letter to me, he used even the like Language that my Lord *Harreis* had spoken, but more freely because he was absent in another Country. He adjured me to shew the said Letter unto her Majesty, declaring how it was bruited in *England* that her Majesty was to marry the Earl of *Bothwel*, who was the murtherer of her Husband, who at present had a Wife of his own, a Man full of all Vice, which reports he could not believe, by reason that he judged her Majesty to be of far greater knowledge, then to commit such a gross oversight, so prejudicial every way to her interest, and the noble mark he knew she shot at: Seeing if she married him, she would lose the favour of God, her own reputation, and the hearts of all *England*, *Ireland* and *Scotland*, with many other dissuasions and examples of History, which would be tedious to rehearse. I had been some days absent, but upon receipt hereof I went to Court to shew this Letter to her Majesty, protesting that she would take it in good part.

After that her Majesty had read the said Letter, she gave it me again without any more speech, but called upon the Secretary *Lidingtown*, and told him that I had shewed her a strange Letter, desiring him also to read it. He asked what it could be. She answered, a device of his own tending to the wrack of the Earl of *Bothwel*. He took me by the hand and drew me aside to see the said Letter, which when he had read he asked what had been in my mind, for, says he, so soon as the Earl *Bothwel* gets notice hereof, as I fear he will very shortly, he will cause you to be killed. I said it was a sore matter to see that good Princess run to utter wrack, and no body to be so far concerned in her as to forewarn her of her danger. He said I had done more honestly then wisely, and therefore I pray you, says he, retire diligently before the Earl of *Bothwel* comes up from his Dinner. Her Majesty told him at her first meeting, having first engaged him to promise to do me no harm. Notwithstanding whereof, I was inquired after, but was flown and could not be found till his fury was staked: For I was advertised there was nothing but slaughter in case I had been gotten. Whereat her Majesty was much dissatisfied, telling him that he would cause her be left of all her Servants, whereupon he renewed his engagements that I should receive no harm, whereof I being advertised I went again unto her Majesty, shewing her that she had never so much injured me as by thinking that I had invented the said Letter, assuring her that it came from the said *Thomas Bishop*, and that albeit it had not come from him, I thought it my duty to have freely told her Majesty my opinion in all reverence and humility, which was contained in the said Letter, but I found she had no mind to enter upon this subject.

Shortly after her Majesty went to *Sterling*, and in her back-coming betwixt *Lithgow* and *Edinbrugh*, the Earl of *Bothwel* rancountered her with

with a great Company, and took her Majesties Horse by the Bridle, his men took the Earl of *Huntly*, the Secretary *Lidington* and me, and carried us Captives to *Dunbar*: All the rest were permitted to go free. There the Earl of *Bothwell* boasted he would marry the Queen, who would or who would not; yea whether she would her self or not. Captain *Blachater* who had taken me, alledged that it was with the Queens own consent. The next day in *Dunbar* I obtained permission to go home. Afterward the Court came to *Edinburgh*, and there a number of Noblemen were drawn together in a Chamber within the Palace, where they all subscribed a paper, declaring that they judged it was much the Queens interest to marry *Bothwell*, he having many friends in *Louthian* and upon the Borders, which would cause good order to be kept. And then the Queen could not but marry him, seeing he had ravished her and lain with her against her will. I cannot tell how nor by what Law he parted with his own Wife, Sister to the Earl of *Huntly*.

A little before this the Earl of *Murray* had desired liberty to go to *France*, the Secretary *Lidington* had been long in suspicion absent from Court, and was brought in again by my Brother *Sir Robert*'s persuasion; for the great credit and handling he had with many Noblemen in *England* favourers of her Majesties Title, albeit that he had as great credit himself yet he would not follow the custom of ambitious Courtiers who would ingross all to themselves, unwilling to suffer a Companion. He knew also that he was suspected, because the Earl *Bothwell* was not his friend. Thus *Lidington* was again brought in; but not long after the Earl of *Bothwell* thought to have slain him in the Queens Chamber, had not her Majesty come betwixt and saved him: but he fled the next day and tarried with the Earl of *Arbuthnot*. As for me I was not oft at Court but now and then, yet I chanced to be there at the marriage. When I came that time to the Court, I found my Lord Duke of *Orkney* sitting at his Supper who welcomed me, saying; I had been a great stranger, desiring me to sit down and Sup with him: the Earl of *Huntly*, the Justice, Clerk and divers others being sitting at Table, with him. I said I had already Supped, then he called for a Cup of Wine and drank to me, saying, you had need grow fatter, for, says he, the zeal of the Common-wealth hath eaten you up, and made you lean. I answered, that every little member should serve for some use, but the care of the Common-wealth appertained most to him, and the rest of the Nobility, who should be as Fathers of the same. I knew well, says he, he would find a pin for every bore. Then he fell in discoursing with the Gentlewomen, speaking such filthy language, that they and I left him, and went up to the Queen who expressed much satisfaction at my coming.

The marriage was made at the Palace in *Halyrood-house*, after Sermon by *Adam Bothwell* Bishop of *Orkney*, in the great Hall where the Council useth to sit, according to the order of the Reformed Religion, and not in the Chappel at the Mals as was the King's marriage.

After the marriage he who was Earl of *Bothwell* now Duke of *Orkney*, was very earnest to get the Prince in his hands, but my Lord of *Mar*, who was a true Nobleman, would not deliver him out of his custody, alledging

alleging that he could not without consent of the three States : Yet he was so frequently cross'd by such as had the Authority in their hands, that he was thereby put to a great strait. And after that he had made divers refusals, among others he made his moan to me, praying me to help to save the Prince out of his hands who had slain his Father, and had already made his vaunt among his familiars, that if he could get him once in his hands, he should warrant him from revenging his Father's death. I assured his Lordship he should want no assistance I was capable to give : He desired to know if I could propose any out-gate : I answered, That I was intimately acquainted with Sir *James Balfour*, and that I knew how matters stood betwixt *Bothwel* and him, namely, there were some jealousies arisen betwixt them, which I thought if rightly managed, might be improved for the Prince's safety. I also told him that the Earl intended to have the Castle out of his hands, for the Earl and he had been great Companions; and he was also very great with the Queen, so that the custody of the Castle of *Edinbrugh* was committed to him : But afterward he would not consent to be present, nor take part with the murtherers of the King, whereby he came in suspicion with the Earl of *Bothwel*, who would no more credit him, so that he would have had the Castle out of his hands, to have committed the charge thereof to the Laird of *Beenstoun*. I told his Lordship he might make this one of his excuses, That he could not deliver the Prince till he should see a secure Place to keep him in. And upon the other hand, when I returned to *Edinbrugh*, I dealt with Sir *James Balfour* not to part with the Castle, whereby he might be an instrument to save the Prince and the Queen, who was so disdainfully handled, and with such reproachful language, that in presence of *Arthur Aroskine*, I heard her ask for a knife to stab her self, or else, said she, I shall drown my self. Now, says I, to Sir *James Balfour*, there is no security for you to be out of suspicion, but to keep the Castle in your own hands, and so to be the good instrument both of saving Queen and Prince, and in assisting the Nobility who are about to Crown the Prince, and to pursue the Earl of *Bothwel* for the King's murder ; I told him that unless he took part with them, he would be holden as guilty of the said murder, by reason of his long familiarity with the Earl of *Bothwel* : That it was a happy thing for him that the said Earl was in suspicion of him, assuring him that I had intelligence by one who was of the Earl of *Bothwel*'s Council, to wit, the Laird of *Whitlaw*, Captain of the Castle of *Dumbar*, that the Earl of *Bothwel* was determined to take the Castle of *Ebinbrugh* from him, and make the Laird of *Beenstoun* one *Hepburn* Captain thereof, and then to put the Prince there in his keeping.

Sir *James Balfour* gave ear to my proposition, and consented to help to pursue the murtherers, upon condition that the Laird of *Grange* would engage upon his honour to be his Protector, in case afterward the Nobility should alter upon him, for he and most of them had formerly run contrary courses, so that he durst not credit them.

The Earl of *Mar* being hereof from me advertised, by his Brother *Alexander Areskine*, who was true and careful of the Prince's safety, coming secretly to me at midnight, for the days were dangerous for all honest Men. Now my Lord of *Mar* being continually required,

and threat'ned to deliver the Prince out of his hands, at length granted (only to drive off time) upon condition, that an honest responsible Nobleman should be made Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, the only secure place of keeping the Prince in. This answer was thought fit to assuage the present fury, until the Nobility might convene to pursue the Murtherers, and to Crown the Prince, as they had already concluded at a secret meeting among themselves, which was not kept so private but that one of the said Lords gave advertisement thereof to the Earl of *Bothwell* how that they were minded to inviron the place of *Halirood-house*, and therein to apprehend him: Whereupon he forgot inquiring after the Prince, being only now concerned how to save himself: therefore he fled out of *Edinburgh* to the Castle of *Borthwick*, from that to the Castle of *Dunbar*, taking always the Queen with him wherever he went.

All *Scotland* cryed out upon the foul murther of the King, but few of them were careful how to revenge it, till they were driven thereto by the crying out of all other Nations, against all *Scotishmen* wherever they travelled, either by Sea or Land. Among other Princes, the King of *France* sent hither to his Ambassador *Monsieur de Crook*, a grave, aged, discreet Gentleman, advanced by the house of *Guise*, a Letter therein expressing his wonder that such a foul murther being committed upon the person of a King, so few honest Subjects were found to find fault with the same, for less to seek after any tryal, or see the factie punished. Whereupon the Lords who had the enterprize in hand, were hasted forward, to take Arms, and in the mean time they obliged themselves by a writing under their hands, which they delivered to the said *Monsieur de Crook* to send to the King his Master, that they should do their outmost diligence to try out the Authors of that foul murther of their King; and in the mean time convened to the number of 3000 men, and came to *Edinburgh* and there set out a Proclamation of their just quarrel. Also sundry Libels were set out both in Rime and Prose; to move the hearts of the whole Subjects to assist and take part in so good a Cause.

The Earl of *Bothwell* having the Queen in his Company, convened a greater number out of the *Messe*, and *Laubian*, and out of all parts where he had interest or friendship. Her Majesties Proclamation was not well obeyed, and so many as came, had no hearts to fight in that quarrel. Yet the Earl of *Bothwell* marched forward out of *Dunbar* toward *Edinburgh*, taking the Queen with him. The Lords again with their Company went out of *Edinburgh* on foot, with an earnest desire to fight. Both Armies lay not far from *Carberry*; the Earl *Bothwell's* men Camped upon the Hill, in a strength very advantageous, the Lords encamped at the foot of the Hill. And albeit her Majesty was there, I cannot call it her Army: for many of those who were with her, were of opinion that she had intelligence with the Lords, especially such as were informed of the many indignities put upon her by the Earl of *Bothwell* since their marriage. He was so beastly and suspicious, that he suffered her not to pass one day in patience, without making her shed abundance of Tears. Thus part of his own Company detested him, other part of them believed that her Majesty would soon have been quit of him, but thought shame to be the doer thereof directly her self.

In

In the mean time the Laird of *Grange* did ride about the hill with two hundred horse-men, who came there with *drumlannig*, *Cesfoord*, and *Couldinknows*, thinking to be betwixt the Earl of *Bothwel* and *Dumbar*, and was minded to make an onset that way, which was plain, and that in the mean time that the Lords should come up the Hill to the part where their adversaries were Camped.

When the Queen understood that the Laird of *Grange* was chief of that Company of horse-men, she sent the Laird of *Ormistoun* to desire him to come and speak with her under surety, which he did after he had acquainted the Lords with her desire, and had obtained their permission. As he was speaking with her Majesty, the Earl of *Bothwel* had appointed a Soldier to shoot him, until the Queen gave a cry, and said that he would not do her that shame, seeing she had promised that he should come and return safely. He was declaring unto the Queen that all of them were ready to honour and serve her, upon condition that she would abandon the Earl of *Bothwel*, who had murdered her Husband, and could not be a Husband unto her, who had but lately married the Earl of *Huntly's* Sister. The Earl of *Bothwel* hearkened, and heard part of this language, and offered the Combat to any who would maintain that he had murdered the King. The Laird of *Grange* promised to send him an answer shortly thereunto. So he took his leave of the Queen, and went down the Hill to the Lords, who were content that the Laird of *Grange* should fight with him in that quarrel. For he first offered himself, and acquainted *Bothwel* that he would fight with him upon that quarrel. The Earl of *Bothwel* answered, That he was neither Earl, nor Lord but a Baron, and so was not his equal. The like answer made he to *Tullibardine*. Then my Lord *Lindsay* offered to fight him, which he could not well refuse, but his heart failed him, and he grew cold in the business. Then the Queen sent again for the Laird of *Grange* and said to him, that if the Lords would do as he had spoken to her, she should put away the Earl of *Bothwel*, and come unto them. Whereupon he asked the Lords if he might in their name make her Majesty that promise, which they commissioned him to do. Then he rode up again, and saw the Earl of *Bothwel* part, and came down again and assured the Lords thereof. They desired him to go up the Hill again, and receive the Queen, who met him, and said, Laird of *Grange*, I render my self unto you, upon the conditions you rehearsed unto me in the name of the Lords. Whereupon she gave him her hand, which he kissed, leading her Majesties Horse by the bridle down the Hill unto the Lords, who came forward and met her.

The Noblemen used all dutiful reverence, but some of the Rascals cried out against her despitfully, till the Laird of *Grange* and others who knew their duty better, drew their Swords and struck at such as did speak irreverent language, which the Nobility well allowed of. Her Majesty was that night convoyed to *Edinbragh*, and lodged in the midst of the Town in the Provosts Lodging. As she came through the Town, the common people cried out against her Majesty at the Windows and Stairs, which was a pity to hear. Her Majesty again cried out to all Gentlemen and Others, who passed up and down the streets, declaring how that she was their native Princess, and that she doubted not but all honest Subjects would respect her as they ought to

do, and not suffer her to be abused. Others again evidenced their malice, in setting up a Banner or Ensign, whereupon the King was painted, lying dead under a Tree, and the young Prince upon his knees praying, *Judge and Revenge my Cause, O Lord.* That same night it was alledged that her Majesty did write a Letter unto the Earl of *Bothwell*, and promised a reward to one of her keepers to convoy it securely to *Dumbar* unto the said Earl, calling him her dear heart whom she should never forget nor abandon, though she was necessitated to be absent from him for a time, saying, that she had sent him away only for his safety, willing him to be comforted, and be upon his guard. Which Letter the Knave delivered to the Lords, though he had promised the contrary: Upon which Letter the Lords took occasion to send her to *Lockleven* to be kept, which she alledged was contrary to promise. They on the other hand affirmed, that by her own hand writing she had declared that she had not, nor would not abandon the Earl of *Bothwell*. *Grange* again excused her, alledging she had in effect abandoned the said Earl, that it was no wonder that she gave him yet a few fair words, not doubting but if she were discreetly handled, and humbly admonished what inconveniencies that Man had brought upon her, she would by degrees be brought, not only to leave him, but ere long to detest him: And therefore he advised to deal gently with her. But they said, that it stood them upon their Lives and Lands, and that therefore in the mean time they behoved to secure her, and when that time came that she should be known to abandon and detest the Earl *Bothwell*; it would be then time to reason upon the matter. *Grange* was yet so angry, that had it not been for the Letter, he had instantly left them: and for the next best he used all possible diligence to make her and them both quit of the said Earl, causing to make ready two Ships to follow after him, who had fled to the Castle of *Dumbar*, and from thence to *Sheatland*. In the mean time her Majesty sent a Letter to the Laird of *Grange* lamenting her hard usage, and shewing him that promises had been broken to her. Whereunto he answered, that he had already reproved the Lords for the same, who shewed unto him a Letter sent by her unto the Earl of *Bothwell*, promising among many other fair and comfortable words, never to abandon or forget him, which had stopped his mouth, marvelling that her Majesty considered not, that the said Earl could never be her Lawful Husband, being so lately before married with another, whom he had deserted without any just ground, although he had not been so hated for the murder of the King her husband. And therefore he requested her Majesty to put him clean out of mind, seeing otherwise she could never get the love or respect of her Subjects, nor have that obedience payed her, which otherwise she might expect. It contained many other loving and humble admonitions, which made her bitterly to weep. For she could not do that so hastily which process of time might have accomplished.

Now the laird of *Grange* his two Ships being in readines, he made sail toward *Orkney*, and no man was so Frank to accompany him as the Laird of *Tullibardin*, and *Adam Bothwell* Bishop of *Orkney*, but the Earl was fled from *Orkney* to *Sheatland*, whither also they followed him, and came in sight of *Bothwell's* Ship, which moved the Laird of *Grange* to cause



cause the Skipper to hoise up all the Sails, which they were loath to do, because they knew the shallow water thereabout, but *Grange* fearing to miss him, compelled the Marriners, so that for too great haste the Ship wherein *Grange* was did break upon a Bed of Sand, without loss of a man, but *Bothwel* had leasure in the mean time to save himself in a little Boat, leaving his Ship behind him, which *Grange* took, and therein the Laird of *Tallow*, *John Hepburn* of *Bauibun*, *Dalglessh*, and divers others of the Earl's Servants. Himself fled to *Denmark*, where he was taken, and kept in strait Prison, wherein he became mad and dyed miserably. But *Grange* came back again with *Bothwel's* Ship and Servants, who were the first who gave information of the manner of the murther, which the Lords thought fit to let the King of *France* understand, and of their diligence according to the promise made by them.

My Lord of *Murray* had obtained liberty to pass unto *France*, shortly after the murther of the King, for he did foresee the great trouble like to ensue. The rest of the Lords enterprisers after they had secured the Queen in *Lockleven*, began to consult how to get her Majesty counselled to demit the Government to the Prince her son, and for that effect they dealt first with my Brother Sir *Robert*, because he was some times allowed access to her Majesty. And after that he had refused flatly to meddle in that matter, they were minded to send the Lord *Lindsay*, first to use fair persuasions, and in case he could not speed that way, they were resolved to enter in harder terms. The Earls of *Arbol*, *Mar*, and Secretary *Lidingtoun*, and the Laird of *Grange* who loved her Majesty, advised my Brother to tell her the verity, and how that any thing she did in Prison could not prejudge her, being once again at liberty. He answered, he would give no such advice as coming from himself, but he should tell it as the opinion of those he knew to be her true friends. But she refused utterly to follow that advice, till she heard that the Lord *Lindsay* was at the new House at the shore coming in, and in a very boasting humour; and then she yielded to the necessity of the time, and told my Brother that she would not strive with them, seeing it could do her no harm when she was at liberty. So at my Lord *Lindsay's* coming, she subscribed the signature of Renunciation, and Demission of the Government to the Prince, and certain Lords named in the said signature, to be Regents to the Prince and Country; her Majesty desiring my Lord *Murray* who was absent in *France* to be the first Regent.

This being past, the Lords concluded to Crown the Prince, and sent Letters to *France* to the Earl of *Murray* to come home. In the mean time there were a number of Lords convened at *Hamilton*, as my Lord *Hamilton*; my Lord *Pasby*, *John Hamilton* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, my Lord *Fleming*, *Boid*, and divers others, to whom the Lords who were to Crown the Prince would have sent me Commissioner. Which Commission at the first I refused, but afterwards I accepted thereof at the advice of Secretary *Lidingtoun*, the Laird of *Grange*, and other secret favourers of the Queen, who judged it very fit that the whole Country should be joined together in quietness: fearing that in case Civil Wars entred among them, it might endanger her Majesties life: For it was judged that those who were at *Hamilton* appeared to lean to the Queen.

At my coming to *Hamiltoun*, I told them my commission, in the name of the other Lords, how that the King being murdered, all neighbour Nations cryed out upon the whole Kingdom, but especially the King of *France*, and the Queen of *England* solicited them to inquire after, and punish the murtherers. How that they had found that it was the Earl of *Bothwel*, and some of them who had assisted him, who were punished. And what was past since thereupon, was known to the whole Country. That the Queens Majesty had demitted over the Government to the Prince her Son, whom they were minded to Crown shortly, whereof they thought fit to warn all the Nobility, as being resolved to prejudice no Nobleman of his Rights, Titles or Prerogatives, requesting them who were there Convened, to come to *Sterling*, and be present at the said Coronation, for retaining their own priviledges, the peace and quiet of the whole Country. Some of the younger Lords answered, and said that they would not believe, that the Queens Majesty had demitted the Government, and if she had done it, it would be found for to save her life. But the Bishop who had more experience then they, reprovved them, and said that those Noblemen had dealt very reasonably and discreetly with them, so he drew the rest aside to advise, and then returned and gave me this answer.

We are beholden to the Noblemen who have sent you with that friendly and discreet Commission, and following their desire we are ready to concur with them, if they give us sufficient security of that which you have said in their name, and in so doing, they give us occasion to construct the best of all their proceedings, past and to come. So that if they had acquainted us with their first enterprize of punishing the murther, we should heartily have taken part with them. And whereas now we are here convened, it is not to pursue or offend any of them, but to be upon our own guards, understanding of so great a concourse of Noblemen, Barons, Burroughs, and other Subjects. For not being made privy to their enterprize, we thought fit to draw ourselves together, till we should see whereto things would turn.

When I returned back to *Sterling*, and declared this answer, it was judged satisfactory by all wise and honest hearted men. But others said, That however they minded to do, I had painted out a fair story for them, and in their favours. So that I perceived them already divided in Factions and Opinions: For so many of our Lord as leaned to *England* desired not the stability of our state, others had particular prejudices and designs against the *Hamiltouns*, and expected to get them ruined, to gain advantage to themselves by fishing in troubled waters. So that the *Hamiltouns* were ill used, for they would fain have agreed with the rest, but their friendship and Society was plainly refused at this time, and they not permitted to come to the Coronation, nor yet to take instruments that they should not be prejudged in any sort, which occasioned great trouble afterward in the Country. For they perceiving themselves cast off, and their friendship and assistance refused, endeavoured for their own security and defence to draw in other Noblemen, and Barons to join with them, who had not as yet joined with the other Lords, and therefore were the more easily drawn upon that side: and these were afterward called the Queens Lords, when  
then

they were convinced of the bad usage the *Hamiltons* had received.

I have before related that my Lord *Murray* was written for, to come home, and so soon as he came to *London* the Lords were thereof advertised, who desired me to ride and meet him at *Berwick*, and shew him, how that the Office of Regent was appointed for him. Which Journey I accepted with the better will, in that some friends who were best inclined, thought meet to give him good counsel in due time. My Commission from the Lords Was to inform him of all their proceedings, and of the present Estate, and to desire him to do nothing without their knowledge with the Queen. For they feared that he might carry himself with that mildness toward her, as to oblige her to believe he intended some time to release her, and that he would not run so hard a course against her, as some of them would had him to do.

Another part of the said Lords (that did still bear a great love unto the Queen, and had compassion upon her estate, and who had entered upon that enterprise only for safety of the Prince, and punishment of the *king's* murder, as the Earl of *Mar*, the Earl of *Arbol*, the Secretary *Lidington*, the Lairds of *Tullibardin*, and *Grange*,) sent their instructions with me to my Lord of *Murray*, praying him in their name, to behave himself gently and humbly unto the Queen, and to procure so much favor for her as he could. Not that they would advise him to forget any part of honest duty to the Lords; so long as they kept touch with him; but that in case they, or any part of them would be offended at him afterwards, for the refusal of some casualty, benefice, or the like, they would come to themselves again, seeing the Queen and him in so good terms, lest he should set her at liberty upon account of their misbehaviour. And further, That her Majesty being now free of ill company, and of a clear wit, and Princely inclination, was beginning already to repent her of many things past, and time might bring about such occasions as they should all wish her at liberty to Rule over them, and that in that case, he would lose by his discreet and friendly behaviour to her. He appeared much to relish this device, but he seemed somewhat refractory of accepting the Government, refusing it plainly at first, albeit I was informed by some of his company, that he was right glad when he understood first that he was to be Regent. There came home with him a *French* Ambassadour of my acquaintance, who was sent to see how matters past, to comfort the Captive Queen, and to intercede for her, but he did it very slenderly: For he said to the Lords, he came not to offend any of them, alledging that the old Band and League betwixt *France* and *Scotland* was not made with any one Prince, but betwixt the estates of the two Kingdoms, and with those who were Commanders over the Country for the time.

After that my Lord of *Murray* had met with all his friends, he granted to accept the Government. But when he went to see the Queen in *Lockleven*, instead of comforting her, and following the good counsel he had gotten, he entred instantly with her Majesty in reproaches, giving her such injurious language, as was like to break her heart. We who found fault with that manner of procedure, lost his favor. The injuries were such, that they cut the thread of love and credit betwixt the Queen and him for ever.

You

You have heard how that the Lords who were in *Hamilton* were cast off, and refused to be accepted into Society with the rest, against the opinion of the fewest in number, though the wisest men, and least factious. But the worst inclined, and manyest votes obtained their intent. Whereupon the Lords who were refused to be taken into friendship, drew themselves together in *Dumbarton*, under the pretext to procure by force of Arms the Queen their Sovereign's liberty, and banded themselves together against the king's Lords, which they would not have done; if they could have been accepted in Society with the rest. Albeit their publick professing their intention of spending their lives for the Queens liberty, put her Majesties life in greater danger, so long as she was Captive in the hands of the contrary Party, and was at length her Majesties utter wrack. For the hope that she had to get friends and favourers, caused her to use means to escape out of *Lockleven* too hastily, ere the time was ripe enough to recover again the hearts of the Subjects, who were yet alienated. For albeit my Lord Regent was rigorous, he was flexible, and might have been won through process of time by her wisdom, and the interest of her friends. The tenour of their Bond was as followeth.

**F**Orasmuch as considering the Queens Majesty our Sovereign, to be detained at present at *Lockleven* in Captivity, wherefore the most part of her Majesties Lieges cannot have free access to her Highness; and seeing it becomes us of our duty to seek her liberty and freedom, We Earls, Lords, and Barons under subscribing, promise faithfully to use the utmost of our endeavours by all reasonable means, to procure her Majesties liberty and freedom, upon such honest conditions as may stand with her Majesties honour, the common weal of the whole Realm, and security of the whole Nobility, who at present have her Majesty in keeping. Whereby this our native Realm may be governed, ruled and guided by her Majesty and her Nobility, for the common quietness, the administration of Justice, and weal of the Country. And in case the Noblemen who have her Majesty at present in their hands, refuse to set her at Liberty, upon such reasonable conditions as said is, in that case we shall employ our selves, our kindred, friends, servants, and partakers; our Bodies and Lives to set her Highness at liberty, as said is; and also to concur to the punishment of the murther of the King her Majesties Husband; and for sure preservation of the person of the Prince, as we shall answer to God, and on our honours and credit. And to that effect shall concur every one with other at our utmost power. And if any shall set upon us, or any of us, for the doing as aforesaid in that case, We promise faithfully to espouse one anothers interest under pain of Perjury and Infamy, as we shall answer to God. In witness whereof, We have subscribed these presents with our hand at *Dumbarton*, the day of

St. Andrews,  
Argulle,  
Huntly,  
Arbroth,  
Galloway,  
Ross,

Fleeming,  
Herris,  
Skirling,  
Killwonnig,  
Will. Hamilton of Sanchis, Knight.

This

This small number were the first who banded themselves together, and afterward all those who were Male-contentes, or had any particular questions, claims, or feuds with any of the King's Lords, drew to these new Confederates, hoping by time to win their intent against their adversaries, in case their faction might prevail. And some drew to both the factions, who neither desired to see the Kirk nor Country in any stablished estate.

The Court of *England* on the other hand, left nothing undone to kindle the fire, and to furnish both the factions with hope of assistance, in case of need. For oftentimes by their Ambassadors ordinary, who were resident here, they upon some new occasion would send in another openly to deal with the King's faction, because it was strongest, and greatest, and under-hand to deal with the Queen's faction, and alledge that their quarrel was most just and right, and that her Majesties Authority was only lawful. No man can tell this better than I, who was so long well acquainted with all the Ambassadors who were sent to *Scotland*, during their banishment in *France*, in Queen Mary's time: as with Mr. *Randolph*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmortoun*, Mr. *Daffan*, Mr. *Killegrew*, and the *Marshal of Berwick*. Among the which number, Sir *Nicholas Throgmortoun* dealt most honestly and plainly, for he shot at the union of the whole Isle in one Monarchy. And thought that it consisted only in the persons of two for the time, to wit, the Queen, and the King her Sor. And when he saw Mr. *Randolph* go about to sow discord, he declared the same to my Brother and me, and detested him for his divilish intent and dealing. Yea he detested the whole Council of *England* for the time, and told us friendly, what reasoning they held among themselves for that effect: to wit, How that one of their greatest Counsellors proposed openly to the rest, that it was needful for the well-fare of *England*, to foster and nourish with some help the Civil Wars, as well in *France*, *Flanders*, as *Scotland*, whereby *England* might have many advantages, and be fought after by all parties, and in the mean time live at rest, and gather great riches themselves. This advice and proposition was well allowed of by most part of the Council, yet one honest Councillor stood up and said, That it was a very worldly advice, and had little or nothing to do with a Christian Common-wealth, nor yet would it be found profitable in all points. First he said, It is worldly and not godly, for though I grant, said he, that *France* which is so potent a Kingdom, if it knew its own strength, might suppress all its neighbours, and therefore would be so handled, yet even there the fire would dye out isoppyrinent, except the Prince of *Conde* were better furnished, and helped. As for *Flanders* he said, That the trouble was prejudicial to *England*, because by the Wars in *Flanders*, *England's* great traffick of merchandize is hindered, whereby they have greatest gain. As for *Scotland*, he said it was against their weal, to hold them in dissention, so long as my Lord of *Murray* was Regent, who was their friend, and would be ready to assist them with his power in their necessity. Another Councillor affirmed that to be true, but if my Lord *Murray* were dead, *Scotland* behoved likewise to be kept in hot Water. Which conclusion was commonly followed afterward, and was soon discovered by the wisest, who were not factious; but too late by the rest of the raging.

ging multitude, who through procces of time were so bastered one against another, ere the play was ended, that they would have eaten one another with their Toeth.

Now my Lord of *Murray* having accepted the Government upon him, pressed to have the strengths in his hands, as the Castles of *Edinburgh*, *Dumbar* and *Dalbastown*. The Castle of *Edinburgh* was still in the hands of Sir *James Balfour*, who had assisted the Noblemen who had pursued the murder, and now took plain part with them, and likewise assisted the new made Regent. Yet he desired to have the Castle out of his hands, which he was content to deliver up upon condition, that the Laird of *Grange* should be made Captain thereof, upon the constancy of whole friendship he reposed most; which was easily granted by the Regent, and all the rest. After this the other strengths were also rendered to him. Then he took great pains to streel better Roads upon the Throtes on the Borders, tending much to the quieting thereof. He likewise held Justice *Airs* in the In-country. But was not so diligent as he might have been, in settling the differences among the Nobility, and to draw them by a sweet and disorder equitable behaviour to the obedience of the King's Authority. Which might have been easily done, if they had gotten security for their persons and estates. But such as were about him, having their own ambitious and covetous ends, counselled him otherwise, thinking by the track of officers to make up themselves. They were so blinded by their affections, and greedy appetites, that they thought all would succeed prosperously according to their desires, without any resistance. Thus rolling forward, the Regent's rough proceedings gave occasion to many to draw to the contrary faction. And they to strengthen themselves under the name of Authority, devised how to draw the Queen's Majesty out of *Lodhewen* to be their head, before the time was ripe. Whereof the Regent was oft and frequently warned, even by divers who were upon the Council, of her out-taking, who desired that way to win thanks at his hands. But he would credit nothing, but such things as came out of the mouths of those who had crept into his favour by flattery.

In the mean time the Queen was convoyed out of *Lodhewen* by *George Douglas* the Laird's Brother, and the Regent's half Brother, who was for the time in some evil terms with them. The old Lady his Mother was also thought to be upon the Council. My Lord *Seaton*, and some of the Laird of *Hamilton*, and divers of their dependers, received her Majesty at her landing out of the *Loch*, and convoyed her to *Hamilton*.

The Regent being for the time at *Glasgow* holding Justice *Airs*, *Prælati* and *Militia* were indiscreetly sent abroad, by both sides, to convene so many as would act for them in the Country. One *Monfieur de Bains* Knight of the Order of the *Cockle*, whom I had conveyed to *Glasgow*, and had procured to him a sight of the Queen while Captive. He said to me, that he never did see so many men so suddenly convened, for he rode to *Hamilton* to the Queen, and dealt between the parties for peace, but was not heard. Her Majesty was not minded to fight, nor hazard battle, but to go unto the Castle of  
Dumbar.



*Dumbartoun*, and endeavour by little and little to draw home again unto her obedience the whole Subjects. But the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, and the House of *Hamiltoun*, and the rest of the Lords there convened, finding themselves in number far beyond the other Party, would needs hazard Battle, thinking thereby to overcome the Regent their great Enemy, and be also Masters of the Queen, to Command and Rule all at their pleasure. Some alledged that the Bishop was minded to cause the Queen to marry my Lord *Hamiltoun*, in case they had obtained the Victory. And I was since informed by some who were present, that the Queen her self feared the same, therefore she pressed them still to convoy her to *Dumbartoun*, and had sent me word with the *French* Ambassadour, the same morning before the battel, to draw on a meeting for concord, by the means of the Secretary *Lidingtoun*, and the Laird of *Grange*: And for her part she would send the Lord *Herris* and some other. She had also caused my Brother Sir *Robert* to write a Letter to me that same morning, for that same effect, but the Queen's Army came on so fiercely, that there was no stay.

The Regent went out on foot, and all his Company except the Laird of *Grange*, *Alexander Hume* of *Manderstoun*, and some Borderers to the number of 200. The Laird of *Grange* had already viewed the ground, and with all imaginable diligence caused every Horse-man to take behind him a Foot-man of the Regent's to guard behind them, and rode with speed to the head of the Long'sid'-hill, and set down the said Foot-men with their Culverings at the head of a straight Lane, where there were some Cottage-houles, and Yards of great advantage. Which Soldiers with their continual shot, killed divers of the Vaunt-guard, led by the *Hamiltouns*, who couragiously and fiercely ascending up the Hill, were already out of breath when the Regents Vaunt-guard joined with them. Where the worthy Lord *Hume* fought on foot with his Pike in his hand very manfully, well assisted by the Laird of *Cesfoord* his Brother-in-law, who helped him up again when he was strucken to the ground by many stroaks upon his face, by the throwing Pistols at him, after they had been discharged. He was also wounded with Staves, and had many stroaks of Spears through his Legs; for he and *Grange* at the joining, cried to let their adversaries first lay down their Spears, to bear up theirs; which Spears were so thick fixed in others *Jacks*, that some of the Pistols and great Staves, that were thrown by them which were behind, might be seen lying upon the Spears.

Upon the Queens side the Earl of *Arguile* commanded the Battel: and the Lord of *Arbroth* the Vaunt-guard. On the other part the Regent led the Battle, and the Earl of *Mortoun* the Vaunt-gard: But the Regent committed to the Laird of *Grange* the special care, as being an experimented Captain, to oversee every danger, and to ride to every Wing, to incourage and make help where greatest need was. He perceived at the first joining, the right Wing of the Regent's Vaunt-guard put back, and like to fly, whereof the greatest part were Commons of the Barony of *Ranthrow*; whereupon he rode to them, and told them that their Enemy was already turning their backs, requesting them to stay and debate, till he should bring them fresh Men forth of the Battel. Whither at full speed he did ride alone, and told



the Regent that the Enemy were shaken, and flying away behind the little Village, and desired a few number of fresh Men to go with him. Where he found enough willing, as the Lord *Lindsay*, the Laird of *Lockleven*, *Sir James Balfour*, and all the Regents Servants, who followed him with diligence, and reinforced that Wing which was beginning to fly ; which fresh Men with their loose Weapons struck the Enemies in their flanks and faces, which forced them incontinent to give place ; and turn back, after long fighting and pushing others to and fro with their Spears. There were not many Horse-men to pursue after them, and the Regent cried to save and not to kill, and *Grange* was never cruel, so that there were but few slain and taken. And the only slaughter was at the first encounter, by the shot of the Soldiers which *Grange* had planted at the Lane-head behind some Dikes.

After the loss of the Battle, her Majesty lost all courage, which she had never done before, and took so great fear, that she never rested till she was in *England*, thinking her self sure of refuge there, in respect of the fair promises formerly made to her by the Queen of *England* by word to her Ambassadors, and by her own hand-writ both before and after she was Captive in *Lockleven*. But God and the World, knows how she was kept and used, for not only she refused to see her, of whom she appeared so oft so desirous of a sight, and a meeting, but also caused to keep her Prisoner, and at length suffered her life to be taken away, or else it was subtilly taken against her intention. This puts me in remembrance of a tale that my Brother *Sir Robert* told me, The time that he was busiest dealing betwixt the two Queens to entertain their friendship, and draw on their meeting at a place near *Tork*, One *Bassintoun* a Scots-man who had been a Traveller, and was learned in high Sciences, came to him and said, Good Gentlemen, I hear so good a report of you, that I love you heartily, and therefore cannot forbear to shew you how that all your upright dealing, and honest travel will be in vain : For whereas you believe to obtain advantage for your Queen at the Queen of *England's* hands, you do but lose your time and your travel : For first they will never meet together, and next there will never be any thing else but dissembling, and secret hatred for a while, and at length Captivity and utter wrack to our Queen from *England*. My Brother answered, he liked not to hear of such devilish news, nor yet would he in any sort credit them, as being false, ungodly, and unlawful for Christians to meddle with. *Bassintoun* answered, good Mr. *Melvil* entertain not that harsh opinion of me. I am a Christian of your own Religion, and fear God, and purposeth never to cast my self on any of the unlawful Arts that you mean, but so far as *Melancthon*, who was a godly Theologue, hath declared lawful, and written concerning the natural Sciences which are lawful, and daily read in divers Christian Universities, in the which as in all other Arts, God gives to some less and to othes clearer knowledg, by the which knowledg I have attained to understand, that at length the Kingdom of *England* shall of right fall to the Crown of *Scotland*, and that at this instant there are some born who shall brook Lands and Heritages in *England* : But, alas, it will cost many their Lives, and many bloody Battels will be fought ere things be settled or take effect, and by my know-

knowledg, sayes he, the *Spaniards* will be helpers, and will take a part to themselves for their labour, which they will be loath to leave again.

After that the Queens Maiesty had demitted the Government, when she was Captive in *Lockleven* in such manner as is rehearsed, my Lord of *Murray* being the first of the Regents of whom I have said something already, I intend now to follow forth, and shew a part of his proceedings, and to begin where I left at her Majesties retreat to *England*.

After the Battle of *Langside*, the Regent went through the Country, and took up the Escheats and Houses of those who had assisted at the said Battle, and caused to cast down divers of their houses, distributing their Lands to his Servants and dependers.

The Council of *England* being crafty, and in special the Secretary *Cicil*, they knew what kind of men had most credit about him for the time, and thereupon took occasion to deal with the least honest, most ambitious and covetous of that number and Society, who had joined and banded themselves together to assist each other, whereby to advance themselves, and to disgrace all such true and honest men as had assisted, and helped him in all his former troubles. This sort of Men were soon perswaded and corrupted, to move the Regent to pass unto *England*, and accuse their native Queen before the Queen and Council of *England*, to the great dishonour of their Country and Prince. For the Queen of *England* who had no just cause to retain our Queen, who had fled to *England* in hope of getting shelter, and the assistance which had been so oft promised her both before and after her Captivity in *Lockleven*, was very desirous to have some colour and pretext whereby she might make answer to the Ambassadors of sundry Princes who reproached her for her unkindly and unprincely proceedings therein.

Because the most part of those who had the Regent's Ear were gained to this opinion, and the number few who were of a contrary mind he went forward to *England*, accompanied with the Earl of *Mortou*, the Lord *Lindsay*, the Laird of *Lockleven*, the bishop of *Orkny*, the Abbot of *Dumfarming*, Mr. *Jamés Macgil*, Mr. *Henry Balnears*, Mr. *George Buchanan*, the Laird of *Pittarrow*, *George Douglas* Bishop of *Murray*, Mr. *John Wood* the Regent's Secretary, a great Ring-leader, Mr. *Nicholas Elphinstoun*, Secretary *Lidingtoun*, *Alexander Hay*, *Alexander Hume* of *North-Berwick*, the Laird of *Cleesb*, with divers other Barons, and Gentlemen, who went there to see the fashion, some to wait upon the Regent and Lords, and some who could not get the Regent dissuaded from this extream folly at home, went with him to *England* to see if by any assistance of such as were friends there to the Union of the Isle, and to the Title of *Scotland*, he might be stayed from that accusation. For those who were the Queens Lords, who came there to defend the Queens part, had no credit nor familiarity with the chief faction in *England* concerning the Title, nor durst open their minds but to such as by long acquaintance they were well assured of their honesty and secrecy. The names of the Queens Lords were, the Lord *Herreis*, the Lord *Baid*, the Lord *Fleeming*, the Lord *Livingstoun*, the Bishop of *Ross*, and some others, with my Brother Sir *Robert* who attended to do all the good he could.

The

The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Suffex*, and several other Councillors were sent down to *Tork*, to hear the Regent's Accusation, and to be as Judges between the King and Queen's Lords.

The first day of meeting, the Duke of *Norfolk* required that the Regent should make Homage in the King's Name to the Crown of *England*, thinking he had some ground to demand the same, seeing the said Regent there to plead his Cause before the Council of *England*. Whereat the Regent grew red, and knew not what to answer; but Secretary *Lidingtoun* took up the Speech, and said, *That in restoring again to Scotland the Lands of Huntingtoun, Cumberland, and Northumberland, with such other Lands as Scotland did of old possess in England, that Homage should gladly be made for the said Lands; but as to the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland, it was freer than England had been lately, when it payed St. Peter's Penny to the Poor.*

It appeared still that the Duke drave off time with us, as having no inclination to enter upon the terrors of Accusation. What was in his head, appeared afterward, but he was long in a suspence with whom to deal. For he thought (as he afterward said) he neither did see honest men nor wise men. At last he resolved to enter in Conference with Secretary *Lidingtoun*, to whom he said, *That before that time he had ever esteem'd him a Wise man; until that now he came before Strangers to accuse the Queen his Mistress, as if England were Judge over the Princes of Scotland. How could we find in our hearts to dishonour our Kings Mother, or how could we answer afterward for what we were doing, seeing it tended to hazard the King her Sons Right to England, intending to bring his Mothers honesty in question? It had been rather the Duty of you his Subjects, sayes he, to cover her Imperfections, if she had any, remitting unto God and Time to punish and put Order thereto, who is the Only Judge over Princes.* *Lidingtoun*, as he might well do, purged himself, and declared he came there to endeavour to stop the said Accusation, which the Laird of *Grange*, and divers others, had endeavoured to do in vain, before the Regent's coming out of *Scotland*. And that now he would be glad of any help to hinder that shameful deliberation of the Regents, pushed thereto by a company of greedy, rash, and careless Councillors, the most part of them his Enviars and secret Enemies; praying the Duke not to conceive such an Evil Opinion of him, but requesting him to draw the Regent apart, and enter with him upon those Terms which afterward the Regent would shew him, and he should amplify and set it out the best he could. The Duke asked if the Regent would keep secret? and being thereof assured by *Lidingtoun*, the next day he took occasion to enter into discourse with the Regent, about their first Friendship and Familiarity contracted at *Lieth*, during the Siege, and helping to put the *Frenchmen* out of *Scotland*. Then after that the Regent had promised Secrecy, and assured him that their first Friendship should stand till the end of his Life, the Duke began to declare, how "that he would be a Faithful Subject to the Queen his Mistress so long as she lived; but that she was too careless what might come after her about the well and quiet of her Country: tho it was the Interest of the Kingdom of *England*, more to notice the same, by determining the Succession to prevent Troubles that might otherwise ensue. That tho they had divers times essayed to do some-  
" thing

" thing therein at every parliament, but that their *Queen* had thereat  
 " evidenced a great discontent, and hindred the same, shewing thereby  
 " that she cared not what Blood was shed after her for the Right and  
 " Title of the Crown of *England*, which consists only in the Persons  
 " of the Queen and King of *Scotland* her Son, which had been put out  
 " of doubt e're then, if matters had not fallen out sounhappily at home,  
 " and yet he and other Noblemen of *England*, as fathers of the Coun-  
 " try, were minded to be careful thereof, watching their opportunity.  
 " But that they wondred what could move him to come there and ac-  
 " cuse his *Queen*, for albeit she had done, or suffered harm to be done to  
 " the King her Husband, yet there was respect to be had to the *Prince*  
 " her Son upon whom he and many in *England* had fixed their Eyes,  
 " as Mr. *Melvil*, who had been late *Ambassadour* there could testifie.  
 " He therefore wished that the *Queen* should not be accused, nor disho-  
 " noured for the King her Sons cause, and for respect to the Right  
 " they both had to succeed to the Crown of *England*. And further the  
 " Duke said, " I am sent to hear your Accusation, but neither will I, nor  
 " the *Queen* my mistress, give out any Sentence upon your Accusa-  
 " tion. And that you may understand the verity of this Point more  
 " clearly, you shall do well the next time that I require you before  
 " the Council to give in your Accusation in Writing; to demand again  
 " my Mistress's Seal and Hand-Writing (before you show your folly)  
 " that in case you Accuse, she shall immediately Convict and give out  
 " her Sentence according to your Probation; otherwise, that you will  
 " not open your Pack: Which if her Majesty shall refuse to grant unto  
 " you, which undoubtedly she will do, then assure your self that my  
 " Information is true, and take occasion hereupon to stay from further  
 " accusation.

The *Regent* took very well with this Advice of the *Dukes*, and kept  
 it secret from all his Company save Secretary *Lidington*, and me, to  
 whom that same Night he imparted it, shewing us his inclination to  
 follow the same; in which Resolution we confirmed him. at the  
 next meeting with the Council, when the *Duke* demanded the Accusa-  
 tion to be given in, the *Regent* asked for his Security the *Queen* of  
*Englands* Seal and Hand-Writing, as was before advised; of which the  
 rest of his Faction gave *Lidington* the full blame, because it drew on  
 a delay until the Post was sent to the Court, and returned the *Queens*  
 answer. Being come, it was told that she was a true Princess, her  
*Word and Promise would be abundantly sufficient.* The Secretary *Cecil*,  
 and Mr. *John Wood* Secretary to the *Regent*, thought strange of this  
 manner of Procedure, wherefore it was advised to desire the Lords on  
 both sides, to go from *Tork* toward the Court, that the matter might  
 thereto be treated, where the *Queen* was able to give more ready An-  
 swers and Replies.

In the mean time the *Regent* finding the Information the *Duke* of  
*Norfolk* gave him concerning the *Queen* of *Englands* Answer to be true,  
 he entred further into Communication with him, and in presence of  
*Lidington*, it was agreed betwixt them as followeth, That he in no  
 wayes should accuse the *Queen*; That the *Duke* should obtain to him  
 the *Queens* Favour with a confirmation of the *Regency*. The *Duke*  
 and He were to be as sworn Brethren of one Religion, shooting conti-  
 nually

nually at one mark, with the mutual intelligence of one anothers minds, the one to Rule *Scotland*, the other to Rule *England*, to the Glory of God, and well of both the Countries, and their Princes, so that Posterity should report them the happiest two Instruments that ever were bred in *Brittain*.

The *Duke* was then the *greatest* Subject in *Europ*, not being a free Prince. For he ruled the *Queen*, and all those who were most familiar with her. He also ruled the *Council*, and ruled two *Factions* in *England*, both *Protestants* and *Papists*, with the *City of London*, and whole *Commons*. The *Great Men* who were *Papists*, were all his near *Kinsmen*, whom he entertained with great *Wisdom*, and *Discretion*; the *Protestants* had such proof of his *Godly Life* and *Conversation*, that they loved him intirely.

The *Regent* being arrived at the *Court of England*, which was for the time at *Hampton Court*, he was daily pressed to give in his accusation, especially by those who were about him, when all thought strange that he was so slow in doing thereof, until they were advertised by one of the *Lords of the Queens Faction*, of all that had past betwixt the *Regent* and the *Duke of Norfolk*. For the *Duke* by a secret hand had advertised our *Queen*, and she again shewed it to one of her most *Familiars*, who advertised the *Earl of Mortoun* thereof. He took this very ill, that the *Regent* had done this without acquainting him, or any of his *Society* of his design. But ere he, or any of his *Company*, would seem to understand any thing of the matter, they laid their heads together, and caused *Mr. John Wood* to inform *Secretary Cicil* of all that had past, desiring him to press forward the *Accusation*, wherein of himself he was abundantly earnest. They again left nothing undone for their part, to effectuate the same, putting him in hope that the *Queen* would give him her *Hand-Writing* and *Seal*, that she should convict the *Queen* in case he accused her. Others of the finest of them, persuaded him that she would never give her *hand-Writing* or *Seal* for that end, putting him to a strait to see what he would do in case he obtained his desire. *Mr. John Wood* said, *That it was fit to carry in all the Writs to the Council, and he would keep the Accusation in his bosom, and would not deliver it till first the thing demanded of the Queen was granted.* The rest of the *Regents Lords* and *Councillors* had concluded among them, That so soon as the *Duke of Norfolk* as chief of the *Council* would inquire for the *Accusation*, they should all with one voice cry and persuade the *Regent* to go forward with it.

*Secretary Lidington* and I minded the *Regent*, how far he had obliged himself to the *Duke of Norfolk*. He said, *He would do well enough, and that it would not come to that length.* So soon as he with his *Counsel* were within the *Council-House*, the *Duke of Norfolk* asked for the *Accusation*; the *Regent* desired again the assurance of *Conviction* by *Writing* and *Seal*, as is said. It was answered again, *That the Queens Majesties Word, being a true Princess, was sufficient.* Then all the *Council* cried out, *Would he mistrust the Queen, who had given such proof of her friendship to Scotland.* The *Regents Council* cried out also in that same manner. Then *Secretary Cicil* asked if they had the *Accusation* there? *Yes*, says *Mr. John Wood*; and with that he plucks it out of his *Bosom*, but *I will not deliver it*, says he, *till her Majesties Hand.*

*Hand-Writing and Seal be delivered to my Lord Regent for what he demands.* Then the Bishop of Orkny snatcheth the Writing out of his hand, *Let me have it, sayes he, I shall present it.* Mr. John Wood run after him, as if he would have taken it again. Forward goes the Bishop to the Council-Table, and gives in the Accufation. Then cryes out the Chamberlain of England, *Well done Bishop, thou art the frankest Fellow among them all, none of them will make thy leap good;* scorning his leaping out of the Laird of Grange's Ship. Mr. Henry Balneavs only had made resistance, and called for Secretary Lidington, who waited without the Council House. But so soon as Mr. Henry Balneavs had called for him, he came in and whispered in the Regent's Ear, *That he had shamed himself, and put his Life in danger, by the loss of so good a Friend as the Duke of Norfolk, and that he had lost his Reputation for ever.*

The Regent, who by his facility had been brought to break with the Duke of Norfolk, repented himself thereof, so soon as Lidington acquainted him with the danger, and desired the Accufation to be rendered up to him again, alledging he had *some more to add thereto.* They answered, *They would hold what they had, and were ready to receive any addition when he should please to give it in.* The Duke of Norfolk had much ado to keep his Countenance. Mr. John Wood winked upon Secretary Cicil, Who smiled again upon him. The rest of the Regent's Company were laughing one upon another only Secretary Lidington had a sad heart. The Regent came forth of the Council-House with Tears in his eyes, and went to his Lodging at Kingstoun, where his famous friends had much ado to comfort him.

The Queen of England having obtained her intent, received thereby great contentment through the advantage she thereby received. First, she thought she had matter for her, to shew wherefore she detained the Queen, when she was challenged by the forreign Ambassadors upon that accoupt. Then she was glad of the Queens dishonour, but in her mind she detested the Regent, and all his Company, and would notice him no more. She sent also incontinent to the Queen to comfort her, praying her to look on her self in a better case, albeit for a while restrained of her liberty, then to be in Scotland, among so unworthy Subjects, who had accused her falsely and wrongfully, as she was assured; and that neither should they be the better, nor she the worse for any thing they had done: For she would neither be Judge, nor give out any Sentence thereupon, nor should any part of the said false Accufation be made known by her, or her Council to any, praying her to take patience in her gentle Ward, where she was nearer to get the Crown of England set upon her head, in case of her decease, who was but the eldest Sister.

Thus the Regent won no other thing for his labour, but to be despised by the Queen and Council of England, detested by the Duke of Norfolk, and reproached by his best and truest friends, suffered to lye a long time at Kingstoun, in great displeasure and fear, without Mony to spend, and without hope to get any from the Queen. In the meantime, the agreement betwixt him and the Duke of Norfolk, was told the Queen. For the Earl of Mortoun caused a Minister called John Willock, to declare what had past betwixt the Regent and the Duke of Norfolk

Norfolk to the Earl of *Huntington*, who caused my Lord of *Leicester* to tell it to the Queen.

The Duke of *Norfolk* finding himself disappointed by the Regent, and his purposes discovered to the Queen, began to boast and speak plain Language, *That he would serve and honour the Queen his Mistress so long as she lived, but after her decease he would set the Crown of England upon the Queen of Scotland's head, as lawful Heir.* And this he avowed to Secretary *Cecil*, desiring him to go and prattle that language again to the Queen. The Secretary *Cecil* answered, *That he would be no Tale-teller to the Queen of him, but would concur with him in any course, and serve him in any thing wherein he would employ him.* He threatened also Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, who he supposed would be a true and devoted Servant to the Queen: So that Sir *Nicholas* was necessitated to seek after his favour by the means of the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Leicester*, who was also his friend, albeit he durst not conceal from the Queen that whereof the Earl of *Huntington* had advertised him, being he had desired him to declare the same to her Majesty.

The Duke of *Norfolk* understanding that his whole purposes were discovered, stood not to acknowledge to the Queen, *That during her life-time he would never offend her, but serve and honour her, and after her the Queen of Scotland, as in his opinion earnest Heir, and the only means for eschewing of Civil Wars, and great blood-shed that might otherwise fall out.* Now albeit the Queen of *England* liked not that language, yet she would not appear to find fault with it for the time.

Now matters being cast loose in this manner between the Regent and the Duke, and the Regent in great distress; Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* being a Man of a deep reach, and great prudence and discretion, who had ever travelled for the Union of this Isle, after that he was agreed with the Duke, and perceived that the Earls of *Leicester*, *Pembroke*, Secretary *Cecil*, and the rest of the Court and Commons were all for the Duke, and that the Queen durst not find fault with him, he devised and effectuated a new friendship betwixt the Regent and the Duke, who was unwilling again to enter with the Regent, yet at length he suffered himself to be persuaded. The Lord Regent, on the other hand, being destitute of all friendship in *England* for the time, and indigent of money, thought he would be very fortunate if again he could obtain the Dukes friendship and pardon, so he was brought easily and secretly unto the Duke by Sir *Nicholas*. At which time he granted his offence, excusing himself the best he could, by the craft and importunity of some of his Company. The Duke helped him to frame his excuse, alledging, *That he knew how his gentle nature was abused by the craft and concurrence of some of the Council of England, who had joined with some about him. That if he would for the future keep touch and be secret, they should take acourse with all those who had drawn on that draught.* The Regent promised as far as could be devised, so that a greater friendship was packed up between them than ever. The Duke had before told him, "That he was resolved to marry the Queen our Mistress, and that he should never permit her to come to Scotland, nor yet that he should ever Rebel against the Queen of England, during her time." Also that he had a Daughter, who would "be



“he better for the King, then any other for many Reasons. Now the Duke took in hand to cause the Queen his Mistress to give unto my Lord Regent Two thousand pound sterling, for the which Sum he became Cautioner, and was afterward compelled to pay it.

After that the Regent had got this mony, and had taken his leave of the Queen, he was advised by such as had great credit about him, to tell the Queen all things that had past again betwixt the Duke and him. And to do it the more covertly, it was devised, That the Queen of *England* should send for him, pretending to give him some admonition about some order to be observed upon the Border. This being done, and all things discovered to the Queen, with a promise to soon as he came to *Scotland*, and had received any Letters from the Duke, by Cyphers or otherwise, he should send them to *England* by an Express. In the mean time the Duke wrote unto our Queen, advertising her again of the new friendship between him and the Regent, who was become very penitent, and had been formerly deceived by craftier men then himself, desiring her to let him pass by without any harm done to him, or any in his company by the way.

At that time the Duke commanded over all the North parts of *England*, where the Queen our Mistress was kept, and so might have taken her out when he pleased. And when he was angry at the Regent, he had appointed the Earl of *Westmorland* to lye in his way and cut off himself, and so many of his company, as were most bent upon the Queens Accusation. But after the last agreement, the Duke sent and discharged the said Earl from doing us any harm, yet upon our return the Earl came in our way with a great Company of Horse, to signifie to us that we were at his mercy.

After the Regents safe return to *Scotland*, Mr. *John Wood* his Secretary procured, upon the first occasion, to be sent so *England*, with all the Letters that had been sent from the Duke of *Norfolk*, which could tend to undo him. He desired Mr. *Henry Balmeris* to cause the Regent to give him the Bishoprick of *Murray*, void for the time, though he pretended it was neither for ambition nor covetousness of the Rents, but that he might have an honourable Style, to set out the better his Ambassage. The said Mr. *Henry* being indeed such a man as Mr. *John* would appeared to have been, was very angry, and never liked him after that my Lord *Lindsay* vented himself, That he was one of the number who gave the Regent counsel so to do, alledging, that such promises as were made to the Duke of *Norfolk* for fear of life, ought not to be kept.

A little after that Mr. *John* was come back to *Scotland*, well rewarded for his pains, the Duke was sent for by the Queen to come to Court. Whereupon first he posted in haste to Secretary *Cecil* to demand his counsel, for he reposed much upon him, they being joined in one course. The other made answer, *That there was no danger, he might come and go at his Pleasure, no man would or durst offend him.* Which made the Duke ride up quietly, only with his own train, whereas otherwise he would have been well accompanied. In the mean time, Secretary *Cecil* informed the Queen, *That the necessity of the time obliged her not to omit this occasion, but to take the matter stoutly upon her self, and incontinent command her Guard to lay hands upon the Duke,*

or else no other durst do it, which if she did not at this time, her Crown would be in peril. The Queen following this counsel, the Duke was taken and secured, when he thought all *England* was at his Devotion, who after long Captivity was Executed, ending his Life devoutly in the Reformed Religion.

Shortly after *Mr. John Wood's* returning out of *England*, there was a great Convention held at *Pearth*, where the Regent was resolved to accuse Secretary *Lidingtoun*, as being of Council with the Duke of *Norfolk*, but he had so many friends for the time, that they durst not lay hands on him, albeit from that hour forth, he retired from the Court, and remained with the Earl of *Atbol*, where the Regent entertained him with friendly Letters. And upon a time being at *Sterling*, he wrote for him to come and make a dispatch for *England*, whither being come, Captain *Crawford* was directed to accuse him before the Privy Council of the late King's murder, and being accused of so odious a Crime, he was committed to Ward. Sir *James Balfour* was also taken out of his own House, when he expected no such thing.

Then My Lord of *Down* wrote to the Laird of *Grange* to be upon his guard, for the Regent was resolved to take the Castle of *Edenbrugh* from him, and make the Laird of *Drumwhafel* Captain thereof. Which advertisement he had formerly given to *Grange*, as also of the design to take the Secretary, and Sir *James Balfour*. But at the first he would not give credit thereto, but now when he did see the Advertisement take effect, he began to think that the Regent was strangely misled, he would have been satisfied to have wanted the Castle, and to have left the Court, were it not for the desire he had to save the Lives of Secretary *Lidingtoun*, and Sir *James Balfour*, having upon his Honour engaged to protect the said Sir *James* upon his rendring up the Castle to him. He knew they were wrongfully pursued, only by the Malice and Envy of their Enemies for their offices. Sir *James Balfour* being taken, sent unto the Laird of *Grange*, minding him how he had joynd with the Lords and Regent upon the Trust he reposed on his Fidelity, more than on all their Seals and Hand-writings which he had to produce. Whereupon the Laird of *Grange* sent a Gentleman to the Regent, but the Regent purged himself, and alledged the Council were so banded together against the Secretary, and Sir *James Balfour*, That it consisted not in his power to preserve them from Prison, seeing they were accused for the King's Murder against his will, but *Grange* should know his honest part thereof at meeting; praying him in the mean time to suspend his judgment. Nevertheless the Regent and his Council were determined to proceed to process the two Prisoners upon their Lives, till *Grange* sent again and desired the like Justice to be done upon the Earl of *Mortoun* and Mr. *Archibald Douglas*. For he offered to fight with Mr. *Archibald*, and the Lord *Herries* with the Earl of *Mortoun* upon that head, That they were upon the Council, and consequently airt and pairt of the King's Murder. This stayed their Process at that time. And the Regent still alledged, That the Lords had taken them against his will, and that he should send Sir *James Balfour* to the Castle of *St. Andrews*, and should bring Secretary *Lidingtoun* to *Edinburgh*, and deliver him unto the Laird of *Grange* to be kept. So the Regent came to *Edinburgh*, and brought the Secretary with him, intending, as *Grange* was informed,

informed, to make the Secretary an Instrument to draw *Grange* out of the Castle to the Town the next morning to receive the *Secretary* to be carried up to the Castle; and then to retain *Grange* also till the Castle should be delivered unto the *Laird* of *Drumwhafel* to be Keeper thereof, and to send *Grange* home to his House and reward him with the Priory of *Pittenweem*. But the *Earl* of *Mortoun* had appointed four men to slay *Grange* at the entry of the *Regent's* Lodging, without the *Regent's* knowledge. But *Grange* was loath yet to believe the worst of the *Regent*, and being of opinion that the *Regent's* gentle Nature was forced by the Lords, as he had sent him word, understanding that they intended to carry the Secretary to *Tantalloun*, he came down out of the Castle with a Company, and took the *Secretary* out of the hands of his *Keepers*, and convoyed him up to the Castle. For he thought if it were true that the *Regent* said, That he was forced by the Lords against his will to let the *Secretary* be retained after that he was accused, the *Regent* would be glad that he had revenged his quarrel upon the Lords, by taking the Secretary out of their hands, whereof he might justly pretend ignorance. And if the *Regent* would be dissatisfied with his carriage therein, it would be a certain token of his dissimulation. In that case *Grange* thought he did a good deed to save his Friends Life, and so he would have good ground to believe divers Intelligences which formerly he would not credit, and therefore he would be upon his guard in Time coming.

The *Regent* and his Councillors when they understood that *Grange* had taken the Secretary to the Castle, were in great perplexity, supposing all their Counsels to be disclosed. They knew not how to help the matter, but they advised the *Regent* to cover his anger until a fit opportunity, causing him to go up to the Castle the next morning. For he durst trust *Grange*, tho *Grange* would no more trust him. At meeting the *Regent* gave him more fair words than he was wont to do, which *Grange* took in evil part.

After this there were many devices how to intrap *Grange*, sometime in his down-coming to the *Regent*, but he was ever advertised and upon his guard, so as the *Regent* lost dayly of his best Friends, and the number of his Enemies increased. For the Duke of *Chattellerauld* (who was agreed with him by the intercession of the *Lord Herreis*) when the said Duke and the *Lord Herreis* came to *Edinburgh*, as was appointed at the agreement, to concur with the *Regent* in Council and otherwise for the quieting of the Country, they were both warded in the Castle, against promise. Which when the *Laird* of *Grange* found fault with, Mr. *John Wood* said, *I marvel at you that you will be offended at this; for how shall we who are my Lords dependers, get Rewards, but by the wrack of such men. Yea, said Grange is that your holiness, I see nothing among you but Envy, Greediness, and Ambition, whereby you will wrack a good Regent, and ruine the Country.* This was long before the taking of the Secretary, and increased the hatred of a wicked Society against *Grange*, who upon all occasions evidenced his detesting their selfish Designs, who were dependers upon the *Regent*, which was one of the faults also they had against the *Secretary*, as also because his Wit so far excelled theirs. The Captivity of the Duke and my *Lord Herreis*, made many Enemies to the *Regent*, who took the greater boldness

boldness to conspire against him, when they perceived him to lose and cast off his best Friends.

It was a grievous thing, to see that good *Regent*, of himself so well inclined to do good offices in Religion and Commonwealth, so led after other mens vain pretences, and affections, to his own wrack, to the wrack of many worthy Persons, and to their ruine at length who led him in these ways:

He grew to give great ear to Flatterers, and would not suffer his true Friends to tell him the verity. The observation hereof, made many conjecture that his Ruine was at hand; and I among others devised a present remedy for his preservation, which was this:

I knew that the taking *Lidingtoun* to the Castle, sunk deepest in the *Regent's* heart; and that the false practises and wrackful fetches of such as had taught him to dissemble, moved *Grange*, who had been his greatest Friend, to be jealous of him; the noticing whereof gave ground to his Enemies to conspire against him.

First, I requested the *Regent* to remember the false Practises, that some about him had fundry times used formerly to his great displeasure, and to consider that they occasioned all the jealousies and suspicions that were fallen out between him and his Friends, which might encourage his Enemies to take some wicked enterprise in hand against his Person. To remedy this, I proposed it as fit, That *Lidingtoun* should go unto *France*, finding Caution not to return to *Scotland* under the penalty of Twenty thousand pounds, and withal giving his Son in pledg for further Security, and that he should practise nothing against the Quiet of the Country. And that *Sir James Balfour* should be let at liberty, or banished after that same manner: For he had already won the *Regent's* Familiars with great Sums of Gold, which had stanch'd their wrath against him; which *Lidingtoun* would not do, albeit *Sir James* had sent him his advice to do as he had done. These two being freed and out of the way, The Laird of *Grange* should deliver to him the Castle of *Edinburgh*, to make Captain thereof whom he pleased. That so the whole Country might see, that all was in his power, and at his command. This I thought the best way to reduce again the opinion of the People, and to scare all his Enemies from their desperate enterprises. His answer was, That he did bear no ill will to *Lidingtoun*, that he would not press him to go out of the Country; as for *Sir James Balfour*, he would set him at liberty; and for *Grange*, he had too many Obligations to him, and too great proofs of his Fidelity to mistrust him; That he was never minded to take the Castle from him; and if it were out of his hands, he would give him the Keeping thereof before any other.

He denied that he had any suspicion either of *Grange*, or the *Secretary*, and thereupon went up to the Castle and conferred friendly with them of all his Affairs, with a merry Countenance, and casting in many merry purposes, minding them of many straits and dangers they had formerly been together engaged in. So far was he instructed to dissemble: yet the violence he did himself herein was easily perceived by such, who had been long acquainted with him, and had been his chief advisers under God. The *Secretary* by his Wisdom, and *Grange* by his Valour and Fidelity, who had both such notable Qualities as procured them the Envy of wicked men, who by their continual Flattery

and

and false Reports put them out of his Favour, and then like a weak House wanting his sustaining Pillars, he fell.

Himself was at the first of a gentle Nature, well inclined, good, wise, stout. In his first uprising, his hap was to light upon the best sort of Company; his beginning was full of adversity, true honest men stuck by him, because he was Religiously educated, and devoutly inclined. But when he became *Regent*, Flatterers for their profit drew near him, and putt him up into too good an opinion of himself. His old true Friends, who would reprove and admonish him, thereby lost his Favour. I would sometimes say to him, *That he was like an unskilful Player in a Tennis Court, running ever after the Ball; whereas an expert Player will discern where the Ball will light, or where it will rebound, and with small travel will let it fall on his hand, or racket.* This I said, because he took very great pains in his own Person to small effect. After that he had gotten divers advertisements of his Enemies Conspiracies, yet he would credit nothing, but what came from his own Familiars, who told him nothing but of fair weather, and of the best Government that could be, and so rendered him careless and secure, which encouraged the Good man of *Bedwelhaugh* called *Hamilton*, to lye in his way as he was passing thro'ow *Lithgow*, who shot him, whereof he dyed that same Night; all his Councellors and Familiars, were also well advertised as he was, both of the man, the place, and the time, and yet were so careless of him, that they would not be at the pains to search the house where the man lay to shoot him; but suffered him to escape upon a speedy Horse. I have written thus far of him, because every one knows not the verity how he was led away; and because *St. Augustine* sayes, *That all kind of Ignorance is neither worthy of pardon nor excuse, but only such as have not the means to be instructed, nor to get knowledg.* I was sometimes compelled to recite divers Sentences of *Solomon* to this Good *Regent*; for so he was, and will ever deservedly be called: How that *an heavy Yoke was ordained for the Sons of Adam, from the day they go out of their Mothers Womb, all the day that they return to the Mother of all things; from him who is clothed in Blew Silk and wearath a Crown, even to him who weareth simple Linnen; wrath, envy, trouble and unquietness, rigor, strife, and fear of death in the time of rest.* Again, *Be diligent to know the state of thy Flock; for there are some who see but with other mens eyes, who hear but with other mens ears, these must needs be ignorant; such a man is commonly made a wicked Instrument to fulfill the appetites of envious, vengeable and greedy Councellors.* And *Solomon* sayes, *That for the transgression of such wicked Councellors, the Land changeth many Princes.* And again, *The Prudent man seeth the Plague and sheweth it; but Fools go on still and are punished.* *Wisdom, Knowledg and Understanding of the Law is of the Lord; Error, Ignorance and Darkness are appointed unto Sinners for Punishments and Bauges.* *The foolish will believe every thing, and the mouths of fools are full of dishonesty.* So the Prudent will consider his paths, and can perceive that some are Councellors for themselves; Therefore sayes *Solomon*, *Make thyself well with Prudence, and can find forth the right knowledg of Councellors; as if he would say, Who have Wisdom spanned with Prudence, will not be so easily carried away with Flattery, as a number of facil Princes, who promote them above faithful Friends and true*

Servants,

Servants, who reprove them for their unseemly proceedings. Against the Rule of *Isocrates*, who admonisheth the King to love and retain as his truest Friends, such as lovingly and modestly will correct his Faults. And as *Plutarch* saith unto *Trajan*, Follow the Counsel of these who loves thee, rather than of those whom thou lovest. And as *Theopompus* being demanded how a Prince should best Rule? answered, In permitting his best Servants to tell him the verity of his Estate. As the King of the People is, so are his Officers. If the Officers be wicked, so is the Ruler thought to be: How are Flatterers, said I to the Regent, flown away with your wonted humility, and who hath past you up, so that you will not suffer a Friendly Reproof? Says not *Solomon*, If thou seest a man wise in his own conceit, there is more hope to be had of a fool than of him? Exalt not thyself in the day of honour, for pride goeth before destruction, and an high mind before a fall. Yet hear Counsel, and receive Instruction, let Reason go before every enterprise, and counsel before every action. When you followed the Counsel of your old experimented Friends, your Affairs prospered. Since you left them, to follow the flattering fetches of your wonted Foes, (who are now become your chiefest Counsellors since you have been made Regent) your Credit decays, and all your business goes back. I did shew you lately coming from *Dumfries*, in what Danger your Estate and Person were; to which you have taken little notice; which Danger appears to me to be ever the longer the greater, without speedy repentance; and the hasty embracing of such Remedies as I mentioned for the time. Therefore take this better to heart, and in good part of his hand of whose Fidelity to you, you have had so good proof in all your adversities. *Solomon* says more, Receive Instruction, that thou mayst be wise in thy latter end; And above all this, pray to the Most High, that he may direct thy way in truth, which I pray God grant you the grace to do.

The most part of these Sentences drawn out of the Bible, I used to rehearse to him at several occasions, and he took better with these of my hands, who he knew had no by-end, than if they had proceeded from the most Learned Philosopher. Therefore at his desire I promised to put them in writing, to give him them to keep in his Pocket; but he was Slain before I could meet with him.

After the Decease of the Regent, England sent the Earl of *Suffex* to *Berwick*, whither the Earl of *Lennox* came also at that same time, as being sent for by the Lords of the King's Faction, to be made Regent in place of the Earl of *Murray*. The Earl of *Suffex* had with him the Forces of the North, as if he had some enterprise to do, and to take some advantage at this time, when the Country wanted a Regent.

About that same time, so many of the Lords as were banded, and professed the Queens Authority, caused to proclaim the same at *Lithgow*. As yet they of the Castle at *Edinburgh* professed the King's Authority, albeit there were secret jealousies betwixt them and so many of the rest as had counselled the late Regent, to apprehend the Secretary *Lidington*, and *Sir James Balfour*, and who would also have ruined *Grange*, because he appeared concerned in them two, and also because his Vertues were envied, and his Charge coveted by others.

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They who were within the said Castle for the time, were my Lord Duke of *Chattellerault*, and my Lord *Herris*; warded wrongfully as I have said, therefore the Laird of *Grange* obtained a Warrant from the rest of the King's Lords to set them at liberty. The Lord *Hume* was there to assist with those of the Castle, with the Laird of *Grange*, the Secretary *Lidingtoun*, his Brother the Prior of *Condingham*, three of my Brothers Sir *Robert*, Captain *David*, and Sir *Andrew Melvil*, the Lairds of *Drylow* and *Pittadrow*, Sir *James Balfour*; the Lairds of *Fernihast*, *Buccleugh*, *Wormistoun*, *Parbroth*, and divers other Noblemen and Barons, who came there at all occasions, and were ready at a call when they had to do.

This Company directed me to *Berwick*, toward the Earl of *Suffex*, to know what he intended to do with his Forces; whether to assist any of the two Factions, or to agree them? I was friendly received by him, well lodged, and my expences by him defrayed, wanting nothing. He sent me his own night-Gown, furred with rich furrings, to make use of so long as I abode there. Albeit I knew him to be a great Enemy to all *Scots-men*, he appeared desirous to enter in great familiarity with me; and as if he was desirous I should believe he had communicated to me his most secret thoughts, alledging his plainness to me, was upon the report he had heard by sundry of his Country men to my advantage. He said, "That his coming with his Forces, was not to assist any faction, nor to decide Questions and Titles that were among us, but to serve the Queen his Mistress, in obeying her Commands: That if he did any enterprise at that time against any *Scots-man*, it would be against his heart. That of all *Scots-men*, he liked best of those who were within the Castle of *Edinbrugh*, and their dependers, especially because he knew them to have been friends to the Duke of *Norfolk*, his near Cousin, whose part he said he would plainly have taken, if the said Duke had out of his own mouth communicated his enterprise to him, as he had foolishly done by a Gentleman of his, to whose credit he durst not commit the secrecy of that matter, being of it self of so great concernment, as stood him upon his life and heritage. And that albeit he with his Forces came not to set out, nor to fortifie any Faction in *Scotland*, yet he durst be plain with me privately, as with a true friend, to declare that he did esteem the Queen of *Scotland* and the Prince her Son righteous Heirs to the Crown of *England*, which his judgment he had shown to few of his own Country-men.

So I returned with no direct answer, but with a firm opinion, that he was sent to appear to set forward the Earl of *Lennox* to be Regent, and to send word to the Lords of the King's side, that he would assist them, and send in Mr. *Randolph* thither with the Earl of *Lennox*; and yet to deal with the Lords of the Queens Faction, to encourage them to hold forward their factious course, because the said Mr. *Randolph* had a great dealing with the House of *Hamilton*, as he who convoyed the Earl of *Arran*, now visited with the hand of God, out of *France* through *England* home to *Scotland*, to assist the Congregation. He knew also what old and long hatred had been betwixt the Houses of *Lennox* and *Hamilton*; and was deliberately directed, secretly to kindle a fire of discord betwixt two strong Factions in *Scotland*, which could not be



easily quenched, and to conform the Lord *Hume*, who was not yet resolved to take part with the Queens Faction, which *England* thought had not money enough yet to sustain long strife against the King's Faction.

The Earl of *Suffex* entred the *Merse* with his Forces, and took the Castle of *Hume*; and *Falbastle*, full of riches and precious moveables, that way moving the Lord *Hume* to take plain part with the *Hamiltons*, and the Queens Faction. Whereby it may be seen, that the conclusion was to hold Countries in discord, by the craft of the Council of *England* for the time, as I have before mentioned; and which was now put in practice, incontinent after the decease of the Earl of *Murray*. For albeit the Earl of *Lennox* had his Lady, Children, and Estate in *England*, they would not credit him, supposing he would be a true Scots-man, as he proved indeed afterwards.

I being in *Berwick*, when the Earl of *Lennox* was so far toward *Scotland* to be Regent, I thought it my duty to visit him. For at his first in-coming before the marriage of his Son the Lord *Darnly* with the Queen, he sent this present Colonel *Stuart* for my Brother Sir *Robert* and me, and because my Brother was absent, I went to him alone. At which time he told me, "That his long absence out of the Country had made him as a stranger to the condition of the Country, and that his Lady at his parting from her, had desired him to take my Brother's counsel and mine in all his affairs, as her Friends and Kinmen. So that being familiar enough with him formerly, I visited him at this time, and told him the state of the Country. I dissuaded him from taking upon him the Regiment, fearing that it might cost him his life, as matters werelike to be handled, as I should inform him more at length, being once at home. As for my self, I promised to serve and assist him, albeit I could not find that same resolution in those of the Castle of *Edinbrugh*. He thanked me, promising me to be my friend, so far as lay in his power, upon which he gave me his hand. Then he inquired, *What was the Cause, that those who were in the Castle would oppose him?* I answered, *For no particular prejudice they had against himself, but because the Lords who had sent for him, without acquainting them therewith were not their friends, and they suspected that in process of time, they would move him to be their Enemy.* He said, *That the Laird of Grange had been always his great friend, and had done him formerly great kindness.* I said, *I hoped he should yet be his friend, after that he had settled himself in the Regiment, and might have time to be rightly informed of every mans part.*

Returning back from *Berwick*, I met the Abbot of *Dunfermling*, sent by the King's Lords to *England*, to meet with the Earl of *Linnox* in his passing by. His chief Commission was (so far as I could afterward inform my self) to desire the Queen of *England*, to deliver the Queen of *Scotland* to be kept by the King's Lords here at home, seeing that she would not proceed otherwise, according to the Accusation given in against her, the time my Lord *Murray* was there. Where-to the Queen of *England* made answer, *If they would find her sufficient Pledges for the security of the Queens life, she would deliver her to be kept by them.* The Abbot alledged, *That would be hard to do, for what in case the Queen dye in the mean time?* She answered, *My Lord, I believed*  
you

you had been a wise man, you would press me to speak what is no ways necessary: you may know, That I cannot but for my honour require Pledges; for that end, I think you may judge also, of your self what might be best for me. Her meaning in this, might be easily judged and understood.

The Earl of *Lennox* came to *Edinburgh* shortly after me, and after he had accepted the Government, his first enterprize was to take *Brechin*, which was kept by some Companies of Foot-men, listed by the Earl of *Huntly* to assist the Queens faction. These Soldiers being advertised, that the new Regent was coming to pursue them, fled, except a few who kept the Kirk and Steeple, who were all hanged. I had made my self ready to ride with the Regent, but Mr. *Randolph* the *English* Ambassadour, who came with the Earl of *Lennox*, appearing to let him forward with his power, hindred me from prosecuting that intencion, fearing that I would be an instrument of perswading the Laird of *Grange*, and those in the Castle, to come to an amicable agreement with the Regent. For if those of the Castle, and their dependers had assisted the Regent, the Queens faction were so few and weak, that they would not have been able to make a party answerable to the King's faction, who were greatest in number, and had the hearts of the Subjects on their side. I was very loath to stay behind the Regent, both because I had promised to assist him, and also because I had obtained a promise of the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, of the Lands of *Lethem*, given by the Earl of *Murray* to Mr. *Henry Balneavis*, whereof I had no Lease, but Possession, by reason that the Bishop was for the time in *Dumbartoun*, forfeited, so the said Lands were in the Regent's power to dispose to any other, yet he had promised that I should enjoy it. I told Mr. *Randolph* that the said Land might be in danger to be disposed, in case I were absent from the Regent. Tush, says he, *I am Tutor at this time to the Regent, I shall not onely warrant you that, but shall cause you get a better gift.* In the mean time, he promised to write a Letter unto the Regent ( who had already taken journey ) to secure the same to me, and to let him know that he had stayed me, to draw on an agreement between my friends in the Castle and him, therefore desiring him not to dispose the said Lands to any other. But though I knew him to be a double dealer, and a sower of discord, yet I could not believe that he would abuse me in any thing, having received so great obligations from me during his banishment in *France*, for Religion, during the Reign of Queen *Mary*. Neither would I blot Paper with this much concerning my particular, were it not to declare the strange practises of Princes in matters of State. Now at Mr. *Randolph*'s desire, I stayed. His first proposition to me, was to desire the Captain of the Castle to agree with, and assist the Regent. I told him, *That I supposed he might be brought to that through time, but not so hastily.* And that same answer I brought to him from him, with a request from the Laird of *Grange*, That he would be plain with him: for there had been also great friendship betwixt them in *France*. After some Ceremonies and Protestations of Secrecy, he said, "Tell your friend this from Mr. *Randolph*, but not from the *English* Ambassadour, That there is no lawful Authority in *Scotland* but the Queens, she will prevail at length, and therefore it is his interest, as

“the safest course, to join himself to her Faction. This was the help he made to the Regent, who believed that his only Ambassage was to advance his Authority. I appeared to be very well satisfied with this wholesom advice, and went up to the Castle, and told the Captain and his associates no more then I assured them of, at my return from *Berwick*.

The Laird of *Grange* was still resolved to own the King's Authority, seeing to be factious under pretext of owning the Queen, during her absence and captivity, might do her more ill then good, and occasion great bloodshed among the Subjects, by the malice of the Ring-leaders of the Court of *England*, and partialities of a few in *Scotland*, and was therefore expecting a fit opportunity of making agreement betwixt the parties. In the mean time, I went up and down betwixt those of the Castle, and Mr. *Randolph*, who gave me another Commission, to wit, In case the two Queens of *England* and *Scotland* agree betwixt themselves, to appoint an *English-man* Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and send unto him a Letter subscribed by both their hands to him, to render up the same to him whom they Commissionate him to deliver it, whether he would for great advantage to himself give it to the person who should be appointed. This in great anger he refused to hear: and this was all the good agreement that Mr. *Randolph* and I made, during the Regent's absence. And instead of minding the Regent not to dispose the foresaid Lands, he dealt with the Tutor of *Pitcur*, that he might seek a gift of the said Lands from the Regent, informing him that I wanted a right thereto. When the Regent was returned to *Edinburgh*, I remembered Mr. *Randolph* of his promise, and informed him a way how I might get them. He answered, That he found the Regent so stubborn, and of so ill a nature, that he could not deal with him. Then I told him, That I was abundantly sensible of his practises, and that whereas it appeared that he would cause me not only to abandon the Regent, but to be instrumental in perswading the Laird of *Grange* to be upon a contrary Faction, I would not be that instrument, neither would I desert the King's interest, though he should cause all the rest of my Lands to be taken from me.

Seeing that *Grange* could not be moved to join with the Queens Faction, according to the desire of the Court of *England* ( for the rest of that Kingdom was sorry to see this kind of dealing ) the *English* Ambassadour perswaded the *Regent* to irritate and incense him, by all manner of slights done to himself, and his dependers. In the mean time my Lord Duke, the Earls of *Arguile* and *Huntly* addressed themselves unto him, making their moan, “That they being Noble-  
“men of the Country, of considerable Interest, were refused to be  
“admitted in the Society of the rest, who sought their ruine under  
“pretext of the King's Authority, by the *Regent*, the Earl of *Martoun*,  
“and others, not their friends, requesting him to be their Protector,  
“and to assist them during the King's minority. Telling him how  
“that they at first would gladly have joined with the Kings Lords,  
“for maintaining the King's Authority, but could not get place, nor  
“be admitted. Thus *Grange* finding himself neglected with the King's Lords, and sought after by the Queens, he was compelled to declare with that side at length, having with him the Lord *Hume*, male-con-

tent.

tent. Also Secretary *Lidingtown*, and Sir *James Balfour* spurring him on to take that course, he was resolved to take that side for his next refuge, he having been among the rest summoned to be forfaulted.

Now the two furious Factions being in this manner framed, their hatred and rage grew greater and greater. For Mr. *Randolph* knew the animosities which were among the Nobility, and the nature of every one in particular, by his frequent coming, and his long residence in *Scotland*. And among the Ladies he had a Mother, and a Mistress, to whom he caused his Queen frequently to send Commendations, and Tokens. He also used his craft with the Ministers, offering Gold to such of them as he thought could be prevailed with to accept of his offer, but such as were honest refused his gifts. He gave largely to all such, as he knew were able to serve him in his design of kindling this fire, and his endeavours were so successful, that the two parties were not only stirred up to fight, and shed one anothers blood, but would revile each other with injurious and blasphemous words, and at length fell to the down-casting of each others Houses, to which *England* gave no small assistance, having sent in a number of Men of War to throw down *Hamiltoun*. This was occasioned by some probability that appeared of a Reconciliation of the two Factions, by the endeavours of some of the most prudent Ministers, who did all they could to prevent the ensuing troubles. And they foresaw that this prejudice was done to the *Hamiltouns*, to irage them, so as there might be no hope of agreement when they should see themselves so far injured.

Now as *Nero* stood upon a high part of *Rome* to see the Town burning, which he had caused to be set on fire, so Mr. *Randolph* delighted to see such a fire by his craft kindled in *Scotland*, which was in all probability like to burn it up. And in his Letters to some of the Court of *England*, he gloried that he had kindled a fire in *Scotland*, which could not be easily extinguished. Which when it came to the knowledge of Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, he wrote to my Brother Sir *Robert*, and me, advertising us how we were handled, expressing his detestation both at Secretary *Civil* director, and Mr. *Randolph* as executer. All the honest Men in *England* were sorry at it, of which number there are as many within that Country, as in any other so much bounds in *Europe*.

My Brother and I did shew the Letters we had received from Sir *Nicholas*, to the Laird of *Grange*, and so many within the Castle as we knew to be secret, which they easily believed, as being Men of great understanding, who had noticed Mr. *Randolph*'s proceedings. Whereupon there were some secret meetings drawn on between my Lord *Hume*, and my Lord *Ruthven* as near kinsmen. The Lord *Ruthven* was in greatest favour with the Regent for the time, being also Treasurer, he was desired to come and speak with my Lord *Hume*, during the hottest of the Civil Wars. At which time Secretary *Lidingtown*, and my Brother Sir *Robert*, came into communing with the Lord *Ruthven*, after that he and the Lord *Hume* had spoken a space together, and did shew him how the Regent was used by *England*, and how this Kingdom was abused by the tricks of a few, for advancing their selfish

selfish ends, and also how that the Earl of *Mortoun* had desired secretly to come at midnight, accompanied with Mr. *Archibald Douglas* to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and had entertained long conference with them, desiring their assistance, and he should chace the Earl of *Lennox* back to *England*, if they would accept and acknowledge him for Regent in his stead, which they of the Castle would not grant, looking upon the Earl of *Lennox* as a true *Scots-man*. And they declared that their denying to assist him at first, was his being sent for and brought in by them. That therefore they feared at the first, that he would have been too much at the devotion of the Court of *England*, as being an *English-man*; and having yet his Lady, Children, and Lands in that Country, and moreover that he should be so led by the Earl of *Mortoun*, and their factious Enemies, that he would seek their utter ruine, both because that Captain *Cranford* who had accused the Secretary, was for the time Servant to the Earl of *Lennox*, and alledged that he had a Commission from the said Earl to give in the said Accusation. And that which gave matter enough to my Lord *Hume*, was the bringing in of the Earl of *Lennox*, by the Earl of *Suffex*, and the taking of his two Houses of *Hooime* and *Falcastle* all at one time, which he supposed not to have been done without the Earl of *Lennox* his knowledge and consent. But since they understood that the Earl of *Lennox*, and the whole Country was abused by *England*, Mr. *Randolph* the Agent, and the Earl of *Mortoun*; they were resolved both to agree themselves, and to cause all *Scotland* agree with the *Regent*, if he would grant them reasonable conditions.

My Lord *Rushven* was very glad of this offer, and said he hoped to bring them a good answer from the *Regent*, and the rather, because the Earl of *Mortoun* was absent, being malecontent, for denying to him the grant of the Bishoprick of *St. Andrews*, which the King's house and the *Regent's* might ill spare. So he returned with this offer to the *Regent*, who much rellisht it, and after twice or thrice passing betwixt the *Regent* with the Lord *Rushven*, had concluded a Peace quietly in their minds, none being as yet made privy thereto. But as Ambassadors are great Spies, and commonly suspicious, Mr. *Randolph* who lay at *Lieth*, having his own Jealousies of an intencion of accommodation, knew the only way to stop it, was to bring again the Earl of *Mortoun*, who he knew would violently oppose it, and use the utmost of his endeavours to render that Design ineffectual. He therefore dealt earnestly with the *Regent*, to give the said Bishoprick of *St. Andrews* to the Earl of *Mortoun*, alledging to her, *That the Queen his Mistress had written to him for that effect, and that she would recompence it to him with greater advantage. That he would cause her hand-writing to come to him thereabout, and that she would be much dissatisfied if he refused that her desire.* When the *Regent* had upon Mr. *Randolph's* desire granted this, he incontinently advertised the Earl of *Mortoun* thereof, who immediately came to Court, and smelling the foresaid design of agreement, he used all the contrary practices he could to hinder it. For as he had fished that Benefice in troubled Waters, he hoped by such means to fish much more. And finding that I was much inclined to draw forward the accommodation, one of his Devices was to cause the Council to Vote and direct the Earl of *Buchan* to take me Prisoner out of my own

house,

house. But I was at a Marriage in *Fordel*, where the said Earl came, with whom I went willingly, tho I had as many Friends there, as offered to chace him back again without his Errand; but I would not prejudice my just Cause. For the Earl of *Buchan* was of a gentle and discreet Nature, and assured me they had nothing to lay to my charge, but to see if I could be a good Instrument of Concord. He desired me when I was in *Lieth*, to send up to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and alledg that my Life was in hazard, in case they would not render up the Castle to the Regent. I answered, *It was a Childish thing in them, to propose such a thing to me, seeing they could not but know that my Friends in the Castle were angrier at me, than they were, because I did not take part with them.* However, the Laird of *Grange* was dissatisfied, when he heard that I was taken. For he knew how far I was Injur'd, seeing I had several times perswaded him to take part with the Regent, and how far I had reasoned against the Secretary and Sir *James Balfour* in their proceedings with the Queens Faction. For seeing she was Captive, so that neither could she help them, nor they her, it would but occasion her to be the stronglier guarded, and kept more straitly in *England*. For hearing that there was a Faction risen up in her Name, it would cause them to suppose that she was in hope of sudden liberty, by some Practices with the Subjects of *England*. Sir *William Balfour* alledged, That her Majesty had Friends in *France*, and other Parts, who would be more encouraged to do for her, if they understood that a number of the Nobility did own her Authority. I said, That her only Friends were in *England* and *France*; that those who were in *England* durst not as yet appear, seeing there would be a special Eye held over them, and her *French* friends would do her no good; the Queen Mother who had the chief Rule of that Country being her great Enemy, and the House of *Guise* neither able to help her, nor yet were they her sure friends, as I shall shew more at length anon. I was declaring that the Laird of *Grange* was angry at my taking, I being so frank for the Regent, and he so willing to join with him. That same night he sent down a Woman from the Castle to *Lieth*, with a Ticket to me, *That he was resolved to come that same night at mid-night, and relieve me out of their hands; that he had sent that Woman to know how I was kept, and where I was lodged.* The Regent's Camp lay between *Lieth* and *Edinburgh*, and many of the Noblemen and Barons lodged in *Lieth*, for every one had not Pavillions to lodge in the Camp. The Laird of *Grange* had appointed a Boat to lye at *Grantoun*, and had resolved to come sailing up to *Lieth* Harbour, as if it had been a Boat come from *Fiffe*, and thought without stroke to come to my Lodging, and take me out of my Keepers hands, and go up the water again to a part where he had Horsemen in readiness, to carry me up to the Castle with him. But I would upon no account condescend there-to, assuring him, *That I was in no danger; and that my Lord Bughart had promised, when I pleased, to let me slip away, which I would not do, but desired daily to come to a Tryal.* Many of the Lords marvelled therefore I was taken, seeing they knew, That since the Regent's entry to *Scotland*, I had ever assisted him. The Regent himself was much therewith dissatisfied; so that after inquiry, it was found, that few of the Councillors knew of my taking. The Earl of *Mar*, a true Nobleman,

said,

said, *That the Earl of Buchan for embracing such a Commission, was madder than the former Earl his Father, who was known not to be very wise.* But the Earl of *Mortoun* sent me word, *That nothing should ail me more then his own heart.* For the fashion they desired me to find Caution, that I should serve the King's Majesty, and his Regent, and so I was dismissed, and never brought before the Council. Of a truth I could see no reason to set up two Factions to destroy the Country, seeing I knew, That though the one party professed to be for the Queen, it was so far from conducing to her advantage, that I knew it had a quite contrary effect so long as she was Captive, nor yet could I see any out-gate for those who professed her Authority, and who were compelled thereto for their own defence. For whereas they would gladly have assisted the King's Lords, if they would have accepted of them; finding themselves refused, necessity drew them to defend themselves under the name of some Authority, not true love to the Queen. And therefore I thought them the less to be relyed upon. The rest of my reasons, why the Queen could expect no help out of *France* from her own friends, nor yet from the *Queen Mother*, were these, "The *Queen Mother* had not been well used, so long as our *Queen's* Husband *Francis* the Second lived. The Council and States of *France* desired not the Union of this Isle. For a proof hereof, after that my Brother Sir *Robert*, (when he returned the first time of his Ambassage out of *England*) brought the hand-writings of twenty five principal Earls and Lords in *England*, to set the Crown of *England* upon the *Queen* of *Scotland's* head. For the Captains in the particular Shires were ready named, and by those Lords set down in that Paper, who were to be in alreadiness to march forward, whenever they should be charged, only they waited the *Queens* opportunity, and advertisement when to stir. Upon this intelligence, the *Queen* incontinently did write to *France*, to her Uncle the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, desiring him to send to her one of his most secret Servants, to whom she was to Communicate matters of that weight and importance, that she could not hazard to send them in Writing or Cyphers. And accordingly the said Cardinal sent hither one of his most familiar Secretaries, to whom the *Queen* caused my Brother and me to declare the state of *England*, and the great party she had there to espouse her interest, as is above specified, desiring her said Uncle, to send his advice what time would be most fit for her to stir, and to send what help he and all his friends could procure. This Secretary being returned to his Master, informed him of the whole matter. The Cardinal again to insinuate upon the *Queen Mother*, and to appear to be a true *French man*, acquainted the *Queen Mother* how prejudicial to the Crown of *France*, the Union of this Isle of great *Britain* would be; that therefore it was her interest all she could to oppose it. He therefore advised her to advertise the *Queen* of *England* of the said intended Plot, as the only and most effectual means for preventing it, which the *Queen Mother* failed not to do. But whatever the *Queen* of *England's* thoughts of the truth thereof was, she appeared to give no credit thereto, as if she looked upon it as an *Italian* setch to put her in fuspicion of her Nobility. This accompt I had from the *Queens* Majesty her self, complaining to me one day of the Cardinal's unkind dealing



dealing towards her. Therefore I thought I had good ground to say, *There was no help to be looked for out of France.* And the Duke of *Alva* who was in *Flanders*, had plainly refused to give her any help; till the King his Master would command him; Seeing, as he alledged, *he had work enough to do to settle his Master's own Subjects in Flanders.*

These were the arguments which I used to move my friends to agree with the Regent, and my indeavours wanted not success, they having come very near a point by the dealing of the two Lords abovementioned, *Hume* and *Rutbrun*, assisted by Secretary *Lidington*; For the Lord *Hume* would then do nothing without his advice.

But after that the Earl of *Mortoun* was returned to the Court, and had by *Randolph's* means obtained the Bishoprick of *St. Andrews*, these two suspecting the probability of the apparent agreement, which had been kept secret from them; they fell a plotting some way to hinder the same, and concluded to hold a Parliament, wherein to forsaule all the Queens Lords, whereby the Regent should utterly ruine his ancient Enemies the *Hamiltons*, and there would be a bait to every one of the King's Lords, seeing they should be made sharers of the spoil and so each of them get wealth enough. *Mr. Randolph*, for their encouragement, gave them assurance of assistance from *England*, so that they needed fear no resistance from their adversaries. The Earl of *Mortoun* had made a great Faction in the Council, partly by representing the Queens Lords as intending to re-establish Popery (upon which allegiance he knew he would make them odious to the generality of the People) but especially by promising each of his party a share of the forsaulers of the Queens Lords, so that they were easily brought to consent to a Parliament, to be held at *Sterling* for the foresaid effect.

The Queens Lords to be equal with them, held another Parliament at *Edinburgh* both at one time, upon that very same design of forsauling the King's Lords. The Laird of *Grange* in the mean time took great displeasure to see *Scotsmen* so furiously bent against each other, set on by the practices of *England*, and the extream avarice of some particular men for their selfish designs, who intended to augment their Estates, and raise their own Fortunes upon the ruines of their Neighbours. Therefore he sent for the Laird of *Fernibast* his Son-in-Law, the Laird of *Buccleugh* Father to this present Lord, who loved the Laird of *Grange* better than any of his own kindred; which Laird of *Buccleugh* was a man of rare qualities, wise, true, stout, and modest. These two Gentlemen were desired to come well accompanied, and arrived at *Edinburgh* in an Evening late. The Laird of *Grange* had already devised an enterprise, to wit, *That same night after they had Supt themselves, and baird their Horses, to ride all night forward with them to Sterling, to be there early in the morning before any of the Lords who held the Parliament were out of their Beds, hoping by the intelligence he had received, assuredly to surprize them before they could be advertised.* All the Lords and Council found the advice exceeding good, but they would in no ways grant that he should ride with them, alledging, *That their only comfort, under God, consisted in his preservation.* He on the other hand alledged, *His presence would be necessary, for he was acquainted with*  
difficult

difficult enterprizes; and feared that they would not follow rightly nor carefully his directions. But they engaged to follow it most strictly, and would not suffer him to ride with them, but the Earl of Huntly, my Lord Arbroth, and divers others went forward with the Forces. These two Gentlemen had brought them, and were at *Stirling* before Four of the Clock in the Morning, and entred the Town of *Stirling* at a little passage, led by a Towns-man called *George Bell*; which entry of theirs was immediately after the Night-watches had retired to their rest. They divided their Men, and appointed such as they thought meetest to await at every Lord's Lodging, and a Company with Captain *Hackerstoun* to wait at the Market-Cross, to cause good order to be kept, and to preserve the Town-houses from being spoiled, only they appointed the Stables to be cleaned by *Buccleugh* and *Ferchast*'s men, giving them commands not to leave one Horse in Town uncarried away with them, which Commission the South-land Lads forgot not punctually to execute: But because Captain *Hackerstoun* came not in due time with his Company to stand where he was appointed, a number of unruly Servants broke up the Merchants Booths, and run here and there in disorder after the spoil, leaving their Masters all alone. After they had taken out all the Lords from their Lodgings, and were leading them Captives down the steep Cassway of *Stirling* on foot, intending to take their Horses at the nether Port, and ride to *Edinbrugh* with their Prisoners. But those within the Castle being alarmed with the noise of the Towns-men, crying out, because of the spoil taken from them, imagining what shame they would indure, if they did not shew themselves Men, and perceiving the disorder of their Enemies, they came down fearlesly upon them, and rescued all the Prisoners save the Regent, whom one came and shot behind his back, commanded as was alledged by my Lord of *Pacly*. The Laird of *Wormistoun* was the taker of the Regent, and had been ordained by the Laird of *Grange* to wait upon him, to save him from his particular Enemies. For they all had engaged to him, ere they went from *Edinbrugh*, not to kill one man, else he would not have left them; *Wormistoun* was also killed against the Regent's will, who cryed continually to save him, who had done what he could for his preservation. The Regent dyed not suddenly, but some days after, and made a very godly end. They who had lost this fair enterprize for want of *Grange's* conduct, had enough to do to save themselves, and had been all taken had not those in *Stirling* wanted horses to pursue after them. For those who had taken the horses, did ride forward with all possible speed, leaving their Masters in danger to do for themselves.

When they were returned back to *Edinbrugh*, they were very unwelcome guests to the Laird of *Grange*, who greatly lamented the Regent's slaughter. He said openly, *If he knew who had done that foul deed, or had directed it to be done, his own hand should have revenged it.* And whereas before he used to be meek and gentle, he could not now command himself, but bursted out in harsh language, calling them disorderly Beasts. For he knew the Regent was inclined to Peace, and was only ignorantly driven on by the Earl of *Mortoun*, and Mr. *Randolph's* practises to hold the said Parliament, to the hinderance of concord and agreement; therefore his intention was to bring all the  
King's

Kings Lords to the Castle of *Edenburgh*, and to have made an agreement betwixt them and the other faction before they had parted. But God in his providence would not permit this, for further punishment of our wickedness. For the Parliaments held forward, and each one of them forefaulted others, the Kings Lords came and lay at *Lieth*, and the *Queens* within the Town and Castle of *Edenburgh*.

Mr. *Randolph* would have had *Mortoun* made *Regent* instead of *Lennox*, but the *Lords* liked better of the Earl of *Marr* and chose him.

For a little time there was hot skirmishing betwixt *Lieth* and *Edinburgh*, and extream hatred betwixt the two factions, and great cruelties exercised, where they could be Masters of one another. And frequently the Marshal of *Berwick* came to *Lieth* to assist Mr. *Randolph* privately, tho' publickly to find fault with him for his proceedings, which my Lord of *Marrs* friends perceived, and himself at last, whereupon he began to grow colder in the quarrel, and withdrew himself to *Stirling*, advising with his friends what was meetest to be done. Alledging that he could see nothing but the wrack of the Country, under pretext of owning the *King* and *Queens* Authority, while neither *Kings* nor *Queens* was in any of their minds, but only put on by their own partialities of ambition, greediness, and vengeance, *England* kindling up both the Parties, and then laughing them all to scorn.

After this Conference, Captain *James Cunningham*, servant to my Lord of *Marr*, a discreet Gentleman, desired a secret meeting with my Brother Sir *Robert*. In the mean time the most part of the Kings Lords went to *Stirling*, where the *Regent* was living. My Lord of *Mortoun* went to *Dalkieth*, my Lord *Lindsay* lay in *Lieth*. When the Wars grew colder, and notice thereof taken by the Court of *England*, a new Ambassador was hasted to *Scotland*, to wit, Mr. *Henry Killegrew* an old acquaintance of mine. For Mr. *Randolph* was returned home, because he had not such Credit with the Earl of *Marr* as to do service to these he served, and had lost the favour of both the Factions. For his double dealing was discovered, he having no Credit but with the Earl of *Mortoun*.

This new Ambassador being Arrived at *Lieth* upon his way toward *Stirling*, where the *Regent* remained for the time, he sent up to the Castle of *Edenburgh* to see if I was there. For they had told him in *Lieth*, that I was newly come from *Fiffe*. He desired that I would come and speak with him, which I did, and convoyed him unto *Cramond* reasoning together all the way upon such matters, as he said he had in Commission, chiefly how he might be a good instrument to agree the differences that were between the two Parties, albeit I knew there was nothing less in his mind, at least in his Commission. He said, He had the *Queen* his Mistress commands to deal with both Parties for Concord, but that he was most concerned in these of the Castle, albeit that outwardly he behoved first to go to the *Regent*, being in civility engaged to give him the prerogative, yet in effect he said my friends in the Castle were these, to them he was chiefly directed, that they should be preferred both by his first salutation by me to them, and by two familiar Letters, the one from my Lord of *Leicester*

to the Laird of *Grange*, and the other from Secretary *Cecil* to Secretary *Lidingtoun*, desiring me to intreat them to follow the good counsel given therein by the said Lords, who loved them intirely for their vertue, and old acquaintance. He willed me to tell them, that after he had declared his Commission to the *Regent*, he would come back again to them and at length declare his Commission to them from Her Majesty.

It appeared to me that he had intelligence how that Mr. *Randolph's* double dealing had been discovered, therefore he seemed to find fault with him in many things, though in general he excused him as far as he could, until I adjured him upon the long and great familiarity that had been betwixt us, to deal plainlier with me. I told him he might serve his *Mistress* truly enough, without casting me and my friends upon a wrong side, which might be afterwards our ruin who deserved better at his hands, then to put us in such dangers as if we were untoward, dishonest, or uncounsellable, as Mr. *Randolph* had done, forgetting the fraternity of Religion so well grounded among us during his banishment in *France* for Religion. There he was compelled to confess to me, that his Commission and his mind went not one way, and that he was imployed against his will, tho as a Servant he durst not disobey his Princess, he said he would give me his loving counsel; and warning very freely.

He said that the Council of *England* neither built their course here upon the late *Regent*, nor yet upon this, but intirely upon the Earl of *Mortoun* as well of their own Plot laid down long since, as by the Information of Mr. *Randolph*, who hath confirmed them in that Opinion, so that they will not alter for no contrary persuasion. Willing my friends and me to joyn our course and band with the Earl of *Mortoun*, or else to expect no friendship from the Court of *England*, but hurt and ruin so far as they might. For albeit he was not *Regent*, they knew that he had a great Faction in the Country, which they were resolved what they could to encrease, so that whoever was *Regent*, he should get little or nothing done without his consent. In this I thought he dealt plainly, my friends of the Castle were of that same Judgment, yet they could not find in their heart to joyn with him, albeit he sought their friendship, offering to hold up the *Queens* Authority, for they thought his course unsure for the King, and settling of the Estate, he being too much addicted to *England*.

After that this Ambassador had been with the *Regent* in *Stirling*, and was come back again to *Edinbrugh*, he told the rest of his Commission to them of the Castle, to whom he used himself but like an Ambassador as he was directed. He said that he found them more reasonable, then the *Regents* Party. Then he went to *Dalkieth* to meet with the Earl of *Mortoun*, and thereafter returned to *Edinbrugh*, to wait all fit occasions and informations how to proceed conform to the tenor of his instructions. He had Commandment to stay in *Scotland* for a time, to see if he could obtain as much Credit, as to serve their turn who sent him. And because I was of his greatest acquaintance, he came with me to my House in *Halbail*, and stayed a few dayes there to refresh his Spirits, and after that I convoyed him back again to *Edinbrugh*, he shewed me some Articles of his Instructions one of the which was.

Item,

“ *Item*, If the *Captain* of the *Castle* will condescend, that all the differences now in question among the *Scots*, be referred to be decided before us and our Council, as the rest of the *Kings* *Lords* have granted already, we shall be his good friend, maintain him in his Office, and give him an honourable Pension. But he plainly refused to comply with this, saying, he would prejudge his *Prince* and Country, so that this, and his other former refusals cost him his life afterwards.

About this time my Lord *Regent* sent a Letter to me, with all diligence to come to him. At my coming, he made a heavy meat for the civil troubles that were kindled in the Country, by the Craft and Malice of some in *England*, and some in *Scotland*, taking the colour of this or that authority, and yet were only moved with their own particularities to the hurt both of *King*, *Queen* and Country, desiring me that I would go unto the *Castle* of *Edinburgh*, and shew them as of my own head and not as from him, that I understood he perceived albeit too late, how that we were all led upon the Ice, and that it was the Interest of all true *Scotsmen* to agree, that the *State* may be settled. And says he, you may desire them to seek to treat with me thereabout which you may assure them they will obtain, if they will seek the same. And offer your self to be the instrument to bring on a good agreement between them and me, which shall by Gods Grace take good effect upon your return with their reasonable offers and answer. Whereupon I went to *Edinburgh*, and found them all inclined to peace and quietness, with little need of persuasions thereto, for they were near a point before with my Lord of *Lennox*, and some former Conference had been betwixt my *Brather* and *Captain Cunningham* thereabouts.

At my return to the *Regent*, he was very glad, saying, he knew that these honest Gentlemen were ever willing to cease from civil discord, seeing the *Queen* was Captive, to whom their owning her authority could do no good but evil; but that they had been by crafty practises cast against their wills upon a contrary course. Then he inquired upon what conditions the *Captain* and his friends would agree; I said that the *Laird* of *Grange* would not sell his Duty to His *Prince* and Country for advantage, but would serve the *King* and his Country to settle the *Estate*; so long as the *Queen* was detained in *England*, and if God pleased to grant her liberty, they doubted not but she and her Son should agree betwixt themselves, to which all honest and good Subjects would consent. They for their parts desired no Mans Lands nor Goods, but only Liberty peaceably to enjoy their own Livings. Only *Grange* desired that the *Regent* would cause to pay certain Debts contracted for repairing of the *Castle* and *Artillery*, which conditions the *Regent* promised to fulfil, and to be an assured friend to *Grange*, and those in the *Castle*. And without any other Ceremonies he called the *Laird* of *Tillibardin*, and after he declared unto him how far we had proceeded, he put his hand in mine and did swear the Peace in presence of the said *Tillibardin*, who had also been a good Instrument in the said agreement, together with Mr. *Clement Little* afterwards *Provost* of *Edinburgh*. No man was privy thereto, but my *Lady Mar*, and *Captain James Cunningham*.

After.

After this, the *Regent* went to *Edinbrugh*, to Convene the Lords of Council, to shew them the Calamities that the Civil-Wars produced, and to let them see how necessary an agreement would be to the whole Country. In the mean time, until the appointed Council-day, he went to *Dalkieth*, where he was nobly treated by the Lord of *Mortoun*, shortly after which he took a vehement sickness, which caused him to ride suddenly to *Stirling*, where he dyed regrated by many. Some of his friends, and the vulgar, suspected he had gotten wrong at his Banquet.

The Earl of *Mortoun*, after the decease of the Earl of *Marr* was made *Regent*, *England* helping it with all their might; so soon as he was chosen he sent for me, declaring how that against his mind and inclinations, the Lords had burthened him with that troublesome Office, whereof seeing he behoved to accept, he could wish that he might stand the Country and Common-wealth in some stead. First he would desire the help of all good and honest men, to draw on Peace and Concord to the quieting the State, praying me as one for whom he had ever entertained special favour, to travail with my friends of the Castle for that effect, and to persuade them to go forward with him, as they were minded to do with the Earl of *Marr*, assuring me that none of the former *Regents* had at any time been more willing, then he was presently to put an end to the civil troubles, nor that I should remember less the partialities past, and that the *Regent* should not revenge the Earl of *Mortoun's* quarrels. But whoever would serve the King and be his friend, he would embrace them upon what faction soever they had formerly been. And he was willing to give whatever conditions the Earl of *Marr* had offered, that I should have the *Priory of Pittenweem* for my pains, the Laird of *Grange* the Bishoprick of *St. Andrews*, and Castle of *Blackness*, and every one within the Castle should be restored to their Lands, and Possessions as before.

It was very hard to bring on this agreement with the Earl of *Mortoun*, for the evil opinion which was conceived of him, and the hurtful marks they supposed by proofs and appearances that he would shoot at, being by nature covetous and too great with *England*, and ever Jealous that the King would be his ruine, concerning which a Lady who was his Whore, had shewn him the answers of the Oracles. Yet the Laird of *Grange*, who was ever willing to see Concord in the Country, was easily persuaded, the Lord *Hume*, and *Lidingtoun* made some resistance at the first, but were also at length content. So that after I had past twice or thrice between them, they appeared to be agreed in their hearts, and the Laird of *Grange* said, he would cause all the rest of the *Queens* faction to agree with the *Regent*, but he refused to take the Bishoprick of *St. Andrews* and Castle of *Blackness*, desiring nothing but his own Lands.

When I returned to the *Regent* with this answer conform to his desire, he was marvellously glad; but when I declared that the Laird of *Grange* would be a good instrument to cause all the rest of the *Queens* faction agree also with him; he answered, that was not meet. And when I reasoned against him, and shewed him how that I had spoken in his name, that he was resolved to have agreed all *Scotland*, and that *Grange* had no quarrel of his own, but to help a number of Noble

ble men who required his Protection during the Kings Minority, and had requested the *Regent* once to agree with them altogether, for *Granges* honour, and afterwards he and all these of the Castle should band with him and lay aside all other bands. The *Regent* answered, and said, *James* I will be plain with you, it is not my Interest to agree with them all, for then their faction will be as strong as ever it was, thereby they may some day circumvent me if they please, therefore it is my game to divide them. And moreover there have been great troubles in this Country this while by-gone, and during them great wrongs and extortions committed, for the which some fashion of punishment must be made, and I would rather that the Crimes should be laid upon the *Hamiltons*, the Earl of *Huntly*, and their Adherents, then upon your Friends: and by their wrack I will get more profit, then by that of those in the Castle, that have neither so great Lands to escheat to us, as the reward of our labours. Therefore shew *Grange* and your friends, that either they must agree without the *Hamiltons*, and the *Earls of Huntly and Argyll*, or the said Lords will agree without him, and these of the Castle. To this I answered, That I understood him, his Speeches being very plain, with this I went again to the Castle, and rehearsed our whole reasoning, *Grange* said it was neither godly or just dealing, to lay the blame upon those who were richest for their Lands and Goods, and not upon them who were guiltiest, seeing these Noblemen had been ever willing to agree, after that the *Queen* was kept in *England*, but could not be admitted. And yet if now they would abandon him, and agree without him, and those in his company, he had deserved better at their hands, yet he had rather that they should leave and deceive him, then that he should do it unto them.

When I had given this return to *Mortoun*, and that he perceived that *Grange* stood stiff upon his honesty and reputation, he appeared to like him the better, and seemed as if he had been resolved to go forward with these of the Castle. He sent up *Carmichael* at my desire, to hear out of their own mouths so far as I had spoken in their name; they of the Castle likewise sent *Pittadrow* to the *Regent* to hear out of his own mouth, so far about the agreement as I had said to them in his name. This I did for my discharge, whatsoever might come afterwards.

The *Regent* asked at what time the Castle of *Edinburgh* should be delivered to him, I said, within half a year. What security, said he, shall I have for it? I said, I should be a Pledge if he would accept me. Then he enquired wherefore I sought so long delay? I answered in the first place, till all Articles and Promises might be performed, and likewise because though the Laird of *Grange* was ever esteemed an honest man, yet by wrong Reports and Practices the Ministers have been stirred up to cry out and preach against him, therefore to inable him to serve for the future, it would be some satisfaction to his mind, to let the world see that as well after the agreement as before, he should be esteemed alike honest and worthy to keep the house, and then at the time appointed the *Regent* should be intreated to receive the Castle out of his hands. He appeared to be very well content with this manner of dealing, and gave me great thanks for his travel



travel I had made, desiring me to go home, and he in the mean time would convene the rest of the Noble-men of his side, and acquaint them with his Proceedings, and take their advice and consent to this good work, which he doubted not to procure, and thereafter he said, he would send for me again and put the form of the agreement in Writing.

But he took immediately another course, and sent a fit man to the *Hamiltons*, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argyle*, and their dependers, and offered an accommodation to them, if they would be satisfied to make an agreement by themselves not including *Grange* and those in the Castle, which condition they accepted of, without making therein any *Contentions*, whereof they by their Letters instantly from *Pearth* advertised the Laird of *Grange*, lamenting that the straits they were reduced to, had compelled them to accept that agreement which the *Regent* had offered them, praying him not to take it in evil part, seeing they had no house nor strength to retire themselves to. They gave him many thanks for the help and assistance he had made them, which they said, they would never forget so long as God would lend them their lives.

This was the recompence this good Gentleman obtained for the great help he had given the Lords, the hazard he had run upon their account, and the Charges he had been at in aiding them, not imagining that the *Regent* would be so malicious as to cast him off, and not accept of his friendship which he incontinently offered, after the rest were agreed: but from that time forth the *Regent* would hear none of his offers, persuading the rest of his Faction that these of the Castle were so proud and wilful, that they refused to serve the *King*, or acknowledge him as *Regent*. And this was Published and Preached, and yet the contrary was true; For they would have taken any reasonable appointment. What rage was in the *Regent's* mind for greediness of their Lands, and Goods, or what should have induced him to bring an Army from *England* to besiege the Castle of *Edinburgh*, I know not, it being to the dishonour of his Prince and Country, seeing a little before the Castle was offered to the Earl of *Rothess*, to be instantly delivered into his hands, to be kept to the *Regent's* behoof, which was refused. So that apparently he had some other fetch in his head, than a man esteemed so wise should have had, seeing he might have obtained his intent without the help of *England*, having all *Scotland* at his Devotion, saving that few number without the Castle, who would likewise have agreed upon any reasonable condition.

Thus the Castle of *Edinburgh* was straitly besieged with an *English* Army under the Conduct of the *Marshal of Berwick*, assisted by all *Scotland*. These within seeing they could not be received upon any composition, debated so long as they had victuals and water. For their Draw well dried by the drouthy Summer, and they had no other water but what they fetched, letting men with Cords down o're the Walls, and Ratch of the Castle to a Well on the west side, which was afterward poisoned, whereby so many as escaped the Shot dyed, and the rest fell steadily sick. Yet the Laird of *Grange* undertook with Eight persons to keep the Castle untaken by force, of the which number, were the Lord *Fume*, my two Brothers, Sir *Robert*, and Sir *Andro*, the Laird of *Pittadree*, and his Brother *Patrick*. This resolution being taken the Laird of *Cheff*, and *Matthew Colvil* his Brother

ther were sent to the Castle, under the pretext of making offers of agreement, but their design was to get intelligence of the State of the House, and to seduce the Soldiers who were yet alive, which they did, so that some fled out over the Walls, and others were shut forth. For the Captain thought the house in a better condition both for Victuals and otherwise, when they were forth.

The Marshal of *Berwick* seeing no appearance to succeed, entred into contention with the Ambassador, alledging that the Queen his Mistress would be dishonoured, and said, he would wait no longer, whereupon they without entred on a new communing, and sent up again the Laird of *Cleesh* to offer them good conditions to come forth with their Armour and Bag and Baggage, which was agreed to, and that they should be restored to their Lands, and because for the time they were in other mens possession, it was referred to themselves whether they would go to *England* with the Marshal of *Berwick*, or remain in *Scotland* among their friends, until the promise made them of restoring them to their Lands might be fulfilled. The *English men* desired that the Castle should be put in their hands, but *Grange* sent secretly to Captain *Hume*, and Captain *Crauford*, desiring them to come and ly within the Bulwark betwixt the House and the *English men*, and to those he delivered the Castle, and his person to the Marshal to go with him to *England*, until all promises might be kept to him, and the rest by the Queen of *Englands* means. In this manner they came forth, after that *George Douglas* natural Brother to the *Regent*, had received the House, they had all their Swords and Weapons about them, and were three days at liberty. My Brother Sir *Robert* lay with me at his own Lodging, the Laird of *Grange* and the Secretary *Lidingtown* remained yet with the Marshal of *Berwick* at his Lodging for their greater security, because that the people of the Town of *Edinbrugh* were greatly their Enemies. For except a few that tarried within the Town during the Civil Troubles between the Parties that lay in *Edinbrugh* and *Lieth*, the most part of the richest Men and Merchants left the Town and went to *Lieth*, to take part with the *Regent*, therefore their houses were spoiled, upon which account they did bear great hatred to those in the Castle.

But at the end of three days, they were all laid hands upon, and taken as Prisoners. For some of their most malicious enemies put it easily in the *Regents* head, and the Ambassadors, that it was well done to move the Queen of *England* to cause to deliver the whole Prisoners to the *Regent* to be disposed upon at his pleasure, alledging they had no surety but a naked promise which they needed not to keep, and because these of the Castle confided wholly on the *Marshals* promise, the Ambassador was advised to prevent the *Marshals* Writing, so that e're he did write to the *Queen* thereabout, her Letter came to him to deliver up the Prisoners who had been in the Castle, to the *Regent*. And he durst not disobey her Command, the same being so peremptory, tho he obeyed it with much regret, and great reluctance, by reason of his promise, and returned malecontent to *Berwick*. And they in the Castle were Committed to strait ward, and thereafter new Letters were purchased by the *Regent* from the *Queen*, that he might execute them, which she willingly permitted, for she

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would gladly have been quit of my Lord *Hume*, and *Grange*, as being two true *Scotsmen*, unwonable to *England* to do any thing prejudicial to their *King* or *Country*, and of the Secretary *Lidington*, but he dyed at *Licth*, after the old *Roman* fashion as was said, to prevent his coming to the *Shambles* with the rest.

As for the Lord *Hume*, the *Regent* durst not meddle with him, he standing in awe of *Alexander Hume* of *Manderstoun*, *Coildinknows*, and the *Good man* of *North Berwick*, and the rest of that name, who boasted with very proud Language. He dyed shortly after, being warded in the Castle of *Edinbrugh*. Mr. *Killegrew* the *English* Ambassador desired no other reward for his labour, but the preservation of my Brother *Sir Robert's* life, for he was obliged formerly to him and me. The Composition, was kept to all the rest of the mean Gentlemen. The *Priour* of *Coldingham*, and Laird of *Drylaw* were afterwards set at liberty. Sundry of the Captains of *Berwick* went up to the Castle by the breach beat down in the fore Wall by the Canons, that they might say that they had won the Maiden Castle. But this was after that the house was delivered over to the *Regent's* Brother, yet he would not suffer them to enter there with any number.

On this manner both *England* and the *Regent* were revenged upon that worthy Champion, whom they had sometimes in great estimation, who had done such notable service in *France*, being Captain of an hundred light Horsemen, that he was extolled by the Duke of *Vendome*, Prince of *Conde*, and Duke of *Aumale* Governors and Colonels then in *Picardy*, that I heard *Henry* the 2<sup>d</sup>. point unto him and say, yonder is one of the most Valiant Men of our Age. Also the King used him so familiarly, that he chose him commonly upon his side in all pastimes he went to, and because he shot far with a great Shaft at the Butts, the King would have him to shoot two Arrows, one for his pleasure. The great *Constable* of *France* would never speak to him uncovered, and that King gave him an honourable Pension, whereof he never sought payment. *England* had proof of his Valour frequently against them upon the Borders, where he gave them divers ruffles. In a single Combate, he vanquished the Earl of *Rivers's* Brother between the two Armies of *Scotland* and *England*. He afterward Debated manfully the liberty of his Country against the *French* men, when they intended to erect the Land into a Province. He had lately refused the demands of Mr. *Randolph*, and Mr. *Killegrew*, as is before mentioned, and had reproached both the said Ambassadors of false and deceitful dealing. Last of all he had refused to put the Castle into the hands of *English* men, and therefore because he was true to his Prince and Country, it cost him his life. For they boasted plainly to bring down that Gyants pride, who as they alledged, presumed to be another *Wallace*. Albeit contrariwise he was humble, gentle, and meek, like a Lamb in the House, but like a Lyon in the Fields. He was a lusty strong and well proportioned personage, hardy and of a magnanimous Courage, secret and prudent in all his enterprises, so that never one that he made or devised misgave where he was present himself. When he was Victorious he was very merciful, and naturally liberal, an enemy to greediness and ambition, and a friend to all men in adversity. He fell frequently in trouble in protecting innocent

poent men from such as would oppress them, so that these his worthy qualifications, were also partly causes and means of his wrack: For they promoted him so in the opinion of many, that some loved him for his Religion, Uprightness, and Manliness; others again depended upon him, for his good fortune and apparent promotion, whereby divers of them hoped to be advanced and rewarded, supposing that Offices and Honours could not fail to fall to him. All which he wanted through his own default, for he had fled from Avarice, and abhorred Ambition, and refused sundry great Offices, even to be Regent, which were in his offer, as well as other great Benefices and Pensions. Thus wanting place and substance to reward, he was soon abandoned by his greedy and ambitious dependers: for when they saw him at a strait, they drew to others, whom they perceived to aim at more profitable marks. On the other hand he was as much envied by those who were of a vile and unworthy nature, of whom many have made Tragical ends for their too great Avarice and Ambition, as shortly after did the Earl of *Mortoun*. This gallant Gentleman perished for being too little ambitious and greedy. But so soon as the King's Majesty came to perfect age, and had understood how matters had gone during his minority, he caused to restore the Heirs of the said Laird of *Grange*, whom he said was wracked contrary to the appointment made with the Marshal of *Berwick*, and also ordered his bones to be taken up and buried honourably in the ancient Burial place of his Predecessors in *Kinghorn*.

After his death the Marshal of *Berwick* took so heavy displeasure, finding himself so far affronted, because of the breach of his promise, and that the appointment which he had made with the Castle of *Edinburgh* was not kept; that he would tarry no longer in his Office at *Berwick*, seeing he judged he had lost his credit and reputation, for he was a plain Man of War, and loved *Grange* so dearly, that at his request, he spared to cast down the Houses of *Seatoun* and *Nidrie*, when he came in to cast down the House of *Hamilton*. Likewise all the Officers of *Berwick* lamented the loss of so worthy a Captain.

The Regent triumphed for a while, because of the great assistance that *England* made to him, which they had never done to any of the former Regents, but rather stirred up factions and parties against them to keep the Country in discord. The causes that moved them so to assist him, were, That they believed the old jealousies betwixt the *Stuarts* and *Douglasses* should by him be brought to an end, the young King being in his hands, to be disposed of at pleasure; the Queen his Mother being already Captive in their hands, which two only could join *Scotland* and *England* in one Monarchy. Therefore above all others the guiders of the Court of *England* for the time, wished them out of the way, as well for the great Offices done by them both to King and Queen, as for the desire they had to destroy that Race and Line, to place some of their own friends to succeed to the Crown of *England*. So thinking that the Regent's mark in *Scotland*, and theirs in *England* was conformable; they established and fortified him in his Regiment, though God in his goodness suffered not their practices to take effect. For the Regent wanting Heirs of his own body, and ha-

ving no Competitors to stay him from doing any thing that he pleased, when he thought the time meet, he delayed matters, and in the mean time bent his whole study how to gather riches, and how to suck out substance both from *England* and *Scotland*, moving *England* thereby too late to repent, that they had not preserved the Laird of *Grange* to be an awe over the Regent, as he kept the King to be an aw over them. And as he was crafty, so he was fearful and slow of nature, and thought the Earl of *Angus* his Brother's Son yet too young, and not capable to comprehend his hidden intention, and therefore he was long of resolving. In the mean time serving his own turn with *England*, as they did with all the World, when they were like to have any trouble among themselves, or with their Neighbours; then he compelled them to send him mony, which they were necessitated to do, though sore against their heart, with a hidden despight and secret hatred at his slowness on the one part, and covetousness on the other.

This *Regent* held the Country in an established Estate, under great obedience, better then for many years before or since. For there was not another Earl of *Mortoun* to stir up the factious Subjects, as he used to do against the rest of the *Regents*, which made him so proud and disdainful, that he despised the rest of the Nobility. And using no Mans counsel but his own, he became ungrateful to all his old Friends and Servants. And being under pretext of Justice, used to commit divers wrongs and extortions, he caused to begin a Process against the Laird of *Pentry*, because many years before a Thief had made his escape out of his hands, and against the Laird of *Seafeld* for a piece of Land; and against *Mr. James Thorntoun* for his Benefice. Thus as he had lost the favour of *England*, so did he by such ways the hearts of all *Scotland*, but only of *George Ausbeck*, and *Alexander Gerdan*. As for the Laird of *Carmichael*, he lamented to me grievously of his ingratitude toward him, and was minded to leave him, until I gave him counsel to help himself by the hurtful experience of the Laird of *Grange*, and *Walter Melvil* my Brother, who was one of the Gentlemen of the Earl of *Murray's* Chamber, which two lost his favour so soon as he became Regent. And likewise I told him, that very way I lost him my self, for we had been long familiar with him, and had assisted him in all his troubles, but when he was Regent, we would with our wonted freedom reprove, admonish, and tell him his faults, whereby we lost his favour. And others who formerly had ever been against him, came in and flattered him in all his proceedings, and stouped very low to him, calling him *Your Grace* at each word. These men, I said, won him, and we lost him. And apparently, said I, to *Carmichael*, you follow the like foolish behaviour as we did, therefore you must take up another kind of doing. And seeing your friend is become *Regent*, imagine that you was never acquainted with him before, but that you are entring to serve a new Master: Cast never up your old and long service, cringe low, *Grace* him at every word, find no fault with his proceedings, but serve all his affections with great diligence, and continual waiting, and you shall be sure of a reward. Otherwise all your former time spent in his service will be lost, and he will hate you, and take a despight at you, which may bring on afterwards a  
greater



greater wrack. *Carmichael* gave me great thanks and his hand, that he would follow this counsel, which he afterward did very punctually, and so became a greater Courtier then ever, and was employed and rewarded, and had credit to do pleasure to his friends, but I found him not thankful afterwards to me for my counsel.

Now the young King was brought up in *Sterling*, by *Alexander Areskine*, and my Lady *Mar*. He had four principal Masters, *Mr. George Buchanan*, *Mr. Peter Young*, the Abbots of *Cambuskenneth* and *Dryburgh*, descended from the House of *Areskine*. The Laird of *Drumblasel* was Master of his Household. *Alexander Areskine* was a gallant well natur'd Gentleman, loved and honoured by all Men, for his good qualities; and great discretion, no ways factious nor envious, a lover of all honest Men, and desired ever to see Men of good Conversation about the Prince, rather then his own nearer friends, if he found them not so meet.

The Laird of *Drumblasel* again was ambitious and greedy, his greatest care was to advance himself and his friends. The two Abbots were wise and modest. My Lady *Mar* was wise and sharp, and held the King in great awe; and so did *Mr. George Buchanan*. *Mr. Peter Young* was more gentle, and was loath to offend the King at any time, carrying himself warily, as a Man who had mind of his own weal by keeping of his Majesty's favour: But *Mr. George* was a *Stoick Philosopher*, who looked not far before him. A man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge in *Latin Poetrie*, much honoured in other Countries, pleasant in Conversation, rehearsing at all occasions Moralities short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing where he wanted. He was also Religious, but was easily abused, and so facile, that he was led by every Company that he haunted, which made him factious in his old days, for he spoke and wrote as those who were about him informed him: For he was become careless, following in many things the vulgar opinion: For he was naturally popular, and extremely revengeful against any Man who had offended him, which was his greatest fault. For he did write despicable invectives against the Earl of *Monteth*, for some particulars that were between him and the Laird of *Buchanan*. He became the Earl of *Monteth's* great Enemy, for that a Nagg of his chanced to be taken from his Servant during the Civil Troubles, and was bought by the Regent, who had no will to part with the said Horse, he was so sore footed and so easie, that albeit *Mr. George* had oft times required him again, he could not get him. And therefore though he had been the Regent's great Friend before, he became his mortal Enemy, and from that time forth spoke evil of him in all places, and at all occasions. *Drumblasel* also because the Regent kept all the Casualties to himself, and would let nothing fall to others who were about the King, became also his great enemy, and so did they all who were about his Majesty.

The Regent again Ruling all at his pleasure, made no account of any about the King, until a discreet Gentleman called *Mr. Nicholas Elphinstone* advertised him, That the King had no kindness for him, advising him, albeit too late, to bestow part of his Gold unto so many of the King's Servants, as were thought to be most worthy, seeing he was envied of many, and hated of every Man, especially by

by those who were in *Stirling* about the King. He gave to one that was in mean rank Twenty five pieces of Gold, at Twenty Pound the Piece; what he gave to others I cannot tell, but such as had spoken ill of him before, durst not alter their language, because of the King's Wit and good Memory, who could check any that he perceived had not spoken evil, and then began to speak good again. As his Majesty had done to one of the company, alledging, That he had changed his Coat, as I was afterward informed; so that the *Regent* was too long in dealing part of his Gold to those about his Majesty, who increasing in years and knowledge, sundry Gentlemen began to look after Service and turned On-waiters. Among others *James Stuart* Son to the Lord of *Sibirie* a young Man of a buisie Brain, had an aspiring Spirit, and through time won great favour and credit with his Majesty. And though he was not well liked by those of the *Castle of Stirling*; yet he was the more overseen, because he gave continually evil information to his Majesty of the *Earl of Mortoun*, and so did also my Lord *Robert Earl of Orkney*, who had been warded, and hardly handled by the *Regent* for some double dealing with *Denmark*, as was alledg-

The *Regent* being in this manner brought in disgrace with his Majesty, when he was upon the height of the wheel, the *Earls of Argyll* and *Arbol* were secretly practised, and drawn to *Stirling* by *Drumblough* with the consent of *Alexander Breckine*, Master of *Mar*, and *Mr. George Buchanan*; by whose advice and counsel, his Majesty was easily moved to depose the *Regent* from his Office: who yielded himself thereto, then any Man would have believed, against the opinion of his friends, retiring himself to the House of *Lochleven* within the *Loch*, for the safety of his person, until he might understand what was like to follow thereupon, and what might be the next best for him to do.

The King's Majesty having attained unto the Age of years, ordained a Council to sit at *Edinburgh* for ordering the Affairs of the Realm. The *Earl of Arbol* was made *Chancellor*, because the *Lord Stairs* was a little before slain in *Stirling* by the *Earl of Crawford* as was supposed, though he denied the deed, and purged himself thereof, as far as he could. The *Earl of Argyll*, and the *Master of Mar* stayed in *Stirling* with the King's Majesty.

During the time that this new Council sat in *Edinburgh*, the *Earl of Mortoun* who was quiet in *Lochleven*, making the walk of his Garden even; his mind was in the mean time occupied in crooked paths; plotting how to be brought again to be Master of the Court, which was accomplished upon a night at midnight. When he came to the Gates of the *Castle of Stirling* they were opened unto him by the two *Earls*, and a Paction that they had drawn in there with them. Albeit the *Master of Mar*, and *Earl of Argyll* made what resistance they could, where the *Master's* eldest Son dyed in the throng, yet the enterprisers prevailed, and brought in again the *Earl of Mortoun*, and put out the *Earl of Argyll*, the *Master of Mar*, *Drumblough*, and such others as they disliked, and so made a new change at Court. Where the *Earl of Mortoun* handled the matter so discreetly, and moderately as he could, that the alteration should not appear to be over sharp or violent.



violent. The new chosen Council scattered incontinently, some of them retiring home, and some joined with the Earl of *Mortoun*, hoping never to see a turn again.

About this time came out of *France* my Lord of *Aubonie*, who was afterward made Duke of *Lennox*, who was Brother's Son to the Earl of *Lennox*, and obtained afterward great credit and favour.

*James Stuart* of *Oghilrie*, of whom I formerly made mention, assisted him through process of time, to persuade the King's Majesty to desire to ride out of *Sterling*, and make a progress among the rest of his Subjects, which the Earl of *Mortoun* could not resist, supposing that it lay in his power to frame the Court at his pleasure. For by his great wealth he was resolved to gain so many as he judged necessary, and so by the multitude of his friends to bear out the business; however the Court was ruled after he had obtained a discharge, and alliance of his intromission. For though during the time that he was *Regent*, he was always strongest about the King, but my Lord *Aubony* and *James Stewart* were most in favour, who by their continual rounding in the King's Ear against the Earl of *Mortoun*, ingendered at last a greater dislike in the King of him, than he had before. And as *James Stuart* was the stirrer up of the other, so afterward, when he found the time convenient, he took occasion to accuse the said Earl before the Council of the late Kings murder. Whereupon the Earl of *Mortoun* was made Prisoner, and sent first to the Castle of *Edinbrugh*, and afterward to the Castle of *Dumbarounn*, which was thought strange in respect of his many friends that were in Court for the time, who were then found to be but friends to his fortune. For he was loved by none, and envied and hated by many, so that they all looked through their fingers to see his fall.

*England* was also angry at him for the time, because of his slowness to answer their turns, which they had hoped for at his hands, having put the King and Country in his power. Yet they made some offer to assist him, which occasioned to hasten his ruin. For they sent down Seventeen Companies to the Borders, boasting to send a greater number, and to declare open War, in case the Earl of *Mortoun* was not set at liberty, and the Lord *Aubony* put out of *Scotland*. Mr. *Randolph* was sent in with this Ambassage. His Majesty again having these two young Councillors about him, who knew of no perils, raised a Taxation to pay Soldiers, and caused to make a Proclamation for every Man to be in readiness upon a call, which moved the *English* to retire, and leave off endeavouring any more his assistance, encouraging thereby such as were deadly Enemies to the Earl of *Mortoun* to ride to *Dumbarounn* with a thousand raised and hired Men, together with their own friends, to bring the Earl of *Mortoun* back again to *Edinbrugh* to undergo an *Assize*. Some of the Earl's friends convened to take him out of their hands, but found not themselves strong enough. They might have done it, had it not been the Forces which had been newly levied, occasioned by the threatnings which *England* had made. Being brought to *Edinbrugh*, he found few friends to appear or act for him. His Gold and Silver was transported long before, by his Natural Son *James Douglas*, and one of his Servants called *John Mac-Morran*. It was first carried in Barrels, and afterward hid in some secret

eret parts, part whereof was given to be kept by some who were lookt upon as his friends, who made ill accompt of it again, so that the most part thereof lighted in bad hands, and himself was so destitute of morny, that when he went through the Street to the *Tolbooth* to undergo his *Affize*, he was compelled to borrow Twenty shillings to distribute to the poor, who asked Alms of him for God's take. The *Affize* condemned him to death, as being Airt and Pairt in the *King's murther*, and as being of Councel with the Earl of *Bohmel*, who brought him out of banishment, when he was absent for the slaughter of *David Rixio*. He granted that he was made privy thereto, but had no hand in devising thereof: And as concerning the young King, he owned that he purposed to send him to *England* for his weal, that he might the rather obtain his Right to the Crown of *England*, being within the Country, and brought up among them. He dyed resolutely, and had ended more perfectly, if he had declared and confessed his Worldly practises and fetches to nourish the Civil Troubles, partly at the devotion of *England*, and partly for his own particular profit, during the Government of the first three *Regents*, which occasioned great blood-shedding that commonly cries to Heaven for vengeance.

During the King's young years, the partialities were so great, and the whole Country so disturbed by the two several parties, who alledged to fight and strive for the King and the Queen, being then Captive in *England*, and the King yet very young; that many perceived them to be but factious, ambitious, avaritious, greedy, worldly, wretched persons. Both parties were craftily stirred up, and kept in trouble by one only Faction in *England*, who had that *Queens Ear*, intending the wrack as well of our King as Queen, to advance some of their friends to inherit the Crown of *England*, which occasioned a great out-cry against our foolish contentions.

After that the Earl of *Mortoun*, the last of the four *Regents* was deposed, the King's Majesty, being young, took the Government into his own hands, my Lord of *Aubony* being made Lord *Dalkiath*, and afterward Duke of *Lennox*, was chief about his Majesty, and *James Stwart* formerly mentioned; who afterward took unto himself the style, and then the Earldom of *Arran*, thinking that he had done great Service, and deserved well for accusing and wracking the Earl of *Mortoun*, he married the Earl of *March* his Relict.

The Duke was of nature upright, just, and gentle, but wanted experience in the state of the Country. At the first he was wholly guided by the said *James Stwart* and his Wife, who both began to envy him, and therefore they endeavoured how they might cast him off, that they might attain to the sole management of Affairs: And for this end they gave him bad advice, and sinister informations against sundry of his best friends. And being likewise Educated a Papist, and suspected to be at the Duke of *Guise's* devotion, and therefore a dangerous Man to be about his Majesty; the whole Country was stirred up against him; *England* by their Ambassadour helping to kindle the fire. Mr. *David Macgil*, and Mr. *Henry Keer* were his chief Councillors, both wise enough for their own profit, but careless of his standing, and therefore not fit to counsel him who was his Majesty's greatest favourite. At the instigation and mis-information of the Earl of *Arran*,  
and

and his Lady, he first did cast off his true friend the Master of *Mar* Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and after that Sir *William Stewart* Captain of *Dumbarton*, and then *Alexander Clerk* Provost of *Edinburgh*, and the Earl of *Gaurie* Treasurer. The rest of the Nobility were also dissatisfied, to see these two young Lords only in favour with the King, finding that they both did aim at Noblemens lives, for their Lands. And albeit some of them disliked the Earl of *Moray's* proceedings, yst they judged the taking of his life an hard preparative. They likewise suspected Religion to be in hazard, the one being a Papist, and the other a scorner of all Religion. They thought that from two such Counsellors, no wholesome advice could proceed for the peace of the Country, and the establishment of Religion. Therefore a number of them consulted together, to displace both the Duke, and the Earl of *Arran*, to send the one to *France*, and to remove the other from Court. In the mean time, they resolved to throng themselves in about the King, and to make a reformation of the abuses, and to environ his Majesty with their Forces, so soon as he came to *Dunfermling*, whether he had appointed to come at his return out of *Archie*, where he was for the time hunting, and to present to him this Supplication.

“ I T may appear strange to your Majesty that we your most humble and faithful Subjects, are here convened beyond your expectation, and without your knowledge; but after your Majesty hath heard the urgent occasion that hath pressed us hereto, your Majesty will not marvel at this our honest, lawful and necessary enterprise.

“ Sir, for the dutiful Reverence that we owe unto your Majesty, and for that we abhor to attempt any thing that may seem displeasing to your Majesty, we have for the space of two years suffered such false Accusations, Calumnies, Oppressions and Persecutions, by means of the Duke of *Lannox*, and him who is called Earl of *Arran*, that the like Insolencies and Enormities were never heretofore both within *Scotland*. Which wrongs, albeit they were most intolerable, yet when they only touched us in particular we comported with them patiently, ever attending when it should please your Majesty to give a remedy thereto,

“ But seeing the persons aforesaid have plainly designed to trouble the whole Body of the Common-Wealth, as well the Ministers of the blessed Evangel, as the true Professors thereof, but in special, that number of Noblemen, Barrons, Burgeses and Commonalty, who did most worthily behave themselves in your Majesties Service, during your youth; whom principally and only they molest, and against whom they use most extremity and rigour of Laws, oft-times most sinistrously perverting the same for their destruction, so that one part of these your best Subjects are Exiled, another part Tormented, and put to questions, which they are not in Law obliged to answer; and withal execute with partiality and injustice all your Laws. And if any escape their barbarous fury, they can have no access to your Majesty, but are falsely calumniated, and debarred from your presence, and kept out of your favour.

“Papists and most notable Murtherers are called home daily, and re-  
 “stored to their former honours and heritages, and oftimes highly re-  
 “warded with the Offices and Possessions of your most faithful Ser-  
 “vants.

“Finally your Estate-Royal is not Governed by the Council of your  
 “Nobility, as your most worthy Progenitors used to do, but at the  
 “pleasure of the foresaid persons, who enterprize nothing but as they  
 “are directed by the Bishops of *Glasgow* and *Ross*, your denounced  
 “Rebels, having with them adjoynd in their ordinary Councils the  
 “*Bopes Nuntio*, with the Ambassador of *Spain*, and such other of the  
 “Papists of *France* as endeavour to subvert the true Religion, and to  
 “bring your Majesty in discredit with your Subjects. They travel  
 “to cause you negotiate and traffick with your Mother, without the  
 “advice of your Estates, perswading your Majesty to be reconciled  
 “with her, and to associate her conjunctly with you in the Authority-  
 “Royal, meaning nothing other thereby but to convict us of U-  
 “surpation and Treason.

“And so having these your best Subjects out of the way, who  
 “with the defence of your Authority maintained the true Religion  
 “as two things united and inseparable, what else could have followed  
 “but the wrack and destruction of both ?

“For conclusion, your whole native Country, for which Sir you  
 “must give an account to the Eternal God, as we must be answerable  
 “to your Majesty, is so perturbed and altered, and the true Religi-  
 “on, the commonwealth, your Estate and Person are in no less dan-  
 “ger then when you were delivered out of the hands of the cruel  
 “Murtherers of your Father, who they were we will not insist on at  
 “this present.

“Sir, beholding these great dangers to be eminent and at hand,  
 “without speedy help, and perceiving your noble person in such ha-  
 “zard, the preservation whereof is more precious to us then our  
 “own lives, finding also no appearance that your Majesty was fore-  
 “warned hereof, but like to perish before you could see the peril,  
 “we thought that we could not be answerable to our Eternal  
 “God, neither faithful Subjects to your Majesty, if according to  
 “our ability we prevented not this present distress, preserving your  
 “Majesty from the same.

“For this effect with all dutiful humility and obedience, we  
 “your Majesties true Subjects, are here convened, desiring your Ma-  
 “jesty in the name of God, and for the love you bear to his true Re-  
 “ligion, to your Country, and Commonwealth, and as you would  
 “see the tranquillity of your own Estate, to retire your self to some  
 “part of the Country, where your Majesties person may be most safe-  
 “ly preserved, and you Nobility secured, who are under hazard of  
 “Lands, Life, and Heritages. And then your Majesty shall see the  
 “disloyalties, fallhoods, and Treasons of the persons aforesaid, evi-  
 “dently proved and declared to their faces, to the glory of God,  
 “advancement of his true Religion, your Majesties preservation and  
 “honour, and the deliverance of your troubled Common weal and  
 “Country, and to their perpetual ignominy and shame.

At this Highland hunting, his Majesty was very meanly accompanied. The Duke of *Lennox* tarried for the time at *Dalkieth*, the new Earl of *Arran* was at *Kimmel*, many of the Council were appointed to hold Justice *Airs* in divers Shires of the Country. I was ordained to hold the Justice *Air* of *West Lauthian* at *Edinburgh* with my Lord *Newbottle*, Mr. *David Macgill*, and Mr. *John Sharp*. There came to my Bed timely in the Morning a Gentleman, alledging that I had formerly done him Courtesies, which till now he was never able to recompence, that he would make me the instrument of saving the Kings Majesty my Master, out of the Hands of those who were upon an enterprize to take and keep him. I said, I could hardly trust that, but I feared that the Duke of *Lennox* might be in hazard, who was gone to *Glasgow* to hold Justice *Airs*, because of the hatred which I knew was born him, especially for the maintaing the two Bishops of *St. Andrews* and *Glasgow*. He answered, They will lay hands first on the King's Majesty, and then the Duke and the Earl of *Arran* dare no more be seen, their insolency and misbehavior being the cause of all the present disorders, for there is an Enterprize to present a Supplication against him to his Majesty. After he had told me this news, he desired me to conceal his name, though to tell the matter to his Majesty. He said, this turn would be done in ten days, and as I started up to put on my Cloaths, he slipt to the Door with a short farewell.

Because the Duke was at *Dalkieth*, I did ride thither, and shewed him the whole matter, advising him to ride himself to his Majesty with this Advertisement for his own security, but he chose rather to direct a Gentleman with all possible diligence to his Majesty, willing me also to write unto the Earl of *Gawrie*, for the Gentleman had not named him to me with the rest of the Enterprizers, either out of forgetfulness, or else because he was but lately won to that purpose by the Laird of *Drumwassel*, who had assured him that the Duke of *Lennox* had determined to slay him at the first meeting, persuading the Earl upon this Ground to joyn with the rest of the Noblemen, who were determined to reform the Estate. Unto the which invented Advertisement, he too easily gave Credit, and so joyned with the rest of the Nobility, who were minded to present the forenamed supplication to the King, at his coming to *Dumfarrowling*.

It is certain that the Duke of *Lennox* was led by evil Council, and wrong Informations, whereby he was moved to meddle in such hurtful and dangerous Courses, that the rest of the Nobility became zealous of his Intentions, and feared their Estates. As for the Earl of *Arran*, they detested his Proceedings, and esteemed him the worst and most insolent instrument that could be found out, to wrack King, Kirk, and Country. The Duke had been tolerable, had he hapned upon as honest Councillors, as he was well inclined of himself: but he wanted Experience, and was no ways versed in the State of the Country, nor brought up in our Religion, which by time he might have been brought to have imbraced. But the Earl of *Arran* was a Scornor of Religion, Presumptuous, Ambitious, Covetous, Careless of the Commonwealth, a despiser of the Nobility, and of all honest men; so that every man was expecting a suddain Change which should have been made in *Dumfarrowling*, in presenting the above specified sup-

plication. But what moved the Lords to surprize His Majesty within the House of *Huntingtowns*, I know not. If it was not to imbarck the Earl of *Gaury*, whose House it was more deeply in their bond, or that they fearing their enterprize to be discovered, made the greater hast, and stayed His Majesty in that place, which was afterward called the Road of *Rathven*.

After that the Duke of *Lennox* was advertised of this enterprize, he sent for the Earl of *Arran* who was peaceably passing his time in *Kinweel*. He took in hand to ride out and save the King boasting that he would chase all the Lords into Mouse-holes, but he was chased and saved himself in the House of *Rathven*, where they had shortly made an end of him, had not the Earl of *Gaurie* interceded for his life; whose destiny it was to keep him alive to be his own wrack afterwards. The Duke of *Lennox* being advertised that His Majesty was in their hands, retired himself to *Dumbartown*, and His Majesty was conveyed to *Stirling* and there retained.

The King of *France*, and the Queen of *England* being informed that the King was taken and kept in Custody, sent each of them an Ambassador to this Country to comfort his Majesty, to see what the matter meant, and to offer him their best assistance in case he required the same, and declared that he had been taken and kept against his will. But after great thanks given unto the said Ambassadors, the King willed them to declare unto their Princes, that he was very well satisfied with the Lords who were about him, and that they were all his own Subjects, willing to obey him, but that they had conceived some hard apprehensions of the Duke of *Lennox*, and some others who had been about him before. Albeit his heart was full of sorrow and displeasure as he told himself afterward, and even then likewise to Mr. *Cairy* Cousin to the Queen of *England*, who whispered in His Majesties Ear, requesting him to tell the plain verity, which he should keep secret from Mr. *Bows* his Companion, and also from the Lords, and shall only shew his inward mind privily to his Mistress the Queen, yet it neither appeared by the success to have been kept secret, nor did that Queen make any further instance for his liberty.

The Lords in the mean time thought meet to hold a Council, to resolve what course to take, wherein it was determined that their enterprize was good service to his Majesty, the Kirk, and Commonwealth, which His Majesty granted also to be true: whereupon an Act of Council was formed. At that same time, the general Assembly of the Kirk was held at *Edinburgh*, to the which his Majesty was moved to send two Commissioners, to testify that he had allowed for good service the said Lords enterprize, desiring likewise the Kirk to find it good for their parts, and to ordain the Ministers and Commissioners of every Shire to publish the same to their Parishioners, and so get the principal Gentlemens Subscriptions to maintain the same. Notwithstanding of all this, His Majesty took the matter further to heart, than any man would have believed. He lamented his mishandling to sundry Noblemen, and others, and at length acquainted some of them that he intended to relieve himself through time out of their hands who held him as Captive. He desired such as he trusted in, to assist him with their counsel, and help.

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The Lords again who were joined together for the Reformation of the State, being rid of the Duke of *Lennox*, who had past through *England* to *France*, where he shortly after dyed of a sickness contracted through displeasure. And being also rid of the Earl of *Arran*, whom they kept Captive in the custody of the Earl of *Gawry*, they retired themselves from the Court to their houses, that his Majesty should not think himself any way deprived of his liberty by them: for they had got some intelligence of his inward grief, for his taking and retaining. Whereupon his Majesty takes occasion, to appoint a Convention to be holden in *St. Andrews* for some *English* Affairs, after the returning of Mr. *John Colvil*, and Colonel *Steward*, who both had been sent thither, and had not agreed well concerning their Commission, having brought back again different answers. To the which Convention his Majesty by Missives invited some of the Nobility, but he called none of the Lords thereto who had lately left him, supposing that perceiving themselves so far slighted, they would not come unwritten for, and that way he thought he might slip himself out of their hands, and retain about him such Lords as he had written for, to wit, the Earls of *Arguile*, *Huntly*, *Montrose*, *Crawford*, *Rothes*, and the Earl of *March*, who was an indweller in *St. Andrews* for the time, and the Earl of *Gawry* of whom he judged himself assured, though for some respects he would not employ him till afterwards, lest the rest of his associates should alledge that he had left them unhandsofly. For the said Earl had repented him, that he had suffered himself to be drawn in by *Drumhagel* to join with the rest, after that he had received sure information that the Duke of *Lennox* had not laid for his slaughter, as was alledged. Therefore he repented his folly, and offered at all occasions to help so set him at liberty.

So his Majesty thinking himself assured of all these Noblemen, the day appointed for the Convention drawing near, it pleased him to send Colonel *Stuart* to my house, shewing me that his Majesty having somewhat to do of great concernment, he had directed him unto me as to one of his most faithful Servants, of whose fidelity and foresight he had formerly had sufficient proof, by the true warning I had made him before the alteration. As a sworn Gentleman of his Chamber, he desired that I would help him to his liberty, which he was determined to attain at his being at *St. Andrews*, whither he was resolved to go shortly to a Convention, to which he desired my assistance and advice, his Majesty being minded, as he said, to follow my counsel so long as he lived, willing me not to refuse any service that his Majesty would demand of me, at meeting. This Commission was to me very unpleasant, for I had taken my leave of the Court, as being wearied with the many alterations I had seen, both at home, and in foreign Courts, having got great trouble and damage to my self for other mens causes. Therefore I had determined to be no more concerned in publick affairs, but to lead a quiet, contemplative life the rest of my days. This desire of my Prince and Master, was like to put me from this resolution. In this perplexity I had recourse by humble prayer to God, so to direct my actings as they might tend to his glory, and to the weal of my Prince and Country. And thereafter according to my dutiful obedience, I went unto his Majesty. When I came to him



him at *Falkland*, he told me of his resolution, lamenting his hard state, and mishandling by his own Subjects, and what displeasure he had taken, and that he was thought but a Beast by all neighbour Princes, for suffering so many indignities.

I again discoursed unto his Majesty about the common estate of all Countries, during their Prince's minority; the Nobility striving for state, and for the chief handling, whereby to advance themselves and their friends. As did the House of *Guise* during the young age of King *Francis* the Second: The Prince of *Conde*, during the Reign of King *Charles* the Second of *France*; and also the King of *Navarr*: Likewise the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Northumberland* during the youth of King *Edward* the sixth of *England*. And as well in the Queen his Mothers time, as in his own time, some aiming to advance their own affairs, some to defend and maintain their own Estate, engaged in divers enterprises and strifes, none of the parties bearing any evil will to his Majesty; but every one being in love with him, and desiring to be nearest to his person. And albeit some of them be oft-times transported, either by ambition, greediness or vengeance, to out-shoot themselves, and forget their duty; yet Princes who are wise and come to perfect age, have ever found it their interest to pardon, and oversee all such faults, as have been committed at such times by too great a number of Subjects. Now when *Charles* the Ninth agreed with the Prince of *Conde*, all his former offences were reckoned for good Service, And as your Majesty hath done in agreeing with so many of your Nobility, as were in fear that the Duke of *Lennox*, and Earl of *Arran*, would wrong both them, and the Country as they did alledge.

Now Sir, if your Majesty shall slip from them, they will think their Estate in greater danger then ever, not from your self, but from some of their unfriends, who may fall in again about you. And albeit they be presently absent, they have both a guard and some of their friends presently about your Majesty, and so they will not fail to keep the Convention, and be as soon at *St. Andrews*, as the other Lords whom your Majesty hath invited by Letters. For it stands them upon their lives and fortunes, to be still chief about your Majesty. Therefore having your Majesties own pleasure, I judge you presently in a far better and safer condition, then you will be by abandoning them, in case you get it not well effected, wherein there will be found greater difficulty, then your Majesty hath yet deeply considered, as the importance of the case requires.

All their dissuasions had no force to stay his Majesty from his former deliberation, as having taken up a great displeasure, and a Princely courage, either to liberate himself fully, or dye in the attempt. But for to follow the example of other wise Princes, as he had begun himself to allow for good service, the enterprise called the *Road of Rutboen*; so he resolved that being at liberty, he would make a general act of Oblivion for all by-gone faults, and errours committed by his Nobility, and Subjects during his minority, and from that time forth to be as a Father to the Country, and a just and equal Prince to all his Subjects; that no Man's Life, no Man's Land, Goods, nor Office should be taken from them. That as the fittest and most effectual way for settling Peace in the Country, he would give satisfaction to the Church, in

in their desires. That he would keep about his Person the most vertuous and discreet of his Nobility; and Gentry; who could be found: His Majesty ingaged also to me, to be secret, constant, and counselable.

For the better management then of his Majesty's design, it was thought expedient, that he should be in *St. Andrews* some few days before the Convention; that being once there, Proclamation might be issued out, to forbid any Nobleman or other, to come to the Convention without being expressly called by Letter from his Majesty: For this end it was advised, that the Earl of *March*, should invite his Majesty to be at *St. Andrews* two or three days before the Convention, by reason of his preparation of wild meat, and other fleshes, that would spoil in case his Majesty came not to make good cheer with him some days before. Whereupon his Majesty went forward, contrary to my opinion, and the judgment of some others about him, who thought we were sensible of the inconveniencies which might follow, durst not be so bold as to stay him, though we told his Majesty our opinion, that we judged it was hazardous for him to ride till the Lords, who had been advertised to attend him, might come forward. Nevertheless he went on, and advertised the Earl of *March*, the Provost of *St. Andrews*, and other Barons to attend him at *Darfe*. Where meeting them, his Majesty thought himself at liberty, expressing great joy, like a Bird flown out of a Cage, passing his time in Hawking by the way, after his meeting them, thinking himself sure enough, albeit I thought his estate far surer when he was in *Falkland*. For when he came to *St. Andrews*, he lodged in an old Inn, a very open place, the yard dikes being his greatest strength, few of the Lords he had written for being yet come, except only the Earl of *Crauford*, who was near.

In the mean time I perceived the folly, and went to the Provost of the Town, desiring to know what forces he had within the Town at his devotion? He answered, very few, and those not to be trusted on. I asked who was in the Castle? He told me, the Bishop, with whom I dealt incontinently, to have the Castle in readiness to receive his Majesty, which he promised to do. But when I returned to his Majesty, believing that the Proclamation had been made, that no Man should come to the Convention, but such as had been written for, I found that the Abbot of *Dunfermling* was arrived out of *Lockleven*, and the Earl of *Marshall* out of *Dundee*. The Earl of *Mar* was still with his Majesty, but all the Lords were advertised with diligence from *Falkland*, that his Majesty was suddenly gone for *St. Andrews*, desiring them to make hast to go thither, else they would be late. The said Abbot for his part was soon enough there, and behaved himself with great dissimulation, extolling his Majesties enterprize, so that he gain'd so much credit as to cast down all their devices, who were upon the King's side, though he was a special doer for the contrary party. He said it was not fit by Proclamation to stay the Nobility, but rather to write Missives to them, not to come accompanied with any more than two persons with every Nobleman.

When his Majesty told me this, I was very angry, and shewed him that this was the ready way to put him again in their hands, without thanks, from whom he had lately fled, assuring his Majesty that they

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were coming forward very strong, and in Arms, and would be sooner there, than those Lords he had written for adding, that they might come in quietly themselves, and cause their Companies to come in by two's and three's to the Town, whereas it had been better to let them come in all together, that their whole Forces might have been seen. Yet his Majesty was loath to enter within the Castle that night for his greater security, until it was very late after Supper, giving those that were there already time to advise, and to enterprize that same night to take him again, in case he had gone to the Abby yards to walk, as they had persuaded him, till the Castle was prepared. And some were already entered the said yard for that effect in Armour, whereof he had some suspicion, and therefore instantly advertised his Majesty, who thereupon changed his resolution and past by the yard Gate to the Castle.

The next day the whole Lords, as well written for, as unwritten for, arrived at St. Andrews; the King's Lords quite without Armour, the other Lords strongly Armed. The Earl of *Marshall*, and *Mar*, and the Abbot of *Dunfermling* lodged within the Castle with his Majesty, where the crafty Abbot counselled the King to det none of the Lords come within the Castle accompanied with more than twelve persons. He ever appeared to favour the King's intention, and therefore this crafty counsel was followed. The next morning the Castle was full of men, and those of the contrary party being well Armed, had already taken the Stair-heads and Galleries, resolving again to be Masters of the King, and all the rest, which being too late perceived, diligence was incessantly used, to bring within the Castle all the Earl of *March* his Gentlemen, with the Lairds of *Dairfy*, *Balgony*, *Sagie*, *Forret*, *Barns*, and others, with so many of the Town as were at the *Browes* devotion, which for that night prevented the foresaid design.

The Earl of *Gowry* was also a great stay in that matter: for albeit he came thither as strong, and as angry as any of the Lords, yet he was advertised of the King's good will towards him, and so was drawn from the rest. That dangerous day being thus past without any harm done, the next day such order was taken, as his Majesty was Master of the Castle, following no more the said Abbot's counsel, but declared his moderate intentions to all the Lords, to the *Yiffe* Barons, and Towns upon the Coast side, who had been sent for, and likewise to the Ministers and Masters of the Colledge, *Namely*, *That albeit he had been detamed against his Will for some time, yet he intended not to impute it to a Crime, nor to remember any thing done in his minority, but that he would pass an Act of Oblivion to all that was past; satisfy the demands of the Church; agree parties among whom there were differences, and to carry himself to all his Subjects equally, knowing none of them to bear any evil wills, and that above had been driven to enterprize the thing they had done, by the force of their Factions personalities: using many other such words of clemency and discretion, to all their contentments. Thereafter he ordained four Lords, two of every faction, to retire them for a while, to wit, The Earls of *Argyll*, *Bathwell*; *Huntly* and *Crauford*, retaining all the rest about him as indifferent for his ordinary Council, by whose advice he was resolved to settle his estate, and thereafter*

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to bring again to Court the whole Lords above-named. Then his Majesty called for me before a number of the said Lords, and gave me greater commendation and thanks than I had merited, as being the only instrument, under God, of his liberty. His Majesty caused also to make a Proclamation, conform to his former promises, and moderate intention: But I took no pleasure to be praised in presence of so many, answering to his Majesty, *That I had already displeas'd all those who were upon the purpose of his detention.*

Now matters being settled in appearance, and this design successfully ended, some of the King's Lords, who had been slow in coming (and when they were come finding the Lords of the contrary Faction strong and in Armour) deny'd that they knew any thing of his Majesty's enterprise, laying the whole burthen upon Colonel *Stuart* and me. But when they saw appearance of a prosperous success, they took the matter stoutly upon them, and began in plain Council to tell how long they had been upon the counsel of that enterprise with his Majesty, and how long waiting for his advertisement.

Of a truth his Majesty was of a merciful mind, and gently inclined toward all the Nobility, intending to win all their hearts by his own discreet behaviour, and to that effect he went first to the House of *Ruthven*, to let the Country see that he was entirely reconciled with the Earl of *Gaury*. Where after he had Royally entertained his Majesty, he fell down upon his knees, lamenting that his Majesty should have been retained in that unhappy house at his last being there, which, he said, fell out rather by accident, than deliberation, only for the safety of the Earl of *Arran's* life. Alledging, that he knew no other thing, than that at his Majesty's being at *Dumfarnling*, they were minded to present him an humble Supplication, asking pardon for that accidental fault, which his Majesty graciously promised never to impute to him, knowing how blindly he was brought upon it by the practices of others.

In the mean time *James Stuart* Earl of *Arran*, had obtained the favour to be ward'd in *Kinneal*, his own house, and sent and Congratulated his Majesty's liberty, begging that he might have access to come and kiss his hand, which was plainly refused. Then he sent daily his opinion, and advices to his Majesty, how to proceed against divers of the Nobility, and others; advising to bring back to Court the Earls of *Huntly*, and *Crauford*, which was too easily condescended to by the Earls of *Arguile*, and *Montross*, only the Earl of *Gaury* resist'd, alledging that the Earls of *Bothwel* and *Angus* were put in hopes to be brought in with them, or as soon as they. But the equality expected, was soon forgot, which mov'd the Earl of *Marshal* and others to retire to their houses. The *Abbot* of *Dumfarnling* remained still at Court, and to curry favour of Colonel *Stuart*, then Captain of the Guard, he gave him a Purse and thirty pieces of Gold at four pound the piece, which pieces the Colonel distributed to so many of the Guard who bore them, and set them like Targets upon their Knapsacks, and the Purse was born upon a Spear point like an Ensign. The *Abbot* shortly after was ward'd in *Lockleven*; Mr. *John Covil*, the Laird of *Clesh*, and *Drumwassel* were also ward'd by the advice of the Earl of *Arran* and his Wife, who continually solicited his Majesty,

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that they might come to Court. And at length I was requested by his Agent *James Stuart* to deal with his Majesty to permit the said Earl to come again to the Court: For he said, that his Majesty was favourable enough, and that the Earls of *Arguile*, *Huntly*, *Crauford*, and *Montrose*, had not only given their consent, but that the Earls of *Arguile* and *Montrose* had said unto his Majesty, that they would ride themselves and fetch him; only the Earl of *Gawry* resisted; and that the King had shewn him, that he would do nothing therein without my consent and advice. I answered, That his Majesty needed not my consent, if himself and so many Noblemen were content. He replied again, That his Majesty reposed more upon me at that time, then upon all his Council, as his Majesty had shewn him; and that he would not bring him without my consent. Whereupon I went unto his Majesty, and shew'd him what language the Earl of *Arran's* Servant had to me, concerning his Master's coming to Court, and that his Majesty laid too great a burthen upon me, to say that he would do nothing therein without my consent. Thereupon his Majesty took me to the Gallary of *Falkland*, lamenting as he had been informed the loss of many of his best friends, as the Earls of *Lennox*, *Arbol*, and Duke of *Lennox*: And now, says he, They will not permit the Earl of *Arran*, who hazarded his life to relieve me, to come and see me; he desired me to acquaint him, what might be the occasion they hated him so much. My answer was, That to tell the verity perilled my self, to conceal the truth indangered his Majesty. He would needs know my meaning therein. I said, The Earl of *Arran* is one of the worst instruments can come about you, whereof your Majesty hath had too sure a proof, his mis-behaviour being the only occasion of the late interprise, and if he ever be again admitted about your Majesty the like or worse will follow. Thereupon its dangerous to my self to acquaint your Majesty herewith, seeing it will occasion him to be my deadly Enemy, if he ever get notice thereof. Then his Majesty desired only to let him come and kiss his hand, promising he should not tarry, intreating me to deal with my Lord of *Gawry*; that he would also grant that he might but once come to Court, and he should incontinently return to his house without any stay. I said, I should cause him to yield to his Majesties pleasure.

In the mean time I took occasion to declare unto his Majesty, how that many great Princes are wracked by their Ambitious Counsellors, who will rule all alone, taking upon them a greater burthen then they can bear: for remedy whereof his Majesty should spend every day but one hour to hear a chosen number of honest Councillors reason upon his affairs, then himself to give his opinion what he thinks fittest to be done, as the King of *France* used to do. Which his Majesty granted very willingly, and so long as he kept that order, by the ordinary Council days his turns went rightly forward. The whole Lords who assisted his Majesty were of his Council, Sir *Robert my Brother*, Colonel *Stuart*, the Laird of *Seigie*, and my self.

But as soon as the Earl of *Arran* got access to his Majesty, he not only stayed at Court against promise, but also within a short time altered all this way of procedour, with a design to draw the management of all publick affairs to himself. At his first entry, he carried himself

himself very humbly, for after he had kissed his Majesties hand, he embraced me and kissed my cheek, giving me many thanks in his Majesties presence, alledging, That the whole name of *Stuarts* was obliged to me, for the notable service, he alledged, I had done his Majesty: As for him, he said, he should never take any thing in hand, but he therein directed by my *Brother* and *me*. But Colonel *Stuart* and he spoke not together, until his Majesty desired me to agree them, which after much travel I did at length. At first the Colonel swore a great Oath, *That if his Majesty suffered that villain to remain at Court, he would yet again undo all*. For a little time he kept himself quiet, but there was no appearance of his home-going. Sometimes he would reprove my gentle kind of procedure in his Majesties affairs, and could not endure to see them handled by a number. He insinuated to his Majesty, That he would find it a troublesome business, to be incumbered with many contrary opinions. He desired him to recreate himself at hunting, and he would attend the Council, and report again at his Majesties return, all our Opinions and Conclusions. This he observed two or three times, and so in a very short space changed the former order laid down to have been followed: So that he gave account of no Man's advice but his own; yet he made his Majesty believe that it was all our Opinions, that it was his interest to follow a violent course. And though the same was directly against his Majesties first Deliberation, Intention, and Proclamation of Clemency, yet he caused to make contrary Proclamations against those of the *Road of Rutbven*, ordaining them all to take remissions for that which before was allowed for good Service, moving divers Noblemen and others to withdraw from the Court, for fear, to some place of Security. When he caused to be read before the Council his new invented Proclamation, I down-right opposed my self to it, saying, That I knew it was directly against his Majesties mind and promise. Whereupon he leapt out of the Council-house in a rage, and said I would wrack the King by my manner of doings. I answered, either you or I, my Lord, with other sharp pricking language, so that for that time it was stayed. Afterward he waited a meet occasion to get it past, having procured a flattering Faction to assist him, in expectation to be made sharers of the spoil he hoped to make, a part whereof he had promised them, to gain their Votes to his desire. And so all things were turned up-side down, a great number of Noblemen and others being put thereby in fear of their Lives and Estates. And when any of us who were desirous of his Majesties quiet and prosperous estate, would acquaint his Majesty with the danger of these proceedings of the Earl, he would be very sorry, saying, The Earl made him believe that he did nothing but by common consent of the Council. And when his Majesty understood the contrary, he was very earnest and willing to amend the disorder, but was still Circumvented by the said Earl, and such as for fear, flattery, or expectation of profit, advanced all his designs.

About this time there came a sharp Letter from the Queen of *England* unto his Majesty, who thought the Noblemen who were aimed at, and were absent from Court, fittest instruments to be about his Majesty. And for entertaining of Amity and Concord betwixt their

Majesties and Kingdoms, she was not content to see them so hardly handled. The Copy of which Letter I have here inserted.

“ **A**mong your many studies, my dear Brother and Cousin, I wish  
 “ *Isocrates*'s noble Lesson were not forgotten, that wills the Em-  
 “ perour his Sovereign, to make his Words of more accompt then other  
 “ men do their Oaths, as meetest Ensigns to shew the truest Badge of  
 “ a Prince's Arms. It moveth me much to moan you, when I behold  
 “ how diversly fundry wicked Spirits abstract your mind, and bend  
 “ your course to crooked Paths, and evil illusions, wrapt under the  
 “ Cloak of your best good. How can it be that you can suppose an  
 “ honourable and satisfactory answer can be made unto me, when all  
 “ your actings gainsay your former Vows. You deal with one  
 “ whose experience will not take dross for good payment, and with  
 “ one who will not be easily beguiled. No, no! I mind to send to  
 “ School your craftiest Councillors. I am sorry to find you bent to  
 “ wrong your self, in thinking to injure others. Yea those, who if  
 “ they had taken the opportunity in their hands, they might have  
 “ done you more prejudice, then a thousand such mens lives be worth,  
 “ who perswade you to avow such deeds; as to oblige the best deser-  
 “ ving of your Subjects to demand a faultless Pardon. Why do you  
 “ forget what you wrote to my self with your own hand, shewing  
 “ how dangerous a course the *Duke* was entred in, though you seemed  
 “ to excuse him, as if he had intended no evil therein; and yet you  
 “ would not make them guilty who delivered you there-from. I hope  
 “ you more esteem your honour, then to give it such a stain, since  
 “ you have so oft protested, that you was resolved to notice these Lords  
 “ as your most affectionate Subjects, in the full perswasion, that all  
 “ they had done was by them intended for your advantage. To con-  
 “ clude, I beseech you proceed no further in this course, till you re-  
 “ ceive an exprels Messenger, a trusty Servant of mine, by whom I in-  
 “ tend to deal as an affectionate Sister with you, as one from whom  
 “ you may see you shall receive honour, and contentment, with more  
 “ surety to your Self and State, then by following the pernicious Coun-  
 “ cels of these crafty dissembling Councillors, as knows the Lord, so  
 “ whose safe keeping I do commit you.

Your most Assured and Faithfullest Sister  
and Cousin,

ELIZABETH.

Unto this Letter his Majesty commanded me in his name to write an answer, that he might write it over again with his own hand. For the Secretary for the time was in suspision to have been upon the contrary course. The answer was as followeth.

MADAM,

**I** Have received a Letter of yours, containing in the entry, that sentence of *Isocrates*, which willeth Princes Words to be more intirely observed, then other Mens Oaths; as though some sinister report were made unto you of some forgetfulness in me, or that you fear



“ fear that in time coming I fail in keeping such promises unto my friends, as may be made upon just and convenient occasions.

“ For answer unto that head, I remember another saying of *Isocrates*, where he would not have them repute friends, who allow or praise whatsoever we say or do, but rather such who modestly reprove our faults. So that I take your sharp admonition at this time, as proceeding from a Sisterly love, albeit upon wrong information, hoping that so soon as you shall truly understand of my hard handling, and patient behaviour, you shall be so well satisfied as to deem me to have done nothing, but that which you would have done your self in the like condition.

“ First, When I was detained Captive under a fair pretext, it pleased you to send your Ambassadors (like as did the King of *France*) friendly to visit me, offering me great kindness, and help, in case I needed any, for the time; for which I do yet render your Majesty hearty thanks: Which offer I did not think fit to embrace, alledging that I was well content, and had good friends about me, which was very true. For one part of these same Lords, who were then about me, perceiving my grief and discontent, offered even then to relieve me, whensoever I would desire to be at greater liberty. Whereupon I made you then that answer, whereof you make mention in your Letter, as I gave the like answer to the *French* Ambassadour. Nevertheless I was ever resolved at a fit time to relieve my self, for my honour, as I have done lately; following another saying of *Isocrates* willing Princes to hazard rather to dye honestly, then to ring shamefully, for how I did ring for the time, you might know by your Cousin Mr. *Cairo* in whose ear I sounded my familiar inward grief, because he said you desired him to require it at me apart, promising that it should be secretly kept from all others, albeit I used not such freedom with Mr. *Bowes*. Indeed I subscribed such Writs and Letters as the said Lords presented to me, for the time was unfit to dispute too precisely upon Circumstances, that were determined by these who were Masters of me and the State.

“ This Answer I suppose will satisfy your own reasonable and equitable Judgment, discreetly considering the same with your self apart, I doubt if it will be so interpreted by others of your Councel, who have particular designs of their own, to whom because I impute the whole hard Language contained in your angry Letter, and not to your self, and gentle inclination, I think it not needful now to write an Answer unto every part of the same. So attending patiently upon your better intelligence and information in these matters, I will rather retain in my memory your former fruitful friendship, then now start at any wrong set Syllable, or fowre sentence placed in your paper at the partial instance of others.

“ As concerning that which toucheth the *Duke of Lennox*, his godly end hath declared his honest meaning. Whose death I might justly lay upon such as forcibly removed him from my presence; nevertheless I resolve to put all by-gones in Oblivion, neither to compel any man to take a faultless Pardon.

“ Where you desire that I proceed no further, until a trusty Messenger may come from you, I intend to stay from doing any thing

“ thing till then, that you may justly be offended with) Albeit *Ifo-*  
*crates* advises Princes speedily to execute such turns, as good Coun-  
 cel thinks necessary to be done,) wishing that he who shall be sent,  
 “ may be as willing to work the effects of true love and friendship be-  
 “ twixt us, as I am assured it is both our hearts desire, and intention,  
 “ whereto I pray the Lord to grant increase, continuance, and happi-  
 “ nefs to his glory, and to the well peace, and quiet of both our  
 “ Realms.

The Secretary *Walsingham* was he of whom mention is made in her  
 Majesties Letter to be sent in here, but he was long by the way by  
 reason that he was sickly. In the mean time Mr. *Bowes* who was Am-  
 bassador resident at *Edinbrugh* had received this Letter by the ordina-  
 ry Post, and returned the Answer. He declared many Commenda-  
 tions from my Lord *Burly*, and several of the Council of *England* to  
 my Brother Sir *Robert*, and me, alledging that they were glad to  
 hear that such men were about His Majesty that were of their Reli-  
 gion, and with whom they were long acquainted, wishing many such  
 to be in Court.

About this time the Earl of *Arran* obtained the keeping of the  
*Castle of Stirling*, and insinuated himself so far upon His Majesty, that  
 he took upon him the whole management of affairs, and caused sundry  
 Noblemen to be banished, as the *Earls of Mar, Angus*, and the Master  
 of *Glains*, and divers others.

And by his insolency, he drove the Earl of *Gaurie* from Court,  
 far against his Majesties intention, who sent me for him to his house  
 to bring him again to Court, which was for the time at *Coupar in*  
*Fyffe*, where His Majesty agreed him and the Earl of *Arran*. But  
 no conditions promised were kept to *Gaurie*, so that he was so vexed,  
 that he resolved to leave the Country.

I have already declared how loath I was, that either His Majesty  
 should leave the Lords who were about him, or that I should in any  
 wise be a medler again in publick affairs, considering the many alte-  
 rations I had seen by long and hurtful experience, yet the affection I  
 had for his Majesty, engaged me not to refuse his Commands, being  
 my native Prince and Master, and I his humble Subject, and sworn  
 Servant, first as his domestick as being one of the Gentlemen of his  
 Chamber, and a Member of his Privy-Council. But after his Maje-  
 sty being taken, I was no more admitted by his Keepers, who thought  
 fit for their security, to place such men about him as were intirely at  
 their Devotion. As for my part, as I was sorry that His Majesty  
 should be used any other way then at his own pleasure, so I was much  
 satisfied to be permitted to live quietly at home the rest of my days,  
 yet being called again by His Majesty, I waited upon his Commands.  
 Now again perceiving His Majesties most acceptable Proclamations,  
 slyly and cunningly changed contrary to His Majesties merciful inten-  
 tions, by issuing out contrary Proclamations, and intending violent  
 persequits against these concerted in the *Road of Rutbven*, whereby too  
 great a number of Noblemen and Gentlemen despaired of their Safety,  
 and Lives, in a lamenting manner I remembered his Majesty, how he  
 was abused, and what great inconveniencies were like to ensue.  
 Thereupon His Majesty upon my relation, appeared very sorrowful,  
 and

and assured me of his resolutions to amend these disorders, but it was his misfortune to advise thereabouts with these who underhand were chief instruments therein. Believing that because he loved them, they also loved him and the well of his affairs. They again making some appearance of intentions of satisfying his expectation, indirectly by means of too many who depended upon the *Earl of Arrans* extraordinary Credit, and Favour, the contrary to his Majesty's princely and upright meaning was brought about, so that many Noblemen left the Country, and all honest men left the Court, to the great satisfaction of the *Earl of Arran* and his Wife, who had the greater opportunity of guiding all. And that they might the easier set forward this course, they persuaded His Majesty to pass to *Stirling*, whither they knew few or none durst repair, who were not at his Devotion, he being Captain of the said Castle, and Provost of the Town; after I had frequently warned His Majesty, of the storm I did foresee coming, I retired my self from Court.

His Majesty being at *Stirling* asked frequently for me, regretting that I was not continually with him. Whereupon the *Earl of Arran* advised that I should be sent ambassador to the *Queen of England* upon some pretended affair, as well to absent me from His Majesty, who he perceived had some favour for me, as to take occasion upon my return, to bring me in disgrace, as if I had been guilty of some mismanagement, because he knew that as matters stood I could do no good at that time. And commonly when Mens Commissions take no good effect, they are calumniated by their Enemies, and envyers, as unjust instruments, unskilful, and undiscreet. Which Calumnies get oftentimes too much Credit, when matters succeed not conform to the desire of the Master. For this end he had engaged His Majesty to write for me, but before his Letter came to my hands for the said Voyage, I had indited a long Letter to have sent unto His Majesty, as a remembrance of his former promises, intentions, and Proclamations; shewing what inconveniencies were like to ensue the setting forward of a contrary course, together with such remedies as I could judge meetest for the time.

The tenour of His Majesty's Letter unto me was, That he had some matters to communicate to me, wherein he resolved to imploy both my advice and pains, and therefore he desired me to come to *Stirling* with all convenient expedition after the sight of the said Letter, where I should understand more amply the occasion of my being sent for, as I would do him accomptible pleasure and good service. Written from the Castle of *Stirling* the 22<sup>d</sup> of *Octob.* 1583.

After the receipt of this Letter, I did ride unto His Majesty, and took with me the Letter which I had penned before; whereof the Copy followeth,

Sir, as it hath pleased your Majesty heretofore to accept of my will for agreeable service, even so I hope that your Highness's constant favour shall continue toward me now, and in time coming, notwithstanding my present absence. For albeit that during your Majesty's young Age, I was suffered to live happily at home, from the handling of publick affairs, yet I found my self obliged to bear my proportionable

“ proportionable burthen in your Service, so soon as it should please  
 “ your Majesty to lay your Commands on me for that effect, being then  
 “ most assured, to walk in a just and lawful vocation, which to give  
 “ continual testimony of my dutiful obedience, not presuming to give  
 “ your Majesty Counsel, I have only taken the boldness to present to  
 “ you in these few lines, my simple opinion of things that are appa-  
 “ rently to fall out upon your Majesties late proceedings.

“ For when it pleased your Majesty at your first going to *St. An-*  
 “ *drews*, to take upon your self the free Government of your Affairs,  
 “ your Majesties Gracious intention and proposition then, was not  
 “ only most agreeable to all the *Lords, Barons, and Ministers* there  
 “ present for the time, but also to the rest of your good Subjects, when  
 “ as they understood of your merciful inclinations. Which being now  
 “ otherwise overturned, then was either first intended, or determined,  
 “ is able to breed cumber and disorder, unless your Majesty by wisdom  
 “ and dexterity prevent the apparent inconveniencies. For it pleased  
 “ your Majesty then openly to declare, how that you only sought  
 “ with your own reputation, and safety, the well and safety of your  
 “ whole Subjects, as being willing to give satisfaction to the demands  
 “ of the Church, to agree all parties, to blot out of memory the name  
 “ of Factions, and put in perpetual Oblivion all Crimes committed in  
 “ your Majesties Minority, acknowledging all such as chanced to be  
 “ done during the same, but to have fallen out betwixt Subject and  
 “ Subject, for such particular respects as your Majesty never purposed  
 “ to impute to any of their Charges, but to Reign over them all in times  
 “ coming as a Gracious Father, and that by the advice of the least Facti-  
 “ ous, and best affected of the Nobility, Barons and other sufficient Sub-  
 “ jects. No man to be placed about or proscribed from your Majesty  
 “ by favour or surname, kin, friend, or allye, but for sufficiencie, ver-  
 “ tue, and loyalty. As also if any were to be absented, or sent home for a  
 “ time, it should not be done at the instance of any envious suiter of  
 “ his Office, or particular Party, but for your Majesties honour and  
 “ safety, during your pleasure, leaving them still in hope through  
 “ good behaviour to obtain again familiar access about your Majesty  
 “ as formerly.

“ If this Calm Course had been followed, there was appearance of  
 “ a quiet State. But the altering and changing this gentle kind of  
 “ dealing to a sharp and violent pursuit of sundry, by seeking out over  
 “ many faults in the persons of so many Great and Active Men, hath  
 “ bred such discontent and so furious a Faction, that if sudden remedy  
 “ be not provided, civil dissention and despaired interprises ought to be  
 “ looked for by all such as have sufficient experience of the nature of  
 “ *Scotsmen*, and seemly intelligence of the deportment of divers, which  
 “ the necessity of their unsure Estate may well drive them honestly to  
 “ take in hand.

“ It is true, that the flourishing of Commonwealths, consists much  
 “ in the rewarding of the good, and punishing of the wicked. No  
 “ doubt but faults enough have been done during your nonage, but  
 “ to seek them out narrowly, and to punish them severely in such ca-  
 “ ses, and at such times, in matters wherein many have dipped, is no  
 “ safe Course. Yea, though your Majesty were willing, as I know  
 “ you

" you are not, I cannot see how you can get it done against so great a  
 " number, having so small substance and few Forces, and so potent  
 " and mighty Neighbours lying still at wait upon all such controver-  
 " sies, and occasions, to take advantage thereof, whereby to serve  
 " their own turn. This Consideration also ought presently to be no-  
 " ticed, that the wonted reverence born by the Subjects unto the  
 " Princely Authority of their Sovereigns, is much decayed in this  
 " Kingdom, by reason of the Queens Youth and long absence, and e-  
 " ven so in your Majesty (time for the like causes, but chiefly because  
 " that your Majesties being yet young) have been accompanied this  
 " time past with the youngest, and meanest sort of your Nobility.  
 " Who albeit they may be faithful and honest, to set forward your  
 " service, yet the rest of your Subjects alledging them to be factious,  
 " ignorant and covetous, doubt of their discreet behaviour, seeing  
 " their intentions are to Rule by force; hardly may a Prince assure  
 " himself at all occasions, to choose a sure course wherein there shall  
 " be no peril. For commonly thinking to escape out of one in-  
 " conveniency fall oft-times into an other. Therefore prudence consists  
 " in understanding the quality of dangers, and in choosing the least  
 " evil for the best.

" Some Kingdoms and Countries are Governed by force, some by  
 " fairness, on the other part Subjects obey either for awe, or love.  
 " That Prince is reputed of no value, who cannot win the hearts of  
 " his Subjects by one of these two. For either must the means be ta-  
 " ken at once from such as are suspected deservedly, whereby they may  
 " do harm, or else they must be satisfied in such sort as in reason they  
 " may be content, and so serve for love, and not for awe. So that it  
 " is easie to judge which of these two Governments may be meetest  
 " for your Majesty.

" The Emperor *Trajan* being demanded, wherefore his Subjects  
 " loved and honoured him above his Predecessors, answered, because  
 " I forgive them who offend me, and never forget any who have done  
 " me service. *Julius Pollux* Master to *Cæsar* points out a true Prince  
 " to be of Divine Countenance, Godly, Merciful, Just, Equitable, Care-  
 " ful of his Affairs, Constant in his Deeds, true in his Promises Sub-  
 " ject unto reason, Master over his Affections, fatherly towards his  
 " Subjects, of easie Access, gentle to be spoken to, ready to forgive,  
 " slow to punish, princely, liberal, subtil, secret, and sharp of in-  
 " geny.

" Now because it appeareth your Majesty in youth hath been suffi-  
 " ciently versed in many of these vertuous precepts, I wish from my  
 " heart that such impressions may be as well taken of them that are  
 " presently about you, seeing that Princes are commonly deemed to  
 " be like those whom they make most their familiars.

" Therefore Sir, for eschewing all those evils, and to put the near-  
 " est Remedy unto all the appearing inconveniencies, it is fit so soon  
 " as it may please your Majesty to pass to *Edinbrugh*, to convene the  
 " most ancient of your Nobility, and Barons of best reputation, by  
 " whose advice together with those that are already in Court, your  
 " Country may be quieted, and your Subjects satisfied. For now as  
 " matters are handled, to speak of Clemency by causing them to take  
 " remissions,

“ remissions, it will want Credit, and be ill interpreted, as not conform to your Majesties first Declaration.

“ The Emperour *Adrian* inquired after men of great age and experience, and helped himself by their many perils.

“ *Alexander Severus* would perform no matter of importance, but with advice of the most ancient and best experimented. He never went out of *Rome*, unaccompanied with four or five of most honourable, ancient and grave personages, that none should need to fear that he would commit any Error. He never suffered the Senate to conclude any weighty purpose, unless Fifty of them had been present. He caused all his Counsellors to put their Opinions in writing, to see if any were possess with passions, or partialities. He changed oft his familiarity with sundry of the Senate, lest he who had always his ear, might be overcome with importunate pursuits, or partiality.

“ The urgent necessity of the time, most Noble and Excellent Prince, causeth me to be so tedious. Humbly craving pardon, and heartily kissing your Majesties hands, I pray the Eternal God grant you long and happy life.

From *Halbid* this 14th  
of *October* 1583.

Your Majesties most Humble,  
And Obedient Servitour,

James Melvil,

When I came to *Stirling*, and shewed his Majesty this Letter, he not only liked well of it, but engaged to follow the advice therein contained. He lamented to me the partial dealing of those about him. Only he said, that my Brother Sir *Robert* was upon a sound course for quieting of the Estate, and that some Noblemen, against whose partialities he had opposed himself, had discorded with him in his Majesties presence. It pleased his Majesty also to tell me that the cause why I was written for, was to be sent to *England*, to travel with the *Queen* there for entertainment of mutual Amity, and increase of her favour and good will, concerning the Title and Succession to the Crown of *England*, and assistance to help to establish his troubled Estate, perturbed by the insolence and partialities of his Subjects, bred and ingendered among them during his minority.

I answered, that I judged it was a very unmeet time, seeing I knew as matters stood in *Scotland*, that *England* would make no account of him, nor of any that would be sent from him, until first he would let it be seen and heard, that he could settle his own Estate; and by his wise and prudent management, render his own Subjects obedient to his Commands, this being done they would honour and esteem him. And that the best and readiest way to obtain also one day the Crown of *England*, was to guide *Scotland* so well, that they might find ground some day to wish to be under the Government of such a Prince. By this kind of Language, and his Majesty pondering what ground I had to use the same, he was satisfied that my Voyage should be stayed till a more convenient time. So I returned from Court, to my own house.

It

It is mentioned here above in the *Queen of England's* Letter how that she was minded to send a Trusty Servant unto his Majesty, willing him to stay from any strict proceeding against the Lords, who were prickt at for the *Road of Ruthven*, until the Arriving of the said Ambassador, who was the Secretary *Walsingham*, a Counsellor of worthy qualities, who had great Credit with the *Queen of England*. But he was of a sickly Complexion, and was not able to endure riding Post, therefore he was long by the way, being carried in a Chariot. So that during his longsome Voyage, the *Earl of Arran* went ay forward, forgetting the tenour of the *Queen of England's* Letter.

So soon as his Majesty was advertised of the Arrival of *Sir Francis Walsingham*, I was sent for to come to Court, and directed to ride and welcome him in his Majesties name, to bear him company, and Convoy him about by *Stirling* to *St. Johnstown* where his Majesty thought fit to give him Audience. Desiring me also to say unto him that his Majesty was very glad of the coming of such a notable Personage who was known to be indued with Religion, and Wisdom, whom he had ever esteemed as his special friend, being assured that his tedious travel in his long Voyage, (being diseased as he was) tended to more substantial points for the confirmation of the amity between the *Queen* his Sister and him, then had been performed at any time before.

The Secretary *Walsingham* answered me again, that the great desire he had to establish an assured Amity betwixt the two Princes, and Countries, moved him to undertake the Embassage himself, his Majesty being the Prince in the World, that he loved next unto the *Queen* his Mistress, and wished most to see and be acquainted with. And that he hoped his Commission should succeed the better; that he had met first with me his old friend, and only acquaintance in *Scotland*. For we had been Companions abroad upon our Travels, and divers times when I was sent to or passed thorow *England*, he would have me to lodge and lye with himself at *London*, which occasioned that we had more familiar Conferences. Whereupon I did write two several Letters, that his Majesty might be the better provided to make answer to such heads as I knew he would propose. Then we took our Journey thorow *Lithgow* to *Stirling*, and from that to *Pearth*. He had heard that my Lord *Seatoun* and *Livingston* were written unto to Convoy him, but he requested me to stay them, that he might have the more Conference by the way with me, otherwise he would be compelled to entertain the Noblemen. I judged it probable that his design in this, was to let see his own Train; for he was Seventy score Horse in Company. Being near the Court, his Majesty sent out two of the Council to meet him, to wit, my Lord of *Down* and my Brother *Sir Robert*.

The next day his Majesty gave him Audience, accompanied with *Mr. Bowes* Ambassador Resident in *Scotland*. Their first reasoning was upon his Majesties Liberty, and wherefore he had left the Company who were about him, being the best and most religious sort of the Nobility, and of his Majesties best acquaintance, and by whom she could deal in her affairs more friendly, then she could do with others, who she could not so well Credit. Whereunto his Majesty made answers so gravely and directly, that *Walsingham* watched. The next day his Majesty appointed four of the Council, and my self to be with

them,



them, to reason with him, and to sound what he would be at. But he refused to deal with any, but with his Majesty who heard him again without Mr. *Bowes*. Where he discoursed long with his Majesty, and when he came forth from his Majesty he took me by the hand, and said, that he was the best content man that could be, for he had spoken with a notable young Prince, ignorant of nothing, and of so great expectation, that he thought his Travel well bestowed. The Earl of *Arran* desired to enter into familiar Conference with him, but he refused to speak with him. Making no longer stay, but took leave of his Majesty who commanded me to accompany him to the Ferry. At our parting, he promised at all occasions to write to me, and much lamented that the Earl of *Arran* was again in Court, and in such Credit with his Majesty. Which he said if he had understood before he took his Journey, he would have shifted the same, and suffered some other to have been sent. For he could see no sure course could be taken between their Majesties, so long as such instruments had such Credit about him. For he esteemed the said *Earl* a scorner of Religion, a sower of discord, and a despiser of true and honest men, and therefore he refused to speak with him, or enter into acquaintance. For he was of a contrary nature, religious, true, and a lover of all honest men. Therefore *Arran* to be revenged upon him, spared not to do a great dishonour to his Majesty. First for despite, that he refused to speak with him, he caused refuse to permit the Captains of *Berwick*, and divers other honest Gentlemen, who came to Convey the Secretary *Walsingham*, the entry of his Majesties Chamber door. And then he caused to prepare a scornful Present for him at his departure, to wit, a Ring with a stone of *Crystal*, instead of a rich *Diamond* which his Majesty had appointed for him, valued at 700 Crowns which he was oftentimes minded to send back again unto his Majesty, rather to let him see how he was abused then how he was used. Some promise was also made unto him, about the repairing some wrongs done by *Scotsmen* upon the borders, which he alledged was not kept. For *Arran* did what he could to displease him, and to render his Commission in all points ineffectual, and his Travel in vain. Nevertheless he made so good report of his Majesties vertues, and qualities, that it put him in some suspicion at his return to the Court of *England*, where shortly after he took sickness and dyed. My opinion is, that if God had granted him longer life, he would have been found a great friend to his Majesty, who marvelled that the chief Secretary of *England*, burthened with so many great affairs, sickly, and aged, should have enterprised so painful a Voyage without any purpose. For it could not be yet perceived, what was his Errand, save only that he gave his Majesty good Counsel. But he being religious, and of a good conscience, was desirous to see and understand assuredly such qualifications to be in his Majesty, whereof he had frequently been informed. He returned with great contentment in his mind for that part, but very sorrowful for the company that he found in greatest favour and credit about his Majesty. Which was the more unexpected, by reason of a Letter that his Majesty had sent unto the *Queen* his Mistress, promising not to bring in again to Court the Earl of *Arran* without her advice, and consent. For my part I never saw such

such appearance of a prosperous Estate, for his Majesties' honour, surety, love and obedience, of his own Subjects, increase of the number of his friends in *England*, to the advancement of his Title, neither before that time nor since; if the said *Arran* had not been brought again to Court, which I left not undeclared to his Majesty divers times, not without some danger.

Indeed his Majesties intention was not that he should stay at Court, but onely to come and kiss his hand. But he again being once entred, won some of the Lords, whose particulars he promised to set forward, if they would concur with him, and shew his Majesty that his presence about his person was necessary, and that my Gentle proceedings would ruin the Kings interest, and them all. Managing thus the matter, he remained at Court, and minded to make himself and his assistors rich, by the wrack and spoil of others, who had taken his Majesty at the Road of *Rutbuem*. And then he and they, were to guide all at their pleasure. So many of them, who shot at particular marks, ran a strait Course with him, because they thought by his Credit to make up themselves. They feared to lose his Majesties favour, in case *Arran* was not their friend. And some of them did what they could, to persuade me to do the like, alledging that otherwise I should be shut out. Which came to pass shortly after, because I would not yield nor concurr to cast all loose, to the peril of his Majesties Estate and Reputation, remembering what was intended; promised, and proclaimed at his Majesties obtaining his Liberty.

It is certain, that the Lords who made that interprise had great occasion given them to be discontent; but no sufficient cause to oblige them to compel their Sovereign Prince to remove from him these he so well liked. Which rebellious proceeding, compelled them also for their surety to retian and hold the King as Captive. His Majesty again being advertised, and admonished, that the dangerous proceedings of the Duke of *Lennox*, and Earl of *Arran*, were like to breed disorder, took too litte care to prevent the apparent inconveniencies, and used too little diligence to get sure intelligence and information thereof, which brought him to that strait of being taken, and kept. For it had been les pains to have taken good notice in due time, how his Country was Governed, then to put order or remedy thereto afterward. For it is no little Error, to render the most part of the Nobility and Subjects malecontent, nor no great wisdom after his Majesty was in their hands, to slip from them without their consents. The interprisers, assisters and allowers of the deed, being so considerable a number, as could not be overcome, but by patience, nor punished but by subversion of the State, and endangering of the Prince his own person. Yet it pleased God to guide his Majesty to his liberty (albeit not without some peril) with honour at the first, and with the universal contentment of all his Subjects so soon as they understood his honest meaning, and gracious deliberation as well by Promise, as by Proclamation, as is already specified. For my part, I forget not at all occasions, to remember his Majesty I refused the Office of Secretary when offered by his Majesty in reward of my service, because it was promised that no man should want his Offices, Benefits, Lands or Escheats. I opposed my self in full Council against the Earl of *Arran*, because

because he had formed a Proclamation against the Lords of the *Road of Ruthven*, contrary to His Majesty's former Proclamation of Grace and Oblivion: For which he leapt out of the house in a great rage at me; and for despite he made a List of the Names of so many as should be upon the Privy Council, and left out my name. Likewise he named so many of his dependers, as should serve in every Office, which his Majesty was resolved not to acquiesce to, without my advice. Yet he prevailed with His Majesty to subscribe the same, assisted by the fore-said Lords, who took plain part with him. So I was shut out of door, and had no more place to do good. His Majesty graciously excused the matter; and said, That the Lords had no will of two Brothers being upon the Council. But when he should get a Wife, I should be her Councillour, and chief about her. So that if they were glad to be quit of me, I was as glad to be free of them, and not to be partakers with them in advices tending directly to indanger the Prince and the Country.

Yet his Majesty assured me, That he would go to *Edinburgh*, according to the advice I had given in my fore-mentioned Letter, and Convene the Nobility, Barons, and others whom I had named, in order to the settling of the Country. And in the mean time he told me, That the Earl of *Arran* thought fit to send to *England* the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, alledging, That he was passing to the *Spaw* for recovery of his health: Who passing through *England*, might have Commission to deal with that Queen in his Majesties affairs. And in case he found her willing to discourse friendly and freely, he should then shew her that his Majesty would send me thither, to satisfy her more sufficiently in such things as she would require. And to that effect the said Bishop should send back word by a Gentleman, Captain *Robert Melvill*, who went thither expressly to be sent back with the said answer.

I was commanded to write in the Bishop's favour, but he was too well known in *England*. For Mr. *Bowes* who remained long in this Country, had informed them sufficiently of the said Bishop's qualities, who was disdained in *England*, and dishonoured his Country by borrowing of Gold and precious Furniture from the Bishop of *London*, and divers others, which was never restored, nor prayed for. His Majesty nevertheless would have me to grant to go to *England*, and to be in readiness. He desired me to make my own Instructions, alledging, That I know what was meetest for him to require at that time.

I would not take upon me to make my own Instructions, but I promised to pen the Speech that I would think most proper to recite to her Majesty, in case I went thither, and which I would judge to be the fittest language that any sent thither could speak for the time. After his Majesty had perused the same, he much relished it, and declared it was fully conform to his own intentions. It was in these words.

M. A. D. A. M.

“ Albeit that your Majesty be as sufficiently certified of the King  
 “ my Sovereign's conformable mind to satisfy your Majesty,  
 “ as well by Sir *Francis Walsingham* your Secretary, as by the Bishop of  
 “ *St. Andrews* his Ambassadour, granting the one his whole desires  
 “ by mouth, and declaring by the other how strictly he hath obser-

“ ved,

ved, and performed the same; in effect more to satisfy your motherly mind, by shewing the tokens of a thankful and obedient Son, then for any great advantage he perceives you, thereby seek for your self. So that it is his Majesty's intention, chiefly seeing he hath taken the Rudder into his own hand to discover to you as the longer the more the perfect fruits of his hearty affection.

For now having attained unto some years of knowledge, and dear bought experience (by that which hath been oft beat in his BARS) he is not ignorant how that your Majesties favour and assistance will be more contributive for his advantage and advancement, than can be any, or that he can obtain from all the other Princes in Europe. Your Majesty being to him so dear a Mother, and so near a Neighbour, both your Subjects appearing to be but one People. Especially since your prudent Government began, the effects whereof hath not only been found by your own, but by your neighbours. The same having extended it self to the advantage of other Kingdoms, especially overshadowing this whole Island to your Majesties everlasting honour. For never in any Princes days, hath been seen so much rest, so great riches and felicity in *England*, which likewise might have been in *Scotland*, if the particularities of some of the Subjects had suffered them to have followed your Sage, Charitable and Loving admonitions. As the consideration thereof is the reason which induced his Majesty, whom the matter most toucheth, to direct me to your Majesty after ripe deliberation, and upon the sure ground of the good information of such as were best inclined, and have greatest experience, to seek the assistance which he hath so oft seen sent unto him, help and wholsom advice where he hath so oft found it, and Salutory Plasters to be laid unto the Sores, that yet daily breed and waste in his Realm as remains of the Canker, and disorder ingendred during his Minority.

Seeing then the thing that he craves, is your accustomed Kindness and Counsel, which because the strength of your constancy will compel you to continue towards him, he is the more humbly to suit the same, as most seemly for his nearness of Kin, Age and Estate to do. Perswading himself, that such friendly Offices might be used between you, as may tend to both your contentments, and weal of your Kingdoms, which for lack of sure intelligence of others minds by secret and mutual conference, of devoutious and discreet informations, might otherwise turn to the contrary.

The King my Master knows that a mighty Man cannot stand upon one side, he grants that he hath now greater need of your help then you of his in many things. But he thinks himself as able, and as as willing to deserve favour at your hand, as any who can contend with him for the same, or would present to sound the Bell of Submission in your Ears. For his part, he requires no instant Declaration thereof, but will continually crave by his behaviour all such preferment, as an humble Son ought to seek at the hands of a loving and hearty Mother. Because he believes, that a word of your Majesties mouth, at a convenient time will sufficiently serve his turn, being yet young enough to await upon any benefit you shall be pleased to bestow upon him. Acknowledging the Prorogation of  
your

“ your Years, most profitable to supply his Youth. And considering  
 “ the necessity he hath now of your assistance, in the ruling of this his  
 “ troubled Estate, he believes that he would have double need of your  
 “ help, if over-early he had any greater handling.

“ Therefore, Madam, he desires as yet to recreate himself with hun-  
 “ ting and pastime, until he be of greater ripeness and maturity. Wi-  
 “ shing in the mean time unto your Majesty a long Life, a prosperous  
 “ Reign, and as good success in your proceedings hereafter, as you  
 “ have had hitherto, that having so happily and so honourably in a  
 “ manner ruled both the Realms, these many years by-gone, you  
 “ may be as able to leave them so joined together in a cordial and sta-  
 “ ble Monarchy. And that the blest and perfect end of your prudent  
 “ project may Confirm and Crown the worthiness of your Reputation,  
 “ in finishing the work which so many had so oft in vain enterprised,  
 “ as the only Prince that ever obtained the whole handling, and hearts  
 “ of all *Britain* without Blood. The first thereof begun and appro-  
 “ priate in your person, so pleasantly and peaceably ruled in your  
 “ time; and so justly and righteously distribute and left after you, not  
 “ only to the worthiest, as did *Alexander*, but also to the nearest of  
 “ your friends and kinsfolk, as did *Cæsar* to avoid blood shedding; then  
 “ as before, like a kindly Mother to the King, the Country, and Com-  
 “ mon-wealth, to the great pleasure of God, the perpetual praise of  
 “ your memory, and to the universal weal and pleasure of this whole  
 “ Island.

If the Queen of *England* could have credited His Majesty, she might  
 have an assured friendship and concurrence of him for the time.  
 Certainly his Majesty was ever minded to keep this kind of friendly  
 and discreet Correspondence with her. For he was informed how  
 little speed the Queen his Mother had, for suiting continually to be de-  
 clared Second Person of *England*, as may be seen in that which I have  
 written before, touching her proceedings with the Queen of *England*,  
 who I knew would never grant to declare a Second Person, but with  
 force and compulsion, which was never in the power of *Scotland* to  
 do, during the rich and peaceable Reign of that Queen. Yet fair and  
 discreet language and behaviour, gave place and access to His Maje-  
 sty's Ambassadors, to pass to and fro, to gain friends, and get intelli-  
 gence.

Now the Earl of *Arran* perceiving that by no persuasion he could  
 get His Majesty stayed from executing the resolution he had laid  
 down of going for *Edinburgh*, and calling a Convention of such Noble-  
 men, Barons, Burgesses and Ministers, as were meetest to settle the  
 troubled Estate of the Country, by taking up again, and following  
 forth his former gracious intention and promise, both by Proclamation  
 and Speeches unto divers Noblemen, Barons and Ministers. The said  
 Earl perceiving that he could not directly stay that good purpose, so  
 contrary to his intentions, he first made his interest to be made Chan-  
 cellour, and then Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, that by his great  
 Offices, besides his credit with His Majesty, he might terrifie all such  
 as durst oppose themselves to his Courses, or Propositions. Then he  
 used his craft, to pervert and draw the effect of the Convention, clear  
 contrary

contrary to His Majesty's intention. For he dealt and spoke with every Lord and Baron apart at their coming, shewing them how graciously his Majesty was minded toward such as had taken him at the *Road of Ruthven*; that he was resolved to grant every one of them a particular remission, some of them to be a while absent out of the Country, and others to remain at home in their own houses absent from Court. Alledging, that whoever would say that this form of punishment was not great clemency, they would lose His Majesties favour, and be reputed as Men who have no respect to his honour, and surety, it having been so odious a Crime to have laid hands forcibly upon their native Prince.

This matter being so set out, and declared by him, who it was thought knew most of his Majesty's mind, and had most of his favour, evidenced by his having the greatest Offices of the Kingdom in his hand; it was Voted by them all, *To be great Clemency used by his Majesty towards those who had committed so odious a Crime.* His Majesty not conjecturing the trick hereby put upon him, in rendering his gracious intention ineffectual, was very glad to hear them all conclude in one Opinion, not imagining they had been preoccupied by the Earl of *Arran*, part for fear, part for ignorance, others for flattery, to obtain favour of him who they saw guided both King and Country. Few or none of them, for the time, considered the apparent danger of rendering these plainly desperate, who were ordained to take Remissions, for that which before was allowed for good Service, in respect of their great number who could not yet be punished, nor quashed without hazarding His Majesty's own Princely Estate and Credit, which all discreet and wise Princes are loath to bring into Question. This allowance of good Service hath been oft practised in *France*, during the time of their Civil Wars, when their late Princes were but yet young, and where the Malecontents and Pretenders to Reform the Estate where so many and mighty, as to make a Party answerable to that of their King.

Because I was not yet come to the first day of the said Convention, His Majesty told me that same night at my coming, what had been Voted at their first meeting, which he thought would be to my great contentment, desiring me the next day to be present. I answered, I was sorry from my heart for what had been concluded, seeing it was in effect clean contrary to his intention. For whereas he thought to have settled his Estate, it was cast loose, the Die was now cast, and the Dissention so increased to the kindling of new enterprises, that chance would bear away the Mastery and Victory. For those who were compelled to take Remission, would take it as their ditty, and that finding their former securities altered, there was not any more place left for any sort of agreement.

This language of mine being contrary to the Opinion of so many, did not a little displease his Majesty. He asked me, if I thought not the *Road of Ruthven* Treason? I answered, That I thought it so indeed, yet since not only his Majesty himself and his Council, had not only wisely and circumspectly allowed it for good Service, but had written the same to the Queen of *England*, and had sent his Commissioners to the General Assembly holden for the time at *Edinburgh*, willing the Ministers at their return to their Parishes to cause the principal

pal Gentlemen of each Shire to subscribe a Signature, or the Copy wherein the *Road of Ruthven* was allowed for good Service, and to be ready to defend the same. I declared also unto his Majesty, that there was a common Clause contained in all Remissions; to wit, *Except the laying hands upon the King's person*; so that how little secured they were by their present Remissions, His Majesty might easily judge. He answered, That seldom or never was any Remissions seen broken, and wondered what made me think or speak contrary to the rest of the Council. I said, if I had alwayes spoken as the rest, I had not been put off the Council by the Earl of *Arran*, whose qualities I had before described unto His Majesty, and what inseparable inconveniencies would attend his being again brought into Court. I requested His Majesty for his own weal, to send him home to his own House. For by his underhand dealing, I understood that his Convention would shortly bring on new desperate enterprises. His Majesty said, That I was in the wrong to the Earl of *Arran*, and that there would never be more desperate enterprises. I affirmed that there would be continually, ay and while the Lords who were in despair might mend themselves, or find themselves in a better security. I said moreover to His Majesty, that the Earl of *Arran* would yet again put his Person and Crown in hazard, so that His Majesty left me in anger. And yet he turned about again, and asked who shall then remain about me, if I put away the Earl of *Arran*? I answered, Who but your ancient Nobility, the Earls of *March, Arguile, Eglintoun, Montrose, Marshal, Rothes, Huntly, and Crauford*, with some Ministers and Barons, known not to be factious. But so many of the Noblemen, and of their Friends, as were yet remaining within the Country, after they had heard of their Remissions, they Combin'd together and gained divers Lords, who were about His Majesty to make a new enterprise, and were minded to slay the Earl of *Arran*, Colonel *Stuart*, and some others that were about His Majesty, whom they knew to have been most instrumental in carrying on this design, though it should be in his Majesty's presence, and that way to become Masters again of the Court. Whereof I not only was advertised by some, to whom I had formerly done kindnesses; but I was advised to absent my self from Court four or five days, till the first fury of the alteration was over: For the Earl of *Arran's* hatred to me, procured me many friends. I again to save his Majesty from peril, and dishonour, thought it my duty to advertise him, intreating him to send home the said *Earl*. I cannot tell what moved the Earl, but that same night he invited me to Supper, which I refused. The next day again he took me by the hand before His Majesty, saying, That I should Dine with him in his Majesty's presence. He shewed me a very favourable countenance, for the King had forbidden him to offend me in any sort, as he would retain his favour. If he had got any word of my contrary Opinion to his, I cannot tell, or that I had desired him to be sent home, but there was some appearance of this by his behaviour and passionate Speeches unto me, soon after that I had told my judgment unto his Majesty, as men may judge, for leading me by the hand to dine with him in His Majesty's presence, which I could not evite. Before we did sit down to Dinner, he askt Me how all would be? I told him very freely, all I had spoken unto

His



His Majesty. Then, said he, you would place about His Majesty the Earl of *March*, who is a Fool guided by the Laird of *Compte* and *Robert Sives*. I said, he behoved to be one with the rest of the Noblemen already named. He said it should pass my power, or any Man's to cause him leave his Majesty, so long as he was in such danger. I answered, That the King was in danger for no other cause, but because he was with him. I perceived he entertained a great discontent at me in his heart, which burst out afterward, Threatning to put me out of the Gates, if I fished any more in his Waters. I answered, if I pleased to tarry, it would pass his power, seeing I would get more honest Men to take my part, then he would get Throat-cutters to assist him. So soon as his Majesty heard of this language, he sent the Earl's Uncle, the Laird of *Caprintoun* to reprove him very sharply. Whereupon he retired in great discontent to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, whereof he was Captain, declaring he would not come near his Majesty, till I was sent home, to give him place, which I perceived His Majesty was satisfied I should do to please him. For his Wife came daily to His Majesty, and said, That her Husband was highly discontent, finding His Majesty to take my part against him. Whereupon I resolved to retire. At my leave-taking, His Majesty said, he doubted not but I would return when called for. By which I understood, that I should not come back, till sent for. Which suited very well with my former intentions, being resolved to attend no longer then the fore-said Convention was ended.

Now the Earl of *Arran* triumphed, being *Chancellor*, and *Captain* of the Castles of *Edinburgh* and *Sterling*. He made the whole Subjects to tremble under him, and every Man to depend upon him, daily inventing and seeking out new faults against divers, to get the gift of their Escheats, Lands, Benefices. And to procure Bribes, he vexed the whole Writers, to make sure his gifts. Those of the Nobility who were now unsure of their Estates fled, others were banished; he shot directly at the Life and Lands of the Earl of *Gaury*. For the Highland Oracles had shewn unto his Wife, that *Gaury* would be ruined, as she told to some of her familiars. But she helped that Prophecie forward, as well as she could. For *Gaury* had been his first Master, and despighted his insolent Pride, Oppression, and Misbehaviour plainly in Council, which few others durst do, therefore he hated his Person, and loved his Lands, which at length he obtained.

For *Gaury* being unable to be a Witness of the Oppression of his Country, obtained His Majesties consent to go out of the Country. But as he was making his preparations too longsomly, and slowly in *Dundie* (as he was of Nature over slow) where his Ship was to receive him, he was advertised by some Factioners that the Earls of *Argus*, *Mar*, and Master of *Glams*, had an enterprize in hand, viz. To come out of *Ireland*, and take the Town and Castle of *Sterling*. Having correspondence with divers Nobles, and others their Friends, who were in the Country Malecontents, so that they were in hope to make a party sufficient against the Earl of *Arran*.

The despight the Earl of *Gaury* had against the Earl of *Arran*, moved him to stay to make part with them. There was at this time an universal discontent in the Country, and great bruits of an alteration

on. Whereupon a Letter was written to me by Colonel *Stuart*, at His Majesty's Command, ordaining me with all diligence to repair to Court; or in case I was not recovered of my Ague, whereof I had been long sick, that I might write my Mind and Opinion to His Majesty in a Letter, what was like to fall out concerning the great Rumour and Bruits of an apparent alteration. And being by reason of my foresaid Distemper, unable for Travel, I sent my return in Writing, shewing His Majesty, that there was an universal discontent, with great bruits, not without appearance of probability of a sudden change, occasioned by the misbehaviour of such as were managers at Court, and by the great Straits, and desperate Estate of those who were pursued, being men of Quality, Active and Experienced. And a greater number then could be born down or Mastered, as I had frequently shewn His Majesty before, without respect of feud or favour, but simply for His Majesty's Service. Intreating His Majesty again to set forward his former acceptable intentions, which he had resolved to do when he went to *St. Andrews*. Seeing there was no other course advisable, for settling his troubled Estate. This kind of language was the better liked, because of so many Advertisments that came daily to His Majesty's Ears.

These bruits made His Majesty be upon his Guard, and to use means to get intelligence. The lingring of the Earl of *Gaurry* in *Dundie* gave ground of suspicion. His Majesty had also been advertised, That he had laid aside his intentions of going abroad according to his former resolutions, and that he was designing to wait upon the in-coming of the banished Lords. His Majesty also dreamed a Dream, that he saw the Earl of *Gaurry* taken, and brought in Prisoner before him by Colonel *Stuart*. And he thought his Estate was thereby settled, which indeed for that time came true, because the Lords who had taken *sterling*, so soon as they understood of the taking of the Earl of *Gaurry*, fled incontinently out of *Sterling*, and at last out of the Country. Believing that the said Earl had been taken willingly, supposing his affection to have been so great to His Majesty, as being his near kinsman, come of the House of *Angus*, his Mother being a Natural Daughter of the said House, that he would be thereby induced to discover the whole design. He not having been upon the first design of any enterprise, but drawn in afterwards by the craftiness of others. Upon these considerations, His Majesty had compassion upon him, and had no intention of taking his Life. But the Earl of *Arran* was fully resolved to have his Lands, and therefore to make a Party to assist him in that design, he ingaged to divide them with several others, upon condition that they would assist him in the design of ruining him. Which afterwards he did, having by this means procured their Consent, and Votes. At his death upon the Scaffold, he shewed himself a devout Christian, and a resolute *Roman*, much regrated by all who heard his grave Harangue, and did see his constant End.

After his death, there was quietness for a while, though without appearance of long continuance to such as took up matters right. During this little while of fair Weather, there was a Parliament held to forfait the banished Lords, wherein these were chiefly instrumental, who hoped to raise their particular Fortunes upon the ruine of their Neighbours.

Among

Among others, it pleased His Majesty to write for me. I was by him graciously received, and remembering some of my Speeches, he took me into his Cabinet, and inquired how I now relished his proceedings. I answered, That he had reason to thank God, and no good management, and that I was assured there would be yet more enterprises: That they who took *Sterling*, and had retired again, would never cease to make enterprise upon enterprise, till they might see themselves in a better security. His Majesty replied, That they had gained so little by their last in-coming, that he believed they would never commit such a folly again. I answered, That had not the accidental taking of the Earl of *Gaury* fallen out, their enterprise would have been more successful: For they suspected, he was taken by his own desire to bewray their enterprise: That otherwise they had gained their intent, seeing some who were then about His Majesty would have concurred with them, to lay aside the Earl of *Arran*, whom they assisted for aw, and not for love, they hating his insolency, and seeing no Outgate how to stand by him. And that there had for that effect been secret promises made to them, by instruments who went betwixt them. But seeing the Earl of *Gaury* in hands, and the said Lords thereby so discouraged as to fly away, such as had made the said secret promises, took up a new deliberation, shewing themselves their greatest Enemies. While in the mean time, they but waited an opportunity of advancing their intentions.

About this time the Lord *Burleigh* chief Ruler in *England*, caused send in one Mr. *Davison* to be an Agent here, to see what business he could brew, who was afterwards made Secretary: For after the decease of *Walsingham*, Secretary *Cecil* being advanced to be Lord *Burleigh*, and great Treasurer of *England*, two Secretaries were chosen, one called Mr. *Smith*, and this *Davison*, whose Predecessor was a *Scotsman*. Upon which consideration, he was thought more able to conquer credit here. He had been in *Scotland* before, and was at my house, in company with Sir *Henry Killegrew* my old friend, when he was Resident in *Scotland*. At which time, he acknowledged to me that he was come of *Scotsmen*, and was a *Scotsman* in his heart, and a favourer of the King's Right, and Title to the Crown of *England*. He desired me to keep all secret from Mr. *Killegrew*, promising if he could find the means to be employed here, that he would do good Offices.

His Majesty was for the time at *Falkland*, and wrote for me, to be directed to ride and meet the said *Davison*. Whom I was commanded to Convoy to *Coupar*, there to remain till his Majesty had time to give him Audience. Afterward I Convoyed him to my own house, and from that to *Falkland*, where His Majesty found his Commission to small avail. But because *Walsingham* had refused at his being here, to speak with the Earl of *Arran*, albeit the said Earl had offered by me to give satisfaction to him in all his desires, so that he would confer with him. Which *Walsingham* still refused, but Mr. *Davison* was directed at this time to deal with the Earl of *Arran*, to see what advantage might be had at his hand. For my Lord *Burleigh* was not content that *Walsingham* was so precise; therefore *Davison* entred into familiarity with him, and was made his Gossip, and heard his frank offers, and liked well of them. For after that the Lords were fled to

*England*,

*England*, and forfeited, the Council of *England* thought they had some ground to build a new faction upon, to trouble the King, and his Estate. And whereas the said *Davison* had promised before to shew himself a kind *Scotsman*, I perceived him clean altered, and a perfect practiser against the quiet of this State, whereof I advertised His Majesty.

After his return, *England* appeared not to have such a fear, as it had formerly had at the Earl of *Arran*. For there was a meeting drawn on at the Borders, betwixt the Earl of *Hunfdon* and the Earl of *Arran*. Who had long and privy conference together, to keep a great friendship betwixt the two Princes and Countries; with a secret Plot, That the Earl of *Arran* should keep the King unmarried for three years; under this pretext, That there was a young Maid of the blood in *England*, who about that time would be ready for marriage, whereupon the Queen would declare His Majesty Second Person.

This was a deceitful Traffique and kept secret from every Body, the design thereof being to hinder the King to deal for any other honourable and profitable Match. The Earl of *Arran* thinking himself settled, being now in friendship with the Queen of *England* as he supposed, moved his Majesty to send thither the Master of *Gray*, who was entered in great favour and familiarity with His Majesty, by some secret dealing and intelligence he had with the Queen his Mother in *England*, by means of some of her friends in *France*. For being there at his Travels, and but lately returned, he brought some Letters directed from Her Majesty to the King her Son, and conveyed the answers back again, by an interest he had in *England*, with some who favoured Her Majesty. He was a great dealer also, between Her Majesty and some Catholicks in *England*. He was a proper Gentleman, of a Noble Spirit, and fair Speech, and so well esteemed by His Majesty, that *Arran* thought fit to absent him from Court by this Ambassage. Nevertheless he employed him also in the Course begun betwixt him and the Earl of *Hunfdean*. And yet when he was at the Court of *England*, so well esteemed and treated as was reported by such as were sent back, it was alledged by some of the Master of *Gray*'s friends, that the Earl of *Arran* began to envy him, and misrepresent him unto His Majesty, as if he had discovered unto the Queen of *England*, a great part of the Queen of *Scotland*'s purposes, and proceedings. However the said Master returned again well rewarded, and commended for his behaviour, qualities, and discretion unto the King's Majesty, to the great increase of his Credit with the King. Not long after his return, he was informed what misreports had been made of him in his absence. Which he recompensed the best he could with Court Charity at convenient times, so that by little and little he began to Eclipse *Arran*.

The Master of *Gray* also forewarned His Majesty of a notable Person who was upon the way, sent unto His Majesty by the Queen of *England*, to do him honour, and to bear him company, to entertain a stricter friendship between that Queen and Him, than any had ever been intended before. And that the said Ambassadour called Mr. *Wotton* would not trouble His Majesty with Business, or Country Affairs, but would bear him company in his Pastimes of Hunting, Hauking, and

and Horfe-riding; and entertain him with friendly and merry Discourses, as one come lately from *Italy*, and *Spain*, expert in Languages and Customs of Countries; and a great lover of his Majesty's Title, and Right to the Crown of *England*. So that His Majesty was engaged to love him before he did see him, and caused with diligence to write to me to come and entertain the said Ambassadour.

At my return to Court, I was the better taken with, that *Arran* was under some Cloud. The Master of *Gray* was then my great friend: For His Majesty had told him, that I had ever resisted the Earl of *Arran's* furious proceedings. His Majesty desired me, as I would do him acceptable Service, to bear good company to the said Ambassadour, declaring unto me all his properties, and qualifications above specified; willing me also to Banquet him at my house. But after I had conversed certain days with him, I remembered I had formerly seen him in *France* with Doctor *Wotton*, who was their Ambassadour Resident for Queen *Mary* of *England*, the time that she was married with King *Philip* of *Spain*. During which time, there were great suspicions and jealousies betwixt *France* and *England*. For tho there was hot War between *France* and *Spain*, yet the Peace continued still with the Queen of *England*, who was lately married by the King of *Spain*. She appeared still to keep the Peace with *France*, though in the mean time she sent over to *Flanders* both Men and Money to the help of the King her Husband. The old Constable of *France*, my Master, who for the time had the whole management of the Country Affairs, under King *Henry* the Second, reproached the *English* Ambassadour, for that the Queen his Mistress was doing her endeavour to break the Peace. The Ambassadour excused his Mistress, alledging, That if any of his Country-men served in the Wars under the King of *Spain*, that they would be found but Soldiers of Fortune, ready to serve any Man for Money. She denied that she knew of their passing into *Flanders*, or that she disbursed any Money for the Wars. Albeit that there was ground enough ministred unto her, by reciving and retaining in *France* all her Rebels and Fugitives, giving them Pensions and Intertainment, and stirring them up to enterprises against her Life, and Estate. This the Constable flatly denied, only he said, That out of a general good will which was born to *English-men* in time of Peace, they were suffered to live in the Country, which bears the name of *France*, because their should be Freedom and Franchise to every Christian. The Ambassadour being wise and subtil, perceiving this answer to be but a shift, and that Wars would inevitably follow these kind of suspicions; he intended by some subtilty to Circumvent the Constable, and for that effect had sent to *England* for his Brother's Son, being One and Twenty years of Age, as well to employ him, as to teach him the *French* and *Italian* Languages. This youth being arrived in *France* with an *Irisb* Boy to be his Interpreter, who could speak *French*, both appavelled in mean array, to be the less suspected to have any practise or policy in their minds. Like a Foreign young Man he addressed himself to some of the King of *France* his Courtiers, desiring Audience of His Majesty secretly, as having a matter of great importance to propose. The King again divers times directed him to deal first with the Constable. At last when he came

to

to the Constable, he desired also of him, that he might first declare unto the King his Errand, which was of great importance, although he knew that the King spoke with no Man in such matters, until the Constable had first sounded him, and then told his Opinion to the King, what answer were fittest to make. At length he said, he would declare the matter unto the Constable, under promise of great secrecy, causing the Constable by this niceness to suspect some practice. When he gave him Audience, he caused me to be present beside him. At their meeting in the Constable's Cabinet; his *Irish* Interpreter was put forth, against his will, as appeared. But he was so instructed by the Ambassadour his Uncle, to use such forreign and rude fashions. Yet again ere he began to propose his Errand, he desired secrecy. The Constable being an old, wise, experimented Councillor, put him a little aside, and rounded in my Ear, to know if ever I had seen this young Man before. I answered, That I had observed him the preceding day at long conference with one Mr. *Sommer* Secretary to the *English* Ambassadour. Then the Constable thought, that he should handle the matter well enough: for he instantly conjectured that all this niceness proceeded from the Ambassadour, to intrap him. So calling the young Man again, he desired him to shew what he had to say. Mr. *Wotton* began to declare the great discontentment that was in *England*, not only for bringing in the proud *Spaniard* to Rule over them, but also for the alteration of Religion made by *Queen Mary*, moving some to Rebel, and others to remove off the Country, who nevertheless were all well received and treated by the King's Majesty of *France*. Whereby he had gained the hearts of the third part of *England* so devoutly towards him, that they would gladly put the Crown of *England* on his head, (getting liberty in religion) to be quit of the *Spanish* Tyranny, and terrible Inquisition, which was feared would also be established in *England*. And for the first proof of their good will and gratitude, a number of Lords and Knights, who durst not write, had sent him secretly with an Overture to put the strong Town of *Calis* into his hands, with the whole Earldom of *Oye*. At this the Constable made a start, and said, Know you not my friend, that there is a sworn Peace betwixt your Queen and my Master? The other replied again, how that the Queen of *England* aided secretly, whith Mony and Men the King of *Spain* her Husband, in his Wars of *Flanders* against *France*. Which the Constable alledged that she denied by her Ambassadour, willing him however to tell out the rest of his Commission. Then, said he, my Lord, the means how you may get *Calis*, is this, First, The most part of the Town is of the Reformed Religion, and are Malecontents, having refused to receive a Garrison of *Spaniards*. And they are friends to those who have sent me, and keep correspondence with them; only the Towns Ship keeps the Town, keeping Watch and Ward, being unskilful in handling their Arms. Therefore the King shall cause Monsieur *Senarpon* his Lieutenant in *Normandy*, to lye in ambuscade at such a Wood within a mile and an half of the Town, at an appointed day, then a Ship well furnished with Armed Men shall lye at Anchor half a mile from the Town. And some of them clothed like Marriners, shall come on Land, and have Swords and Pistols under their Cloaths, and shall

wait



wait about two of the Afternoon, at which time the Ports of the Town are opened to let Men in, and out. Part of those who attend the Ports, will be at their Dinner, when one or two will come before the rest to open the Gates. Thus the Gates being easily seized upon, let one of the Company shoot off a Culverin, that the Ship may hear, and shoot a Cannon to cause *Monsieur de Semarpon* with his Company advance. In the mean time, there shall be a mutiny raised in the Town by our friends, and partners; so that the Town shall be obtained without stroke.

After that the Constable had heard all this long discourse, he said, That it was a very probable design, and he doubted not but it might be easily effectuated; but in respect of the sworn Peace, the King his Master would not, nor should never have his consent to break it. But that he was much engaged to the Noblemen who did bear him so much good will; and as for him who had taken so great paines, the King should reward him, willing me to remember to cause give money to the young Gentleman. So he gained nothing at the Constable's hand, and never came again to seek his reward; but was afterward manifestly known to be Brother's Son to Doctor *Wotton* Ambassadour, as said is.

This is he now who was sent hither to bear His Majesty company, as one who will not meddle with Practices, but with Pastimes. But when I forewarned His Majesty to beware of him, and told how that he being little above Twenty years old, was employed to beguile the wife old Constable: Now he was Fifty years, and His Majesty but Twenty, it was to be feared he would endeavour to beguile him. Yet His Majesty would not believe me, but believed the said *Mr. Wotton* to have a great kindness for him, and so he became one of his most familiar Minions, waiting upon him at all Field pastimes; and in appearance he despised all busy Counsellors, and medlers in matters of State; as he was instructed by such as said, he would please His Majesty best to appear such. But he had more hurtful fetches in his head against His Majesty, then any *English* man that ever came in hither had at any time before.

You have heard before of a meeting that was drawn on at the Borders, betwixt the Earl of *Hansdean* and *Arran*; where at their secret conference *Arran* was required by the craft of the Lord *Burlighy* and his faction in the *English* Council; to stop the King from any marriage for three years, upon many fair counterfeted promises; One whereof was, That he should be declared Second Person, upon his marriage of the forenamed *English* Lady of the Blood. At which *Arran* granted all that was desired, he was so glad to procure the Queen of *Scotland's* friendship. About that time the Queen of *England*, by her intelligence from *Denmark*, was advertised of a great and magnificent Ambassage, to be sent from *Denmark* to *Scotland*, viz. Three Ambassadors, with Sixscore Persons, in Two gallant Ships. Whether she suspected or had heard, that it was to draw on a marriage, I cannot tell. But this far I learned, that her Council judged it was to confirm at least a greater friendship betwixt the two Kings, and their Councils, which was one of the Causes that moved them to send this *Mr. Wotton* to *Scotland*, to see all his wiles to disturb and hinder any great



ter Amity, that might proceed from the said Commission, and Negotiation between their two Kings, and their Countries. For *England* trusted nothing to the Earl of *Arran's* promise, for they esteemed him as an inconstant Man, as is already declared.

So soon as the *Danish* Ambassadors arrived by Ship in this Country, His Majesty ordered me to entertain them, and bear them company. And because they were three joined in Commission, he willed me to choose any other two whom I thought meetest, to bear them company with me. I named unto His Majesty the Laird of *Segie*, and *William Shaw* Master of *Wark*.

First, At *Dumfarming* they Congratulated His Majesty in the King their Master's Name, with a long Discourse of the old Amity, Bond, and mutual Friendship between the two Kings, and their Kingdoms. And last of all they required the Isles of *Orkny* to be restored again to the Crown of *Denmark*, alledging they were mortgaged, to be redeemed again for the Sum of Fifty Thousand Florins.

Their coming and demand was diversly scanned, some supposing Wars would ensue, unless the said Isles were rendred, others thought that their intention was to bring on a marriage with the King of *Denmark's* Daughter.

Now albeit His Majesty was determined to treat them well, and honourably, they were nevertheless mishandled, rusted, and delayed here the space of Months, to their great charge and discontent; for they lived upon their own expences, and were not defrayed by His Majesty, as all other Ambassadors of that Nation have been since. When they were appointed to part out of *Dumfarming* toward *St. Andrews*, there to get their dispatch, His Majesty ordered to tell them, That he would send them Horses out of his own Stable, to ride upon. The day of their parting being come, they sent away their Baggage and Officers before them, and were booted themselves, waiting upon His Majesty's Horses, and because they came not in due time, they went forward on foot. The King was much dissatisfied when he understood how they were handled, and caused his Horses to follow fast after them, and overtake them. When they came to *St. Andrews*, divers appointed days of Council and Convention were broken unto them, which were promised to be kept for their dispatch, for obtaining whereof they were very earnest. Then Men were appointed to deride them at their Lodgings, and before their Windows when they lookt out to the street. So that nothing was left undone, which could enrage them, or stir them up to choller. Only *Mr. Wotton* the *English* Ambassador visited them frequently, and did well and favourably entertain them, comforting them at all occasions, appearing to be sorry that they were so abused. He offered to lend them Gold and Silver largely, for the great friendship that he knew to be between the Queen his Mistress, and the King of *Denmark*. For he was assured of good payment, and thought to purchase credit at their hands by his apparent friendly dealing. At length under great secrecy he said he would not conceal from them, that he had heard the King speak disdainful language of their Country and Customs; and also, That some of his Gentlemen had heard the King speak evil of their King, undervaluing him as being descended of a Race of Merchants.

chants. And he further assured them, That he and his Council were resolved to keep them long here, without any dispatc, to affront and weary them.

Then again the said Ambassadour, and two of his Gentlemen informed his Majesty of these hard Speeches, of the reproachful dealing they had met with from King and Council, reflecting upon their Master. He informed him also of the rude manners, and drunkenness of those that were about His Majesty, who had the like scornful language of the King of *Denmark*, his Country, and Ambassadours, moving His Majesty to make the less of them. Whereby they were stirred up to such a rage, that I had much to do to keep them two or three several times from going to their Ships, to have returned to their King without any answer, and to have given him an account of the disdainfull usage they had met with, and the injury thereby done to him. The Earl of *Arran* was also their great Enemy, because they made no court to him, but rather slighted, some of their Company having known him in *Sweden* a Common Soldier. So that he was as ready as the rest to mock and deride them; albeit at that same time the King-leaders about the Court were Combined together with the *English* Ambassadour against him.

The principal of the three Ambassadours was a wise, grave, and ancient Councillor. The second was furious in his Speeches. The third cried out, *The King our Master is affronted, we must be revenged.*

I took the first apart, requesting him to hear me patiently, for he spoke good *Dutch*, but mine was not so good. Therefore I desired that he would more notice my meaning, than my words, and be more careful to cause his friendly Commission to take effect, that he might return home with happy success, then to withdraw abruptly, to be called unhappy Instruments of discord at the pleasure of a few scornful Factioners, who had laid their heads together to cause them part dissatisfied, and to be as instrumental in doing evil, as they were intended at their coming to do good.

I told him, how that the Queens Majesty of *England* was a wise, well inclined, and politick Princess, and that there were as many honest and good Men in *England*, as in so much bounds in the whole World; albeit there was in it divers Opinions, and Factions, shooting at sundry marks, as is done in all other parts. And because that their Queen would never marry to have Succession of her own Body, they were all very desirous to know who after her should Reige over them.

The most part of the Country, expects that it shall be our King, and wisheth his welfare and prosperity, as being righteous Heir to the Crown of *England*, both by the Father and Mother's side. But those who at present have a chief management at the Court, shoot at other particular marks of their own, aspiring to set forward some of themselves, or of their friends, to brook the Kingdom. And for that cause; they make all the opposition they can to our King, because of their unmerciful dealing to his Mother, for the which they fear some day to be punished, when he comes to be King of *England*. For all these respects, they endeavour to keep him from marriage, and

from all forreign Friendship and Alliance. This Ambassadour of *England*, is a very ill Instrument, both himself, and his Gentlemen, and hunting daily with His Majesty, makes the worst reports they can. The Ambassadour of *Denmark* answered to that, marvelling that Mr. *Wotton* should make such report of them, he offering them so great friendship, and giving them daily intelligence how they were scorned and mocked, both by the King and his Conncil, to his great regret, offering to lend them mony, and to do all other pleasures to them that lay in his power. I replied, He knew well enough, that he would get good payment, and great thanks. For the King of *Denmark* was esteemed a worthy Prince, and his Ambassadours worthy to be honoured; but the guiders of the Court of *England* desire not that our King should think or esteem so of them, wishing him to have but few Friends, and many Enemies. Then I assured him, That the King's Majesty and all his Subjects, except some that were corrupted by *England*, were determined to entertain and increase a continual friendship with the King and Country of *Denmark*: Praying their wisdoms couragiously to resist, and not feebly and foolishly to give place to the said crafty practices of their scornful envious, by retiring abruptly, thereby suffering themselves to be made evil Instruments, directly against their own Intention and Commission, and they should shortly see good success to follow thereupon, to their great contentment. Promising unto them for my part, That I should go instantly unto his Majesty, and with all hazard that might be, should discover unto him, how both he and they were deceitfully abused by the double dealing of the *English* Ambassadour, and such Courtiers as assisted him.

Upon this discourse and promise, they went to council all three together, as their custom was. And after long conference, they gave me answer, That their coming was for to do good Offices. And albeit they had suffered fundry injuries, they would be sorry to be made Instruments of discord, so far against their Commission and Intention, and therefore would yet stay upon hope of better handling, and upon my promise, albeit to that hour few or none had been kept to them.

After this, I shewed unto His Majesty what great inconveniencies might ensue upon the long delaying, and ill handling of the *Danish* Ambassadours. And yet that I marvelled not that he made so little account of them, in respect of the great care, and fine practices, that were used to make him undervalue them, by the *English* Ambassadour and his Assistants, who had His Majesty's Ear for the time. At the first His Majesty was impatient to hear this language spoken of Persons he had so good liking of, and said, that he was informed, That the King of *Denmark* was descended but of Merchants, and that few made account of him or his Country, but such as spoke the *Dutch* Tongue. For this was put in his head to prevent any of my persuasions in their favour, lest they should get place or credit. I answered, That neither could the King of *France*, or Queen of *England* speak *Dutch*, and yet they made great account to the King and Country of *Denmark*. *France* having their Ambassadour lying there, and paying yearly to the King of *Denmark* a great Sum of Gold, to the value of

Twenty

Twenty Thousand Crowns. His Majesty said, The more shame was his. I said, Rather to the King of *France*, who must buy his kindness. Neither could the Queen of *England*, said I, speak *Dutch*, yet she made much account of the King and Country of *Denmark*, and durst not offend him, nor none of his Ships, both by reason of the straight passage at *Elfoamere*, and also because he had great Ships to make himself amends, in case she did him or his any wrong. I said, moreover, That whereas it hath been reported to Your Majesty, the Race of their Kings not to be of Noble and Royal Blood, I shall shew Your Majesty that it is but manifest invention to cause you to despise them. For this late King *Frederick* is descended of an Old and Royal Stock, to wit, *Christianus* of *Denmark*, the first of that name, who had two Sons, and one Daughter called *Margaret*, married into *Scotland* to *James* the Third his Eldest Son. *John* was King after him; his second Son *Frederick* was King of *Norway*, and Duke of *Holstein*. *John* had a Son called *Christianus* the Second, also King of *Denmark*, who married *Charles* the Fifth his Sister, who did bear him two Daughters: Whereof the Eldest was given in marriage to *Frederick* Elector Palatine; the Second to the Duke of *Millain*, and afterward, being a Widow, married the Duke of *Lorrain*. Himself was taken and kept in Prison by his Subjects, for some rigorous Execution upon his Barons, and his Father's Brother *Frederick* was made King. After this *Frederick*, the Earl of *Altenbourg* was chosen by assistance of the Town of *Lubeck*, but *Christianus* the Third, Son to the said *Frederick*, put him out, and conquered the Kingdom. Nevertheless this *Christianus* being a good Prince, would not change their old Privileges, but caused himself to be chosen, and likewise his Son *Frederick* in his time, to Reign after him; who is now present King, and hath sent his honourable Ambassage to Your Majesty, as to his good friend, and kinsman, descended of the Kingly Race of *Denmark*. And whereas he requires again the Isles of *Orkny*, it is for the discharge of his Oath, because every King of *Denmark* at his Election, is sworn to claim again the said Isles, which he hath done for the fashion, and for no other effect, but to draw off a greater familiarity, and friendship. Or else he had not sent so honourable a Company, but rather an Herald of Arms, if he had been earnestly bent either to get the said Isles, or to bargain about them.

After that His Majesty had heard this Discourse far different to his former Informations, he was exceedingly glad, and said, he would not for his head, but that I had shewn the verity unto him; and that same afternoon he sent for the said Ambassadors, and acquainted them how near Allied he was to the King of *Denmark*. He excused their long delay, and promised instantly to see them dispatched himself, and that within three or four days. He called for Wine, and did drink to them, and sent them home very well content, and satisfied to their Lodgings. He commanded a Banquet to be prepared for them, which His Majesty's Controller and Officers were quietly forbidden to do, alledging the scantness of Provisions. Which the Laird of *Segie* and I perceiving, we dealt with the Earl of *March*, who prepared a great Banquet for them in His Majesty's Name, to the great dissatisfaction of *Mr. Wotton*, and his Parisians, who durst not appear. And though they would not suffer His Majesty to be present at the Banquet, but

to Dine in his own Chamber, yet his Majesty being informed by me how matters went, he rose from his own Dinner, and went to the Banquet house, and drank to the King, Queen, and Ambassadors of *Denmark*, and so contented them. And he caused their dispatch to be in readiness, conform to his promise. But when I advertised His Majesty, That there was no Present prepared for to reward them withal, he was wonderfully troubled, saying, They who had the management of his affairs, were resolved to affront him.

Now at this time was the Earl at Court, not so much in favour as formerly. During the which time, there chanced a strange misrule to fall out at a day of meeting upon the Borders, which was set between the two Wardens: where Sir *Francis Russel* upon the *English* side was killed. Whereupon the *English* Ambassador took occasion to lay the blame upon the Earl of *Arran*, alledging, That the Laird of *Fernihast* who was Warden upon the *Scots* side had married the Earl of *Arran's* Brother's Daughter. And that the said Earl had caused the slaughter to be made, that the Borders might break loose. In this complaint, the said Ambassador was well assisted by the Master of *Gray* and his Companions. So that the Earl of *Arran* was Comanded to Ward within the Castle of *St. Andrews*, and was kept strictly there three or four days. So that being in fear of his life, he sent for Colonel *Stuart*, the Laird of *Segie*, and me, and lamented to us his hard handling, purging himself, as he might justly do, of that accident that fell out upon the Borders, requesting us to intercede for his liberty.

He declared unto us a secret to be shewn unto His Majesty, in case his life was taken from him, which was a promise made unto the Queen of *England*, That the King should not marry with any for the space of three years, whereof I have formerly made some mention. Nevertheless he forgot not to travel for himself, for he sent his Brother Sir *William* to the Master of *Gray* at midnight, promising to get unto him the *Abbey* of *Dumfurling*, so that he would obtain his liberty at His Majesty's hand. Which was incontinently granted, and also the said Benefice disposed unto the said Master. Whereupon the *English* Ambassador was in a great rage at the Master, but their discord was afterward agreed. Only Mr. *John Maitland* Secretary, and the Justice Clerk, and the Earl of *Arran*, were ordered to retire home to their houses. But before *Arran's* journey, His Majesty was informed to desire him, with all possible diligence, to lend him a great Gold Chain, which he had got from Sir *James Balfour*, which weighed Fifty-seven Crowns, to be given unto the *Danish* Ambassadors. Which if he had refused to do, he would have lost His Majesty, and in delivering it he lost the Chain.

In the mean time, the Ambassadors understanding that their dispatch was in a readiness, took their leave of His Majesty, who was also ready to part from *St. Andrews*. I informed His Majesty not to deliver them the Dispatch, because the Chain was not yet come: For they were minded incontinently to make Sail, having stayed so long, and that the Winter Season was at hand. Albeit that I had shewn to one of their familiar Servants, that certain rewards were to come within two days, praying them to stay so long. Which they

would

would not grant to do, but went to their Ships: Whither I promised to bring their dispatch, which I requested His Majesty to cause deliver into my hand, to be kept till the Chain should come, which was divided in three parts, for it was large. When I came to their Ships, they were going to Supper. Which being done, I delivered to them their answer in writing, with the Chain, and some excuses for their long stay, and small reward: So they parted well satisfied, assuring me that they would be good instruments of Amity. Albeit by the harsh usage they had first met with they had once resolved otherwise: They were not commanded to speak of marriage, whereof there was some groundless bruit. The King their Master had four Daughters, with any whereof it was supposed the chain of Orkney would go. They thanked me for the good Offices, they had received from me, seeing my staying them from parting discontent, had preserved the two Countries from being engaged in War. Which, they said, they would not fail to declare unto the King their Master, with whom they would not fail to make me acquainted, not doubting but that the King my Master would one day say, That I had done him good Service. So I did take leave, having rewarded the Gunners, Trumpeters, and Musicians.

At my return to Court, I acquainted His Majesty, that the *Dutch* Ambassadors had set Sail for their own Country very well contented. I gave him a particular account of all Speeches, that pass betwixt them and me at their parting. Whereupon His Majesty took occasion shortly after to send one to Denmark, offering that Commission to me; which I shifted, perceiving those who had His Majesty's Ear, and had most Credit with him, to be altogether averse from his marriage that way, holding still one course with England. I named Mr. Peter Young Almoner, as very fit for that Errand: who was sent to Denmark, to thank that King, and to see his Daughters, that he might make report again of his liking of them, with a promise, That ere long His Majesty would send a more honourable Ambassador.

The Earl of Arran being sent home, as said is, the *English* Ambassador and his *Scottish* friends (as the Master of Gray, Secretary *Muslin*, and the Justice *Stuart*) had chief credit and handling of his Majesty's Affairs. The said Ambassador had procured such favour and familiar access about His Majesty at all times, that he was upon an enterprise to have brought in secretly the banished Lords, to have fallen down upon their knees in the Park of *Sterling* before His Majesty, at such a time as they should have so many friends in Court, as that His Majesty should have remained in their hands as Masters of the Court for the time. But this enterprise failed him, for they durst not yet take such hazardous course, till they might lay their Plots more substantially.

Then the said *English* Ambassador interposed to transport His Majesty out of the Park of *Sterling*, unto England. And failing thereof, His Majesty was to be detained by force within the Castle of *Sterling*. Whether Companies of Men were sent to be there at an appointed day, of which design my Brother Sir Robert got intelligence, and told it incontinently to the King's Majesty, giving him the Names of the

the chief enterprisers. And because it came to one of their Ears, who stoutly affirmed the contrary, my Brother offered to maintain the truth thereof by Combat. Which His Majesty would not permit, because at last the person granted it to His Majesty. Whereupon my Brother perswaded His Majesty with great difficulty, to depart out of *Sterling* for ten or fifteen dayes, and hunt at *Kincairdin*, before the enterprife were ripe. Which so soon as the Ambassadour understood, he fled in great fear and hast, without Good night, or leave-taking of his Majesty: Well instructed, and furnished with the promises of such, as had assisted him in our Court, to perswade the Noblemen who were banished in *England* to come home, where they should find friends enough before them at Court, to put His Majesty in their hands. The Master of *Gray* also absented himself, and went to *Dunkel*, and there remained with the Earl of *Athol*. And upon some bruits of enterprises, there was a Proclamation set out in His Majesty's Name, by such as had his Ear, to purchase to themselves the more Credit, to be true and careful Councillors to His Majesty. Which Proclamation was afterward delayed by craft, that the banished might prevent the day, and come in and get the King in their hands, whereby they might discharge the Proclamation at their pleasure.

In the mean time I received a Letter to be at His Majesty with all possible diligence, and another from the Earl of *Arran*, intreating me to accompany him from *Kinmeal* to the Court. But I went to His Majesty Strait, whither also the said Earl came that same night. For he had procured liberty to return again to Court, and remain about His Majesty.

At my coming to *Sterling*, I had Intelligence from a very sure hand, That the said Lords were already at the entry of the Borders, assisted by my Lord *Hamilton*, my Lord *Maxwel*, my Lord *Boths-wel*, my Lord *Hume*, and sundry others, who had not formerly joyned with them. Also the Earl of *Athol*, the Laird of *Tullibardine*, *Buccleugh*, *Cesford*, *Coudinknows*, *Drumlanrick*, and others, who were in greatest credit about His Majesty, were to join with them at their in-coming. Whereof I advertised His Majesty, and Colonel *Stewart*, who undertook to ride unto the Borders, and overthrow them before they were wholly Convened together; which might very probably have been effectuated, if the design had not been craftily first appointed by such as were about His Majesty, who appeared to set forward the Colonel's enterprife to please His Majesty, and to conquer credit, saying, They would write to *Coudinknows*, *Buccleugh*, *Cesford*, and such others to assist him. Whom they knew to be upon the contrary Faction already, so that the design of scattering them was rendered by that Craft ineffectual. And because I perceived the crafty intention, and that they feared I would therewith acquaint His Majesty, they caused His Majesty to send me a forged Errand to *Dunkel*, that they might the better bring their purpose to pass without any contradiction. The pretext of my Commission was to cause the Earl of *Athol* to stay at home, and not to join with the Lords who were to come shortly to *Sterling*. And by the way I was to deliver a Letter to the Baylies of *St. Johnstoun*, to be upon their Guard, and not to suffer any of the King's Enemies to come within their Town. The

Bayliffs



Bayliffs inquired of me, what if the Earl of *Athol*, and Master of *Gray* would desire to come within their Town? I said, They might let themselves enter with Ten in Company, but no more. They acknowledged, That their Letter specified not that. I told them, That was committed to me by mouth, the Conclusion of my Letter willing them to credit me.

When I came to *Dunkel*, I knew that the Earl of *Athol* would not stay for me, who had a Thousand Men in readiness to take the Town of *St. Johnstoun*, and to come thence to *Sterling*, with the Master of *Gray*, who was yet with him. But however I told him that the Collonel *Stuart* was gone with Forces, to defeat the Lords at their entry into the Country, before they might be joyned together. And that therefore he would do well to lye at home, till he might understand the Issue of the said enterprife. If that took effect, it would be folly to him to march forward, and if it did not succeed, he might do as his heart served him. He thought this Counsel good, desiring me to write unto His Majesty for a License to him, and his, to remain at home; which I did. In the mean time, the Master of *Gray* was sent for to Court, the Ports of the Town of *Pearth* being refused to his Men, who were come out of *Angus* to assist him. At his returning to Court, he was as great with His Majesty as ever he was, remaining with him within the Castle of *Sterling*. Where there were two Factions, who discovered themselves so soon as they saw the Malecontents, and banished Lords drew near unto the Town of *Sterling*. Whither they came to the number of Three Thousand, and entred unto the Town without stop. His Majesty inclined most to the Faction, who brought in the said Lords, who advised His Majesty to send some down to the Town, to Commune and Compound matters. Which was at length Agreed upon, and Concluded, That His Majesty should remain in their hands, that no rigour should be used to those who were about him. So that those who were mediators, appeared to be good Instruments, and stayers of Blood-shed. For *Arran* was escaped, and fled at their first entry. But Colonel *Stuart* only with Ten or Twelve, gave them such a charge in the midst of the narrow part of the Town, that a little more help might have put them in great disorder. For the most part of their South-land Men were busie, spoiling Horse and Goods.

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 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 enterprife 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 crueky, at their in-coming.

In the mean time, His Majesty committed and recommended the keeping of the Earls of *Montrose*, and *Cranford*, unto my Lord *Hamilton*. And the keeping of Colonel *Stuart* unto my Lord *Maxwell*. These three were for a time in some danger, because they had too violently espoused *Arran's* interest. The rest of His Majesty's Servants, were over-lookt. Sir *Robert* my Brother, and his Son, were both courteously used. This moderate behaviour of the Lords, conquered daily more and more favour from His Majesty. They pressing him in nothing but in humble Intercession of such as formerly had his Ear. A Parliament was proclaimed at *Lithgow* for their restitution, whither His Majesty was convoyed to pass his time at Hunting, thereby to Recreat his Spirits.

Many Noblemen, and others, were written for, to come unto the said Parliament. Among the rest, the Earl of *Athol*, to whom I had been sent, and with whom I was, at the Lords coming to *Sterling*. Where I was waiting upon an answer from His Majesty, of the Letter which the Earl of *Athol* had desired me to write, as said is. When I came to kiss His Majesty's hand, I was gladly made welcome. His Majesty alledging, That I was *Corbie's* Messenger. I answered, That my absence with the Earl of *Athol* had saved all my own Horse, and the Fown of *St. Johnstoun* untaken, and had kept the said Earl from assisting with the rest. So that if those who had remained at *Sterling* with him, had kept the South, as well as I had done the North, their Horse had been safe as well as mine was. His Majesty said, That God had turned all to the best: For he had been before made believe, that he would be in danger of his life, in case these Noblemen had ever any more power about him. And yet thought they had both Him, and his Servants in their power, they had used no rigour nor vengeance. His Majesty remembered how frequently I had forewarned him of this, and the like accidents, that I said would follow upon the Earl of *Arran's* rash proceedings. He acknowledged, he had been a bad Instrument, and declared he should never have more Place, or Credit about him. He desired me to wait at Court, and help to do all good Offices betwixt him and his Nobility. And to tell them the truth, who was to blame for their trouble, as having occasioned the same; seeing he had great prejudice, and no advantage thereby; it being far from his inclination to seek any Man's Life, Lands or Goods, but only the peace and quiet of the Country and the settling of the Subjects among themselves. Which I could testify for a truth, the verity thereof consisting within my knowledg. His Majesty told me also, how he had shewn unto the Noblemen my honest and friendly advices toward them, and that I opposed my self continually to the Earl of *Arran's* proceedings. He desired me also to help to satisfy the Ministers, who were seeking to be restored unto their former free Assemblies, which he had forbidden them at the advice of the Earl of *Arran*. The same being one of the occasions of all the following troubles, which were chiefly grounded upon the dissatisfaction of the Ministers, by whom the Country was influenced. So that I tarried a while at Court, till matters began to take some settling. Divers of the Lords also were earnest with me to stay, offering me great kindness: saying, That His Majesty had told them, every  
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Man's part, and behaviour in relation to their Banishment and Persecution. And that I was ever for a moderate Course, desiring, and pressing, as His Majesty's interest, an Act of Oblivion to be Past for all by-gones during his Minority. The said Lords therefore caused me to propose some of their suits to His Majesty, whom in nothing they would press beyond his own pleasure.

But the Council was of different opinions concerning the restoring of the Ministers to their former Priviledges, and Freedoms, where I was brought in to give my Opinion. The greatest part thought fit to delay them for a time, chiefly such as had remained about his Majesty, and had said too much before to the contrary. But they had yet some private designs hatching in their heads, which could not be brought about, if the Country were wholly in Peace. Which they knew would be, were the Ministers satisfied. My Opinion was, That His Majesty was not to be blamed, that the Noblemen were banished, or the Ministers Priviledges taken from them, seeing all these insolencies were committed by evil Instruments, who ruled over His Majesty's good mind, to satisfy their own Ambition. Who now being fled and absent, I knew no reason why the Ministers should not be restored to their former Priviledges, as well as the Noblemen to their Lands, and Honours; the one being no less contributive to the settling of the Kingdom, as the other. Seeing if this were omitted, the blame would still lye upon His Majesty, and the Country would be still in trouble. The Secretary *Maitland*, was against this Opinion; for he had formerly spoken too much on the contrary. But the rest of the Noblemen, and the Council, thought my Opinion best. But yet at that time it was not followed, nor granted at that Parliament. Yet shortly after, it was found His Majesty's interest, and con-  
 ducing for fully Establishing Peace in the Country, that the Ministers should be restored to all their former Priviledges.

It is above-mentioned, That the Mr. *Almoner* was sent to *Denmark*. Shortly after Colonel *Stuart* took occasion to go thither about his own affairs; for he had a Pension of the King of *Denmark*. He obtained also some writing, whereby he was Commissioned to speak of the Kings marriage with the King of *Denmark's* Eldest Daughter. And they both returned with so good and friendly answers, that there was little more mention made of the restitution of the Isles of *Orkney*. The King of *Denmark* was also put into hope by them, that His Majesty would send the next Summer an honourable Ambassage to *Denmark*, to deal further in these matters.

I have shewed already the dangerous practices of the *English* Ambassadour Mr. *Wotton*, and a part of their effects, but the principal is yet behind.

The Council of *England* having concluded to take the Life from the Queens Majesty his Highnesses Mother, after she had been many years kept Captive in *England*, thought first to get the King her Son in their hands, and to put him in hope that he should obtain the Crown of *England*, the rather that he was within their Country. And in the mean time to be sure, that he should not be able to revenge his Mothers death, but might be as a pledge among them, in case his Country-men, or his Forreign and *French* friends, would pretend to

menace them, or to make war for his Liberty, or in revenge of her death. For in that case they might threaten to cut him off, if for his Cause they should be troubled. And however it were, through time it was suspected that they intended to take his life also, after that they had laid their Plots how to make him odious to the People by false counterfeit Letters, and alledged practices, (as they had craftily and deceitfully alledged upon his Mother) against the State. But finding this their design of carrying him to *England*, discovered by my Brother's intelligence, the said Ambassadour fled as said is. And for the next best, thought fit to see His Majesty put in the hands of the most part of the Nobility, who were banished for the time, and during their banishment had been sheltered in *England*, who they thought by fixed Instruments might be stirred up to take his Life, at least to keep him in perpetual Prison, in revenge of the injury had been done them. But herein they were disappointed: For they used themselves so moderately, and discreetly, that they sought nothing but their own native Country, and Lands, and that they might have access to serve and obey their Prince, without any further vengeance, or rigour against their particular Enemies. As their actions and proceedings have sufficiently declared since, to the great increase of their favour with His Majesty, and estimation of the whole Country.

It hath been rarely or never seen in any Country, that there have been so great alterations, with so little bloodshed, as hath been in *Scotland* in this Kings time. Now those who are Enemies to our Queen, and King's Title to the Crown of *England*, seeing some of their fetches to fail them, entered in deliberation what way to proceed to take the Queen's life. The Council of *England*, a great part of the Nobility, and States, fell down upon their knees, humbly requesting Her Majesty to have compassion upon their unsure Estate, albeit she should slight her own. Alledging, That her life was in hazard by the practices of the Queen of *Scotland*, and their Lives and Fortunes. She alledged, That her heart would not suffer her to let any Sentence be given forth against the Queen her dear Sister, and Cousin, so near of her Royal Blood. Yet she was at last moved for very pity of their conditions, to let Sentence of Death pass against her, upon this express condition, That it should rather serve to be a Terrour to her, to oblige her to cease from making any more practices, then that she really intended to see the Blood of so noble a Princess shed. And in the meantime, the written Sentence was given to be kept to Mr. *Davison* one of her Secretaries, not to be delivered without her Majesties express Command. Nevertheless the said *Davison* being deceived by the Council, delivered unto them the said written Sentence of Death. Whereupon they gave the Queen warning a night before, to prepare her for God. Which short warning she took very patiently, and lay not down that night to sleep, but wrote some Letters unto the King, her Son, the King of *France*, and some other Princes, her friends. And after she had made her Testament, she put the Gold she had, in as many little Purfes as she had Servants, more or less in every Purfe, conform to their qualities, and deservings. The rest of the night she employed in Prayer, and being in the morning conveyed out of her Chamber to the great Hall where the Scaffold was prepared, she took

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her death patiently, and constantly, courageously ending her life, being cruelly handled by the Executioner, having received divers strokes of the Ax. Which execution was the boldier performed, because that some *Scotsmen* assured them, that the King her Son would soon forget it. Albeit His Majesty when he understood this sorrowful news, took heavy displeasure, and Convened a Parliament, wherein lamenting the mishandling of his Mother by his Enemies, who were in *England*, he desired the assistance of his Subjects to be revenged. Where all the Estates in one voice cryed out in a great rage to set forward: Promising that they should all hazard their Lives, and spend their Goods and Estates largely to that effect, to revenge that unkindly, and unlawful murther. Which put the Council of *England* in great fear for a while, but some of our Country-men comforted them, and so did some *English* that haunted our Court, alledging it would be soon forgot. Others said, That the Blood was already faln from His Majesty's heart, and if it were not, they doubted not but to cause the matter fall out to their satisfaction.

First when the King's Majesty heard that they were about to Accuse and Convict his Mother, he sent the Master of *Gray*, and Sir *Robert* my Brother, to deal for her Majesty. Where my Brother spoke brave and stout language to the Council of *England*. So that the Queen her self threatened his life, and afterward he would have been retained Captive, had not the Master of *Gray's* Credit prevented it, and the promises he made, whereby they were both suffered to come home together.

Four Months before His Majesty caused send for me, that I might prepare my self for *England*, to confirm a Band of Alliance Offensive and Defensive with the Queen and Crown of *England*; and to take the Queen of *Englands* Oath for observing the said Bond. And Mr. *Randolph* who was here, was to take the King's Oath, and use the like Ceremonies here.

At my coming to Court, I did what I could to be shifted of the said Commission, being a matter of so great consequence, as an indirect breaking of the Bond with *France*. Yet His Majesty would take no excuse, but thought fit to send me thither, that I might get him sure knowledge of sundry things, which His Majesty supposed an other would not get. By reason that all his Mothers friends, and his own that were in that Court and Country, were best and longest acquainted with my Brother and me. But so soon as Mr. *Randolph* had heard that I was to be sent to *England*, he desired Audience of His Majesty, and used all the persuasions he could, to get me stayed, and another sent that might be found meeter for the time. After this His Majesty had reasoned long with him thereabout, he called upon me, and told me how that Mr. *Randolph* had spoken so much good of me, whom he loved better then any *Scots* Subject, upon account of our old acquaintance, but had said that I would not be acceptable to the Queen his Mistress at that time, because Sir *Robert* my Brother had been always, and was yet upon his Mothers Faction, and also that my Brother Sir *Andrew* of *Garvock* was for the present in *England* her Majesty's Master of the Household. His Majesty said, he replied again, That I was never esteemed a Factionous Person, and so would not yield

at the first. But I requested His Majesty to grant him his desire. For I had no will of that Commission, knowing that there was nothing meant, but fraudulent dealing by *England* with him at that time. It is for that cause, said he, that I would have you there. And it is for that same cause, Sir, said I, that I would gladly shun the same with Your Majesty's favour.

His Majesty said, he wondered that *Randolph* should seem to like so well of me, and yet desire another to be sent. I answered His Majesty that in *France* and *Italy* we liked each other very well, but in the handling His Majesty's affairs we shot at sundry marks. His Majesty would still have me to accept that Commission, and asked whom I believed that Mr. *Randolph* would desire to be sent. I answered, either the Master of *Gray*, or Mr. *Archibald Douglas*. For the Master of *Gray* had made moyan for Mr. *Archibald*, and had brought him home out of *England*, and had summoned an Assize of his own friends to cleanse him of the late King's Murther. And being cleansed, he haunted the Court familiarly with His Majesty. It was he indeed whom Mr. *Randolph* desired to be sent, or the Master of *Gray*, or both in a Commission. But His Majesty would not consent thereto. Then the Laird of *Coudinknows* Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh* desired the Commission. But Mr. *Randolph* would have none other, causing the Queen his mistress to write back, that it was unnecessary to send any Ambassadour for that Errand at that time. Only desiring that the King would write with his own hand, that one should be sent when she thought time, assuring by his said Letter that it was in effect already concluded in his mind, as if the Ceremony were performed. Which Letter was sent to the *English* Ambassadour, who was resident in *France* for the time, to be produced before the King of *France*, and the Queen Mother, to let them know that albeit the King of *Scotland* was suing her Majesty for an Alliance Offensive and Defensive (which would be a clear breach of the old Bond with *France*) yet she would not put them in suspition and jealousy of her in consenting thereto, as not much valuing the *Scottish* King's fickle friendship, or feud, so long as *France* and she kept their Peace and Friendship together, Which was done only to disgrace and discredit the King with the King of *France*. So that there proceeded no more from the said intended Bond. And I was not a little satisfied that my hands had been free thereof.

Likewise when the bruit was of the *Spanish* Navy in the year 1587, that they were coming to these parts, I was ordered to be sent to *Spain*, which Voyage I happily also eschewed.

Now to return again to Mr. *Archibald Douglas*, he returned back to *England*, to remain Ambassadour there for His Majesty. By the which means he obtained the greater Credit with the Queen His Majesty's Mother, to her no small prejudice; the same contributory to her ruine, he having discovered several passages betwixt her and himself, and other Catholicks of *England*, tending to her liberation. Which were made use of against Her Majesty, for taking her life. So soon as my Brother Sir *Robert* was sent there to use sharp and boasting Language to see if it might save the Queens life, he discharged Mr. *Archibald* of the Office of Ambassadour. This I set down in a parenthesis,

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to shew how far a good King was abused, and misled, by minions, whom he liked well to his great hurt and dishonour. In the mean time for some disorder upon the West Border, betwixt the *Maxwells* and *Johnstones*, His Majesty went there to reform the disobedience. But some Houses were kept out, and would not render unto him. Whereupon, Mr. *John Marland* being made Chancellor, the Master of Gray, and other Favourers of the *English* Faction, did counsel His Majesty to send to *Berwick*, because it was alledged to be nearest, to borrow Cannons to besiege the said House. Which Guns were readily and gladly lent by the Governour of *Berwick*. Which apparently he durst not have done, without knowledge and consent of the Queen and Council, who judged thereby that His Majesty had forgot the great boast that was made at the fore-named Parliament concerning the revenge of His Mother's death. For after His Majesty had riply considered the best and worst of that deed, remembered himself of the many Friends he had in *England*, who had no hand in his Mother's Death, he thought it not just to trouble the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom for the deed of a few who guided the Queen and Court, he being thereof himself apparent Heir. And also because the Queen was of good years, and not like to live long, he was resolved to abide his time to be revenged upon his Enemies. As for the Queen his good Sister; she had sworn and purged herself of the death of his Mother, being deceived by her Council, and Secretary *Davison*, whom she committed to the Tower of *London*. This was the way of conveyance of that ugly unkindly Murther.

Shortly after this, there was a great Bruit of the *Spanish* Navy bound to land in *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland*. And then also were entred about His Majesty a new Faction, whereof the Earl *Huntly* was chief, who had lately married the Duke of *Lennox's* Sister. This new Faction aspired by little and little to shoo out the Master of Gray, the Chancellor, and others their dependers; and to retain part of those who were in Court before, where there were divers conspiracies to kill the Chancellor. And such as had assisted him, were to be removed, because they did stick too long by the Court. The Earls of *Huntly*, *Bothwell*, and others, thought to have taken the King and kept him. And albeit two of their Enterprises had failed, yet they were desirous to be nearest His Majesty at the in-coming of the *Spaniards*. And in the mean time they resolved to cause the King send Sir *John Seatoun* to *Spain*. But His Majesty would have none to be sent but me. Whereupon the Chancellor, and my Brother Sir *Robert*, did write to me, desiring me to refuse the employment, because they said his Majesty would have one there of his own Religion, who would not be corrupted, in whom he could trust. Yet His Majesty had inclination to deal with *Spain*, and I had as little desire to undertake the Voyage, albeit Sir *Gorge Douglas* desired the said Commission, as one who had assisted His Majesty's Mother, yet it took no effect. The Earl of *Huntly* in the mean time procured a Gift of the Benefice of *Dunfermling*, which was lately taken from the Master of Gray now decourted, and given to him. How that the *Spanish* great Navy was three years in making their preparations, and were sufficiently and substantially furnished with Men, Ammunition and all sorts of necessaries, is now manifest to all *Europe*. What was their intent and purpose was so secret, that the



Chieftains of the Army knew no more, but as they should understand by the opening of their stamped instructions at every appointed landing Place. Many were of opinion, that they were first disappointed by the Duke of *Parma* Governour of *Flanders*, who had behaved himself in his Charge so circumspectly, in his promises so truly, in enterprises so stoutly, that he won the hearts of his Soldiers, and the favour of his Enemies, so that he was suspected by the King of *Spain* to entertain designs of Usurping the Estate of *Flanders*. And therefore he was minded to remove him out of that great and rich Government. He being hereupon discontent, as was alledged, neither furnished the said Army Victuals, nor assisted them with Ships, nor would he suffer them to land in his bounds. At last they were so jealous of him, that they landed not, but were lying at Anchor, where Sir *Francis Drake* by a stratagem subtilly devised of a Ship full of powder with a burning Liak, which kindled up the Powder so soon as the the *English* Ship was driven by a direct vehement Wind within the midst of the *Spanish* Ships, burning thereby several of the greatest of them, and causing the rest to cut the Cables of their Anchors for hast, to eschew the fury of the fire. And in the mean time God sent such a vehement storm of Wind, that the whole Navy was blown and broken upon divers Coasts of our Isles, and of *Ireland*, and their Wreck was the greater, that they wanted their Anchors.

It is before mentioned, That Mr. *Peter Young*, Almoner to His Majesty, and Colonel *Stuart* were returned from *Denmark* well rewarded, and contented with every thing that they had seen, and chiefly with the fair young Princess; and also how they had put the King of *Denmark* in hope, that the King should the next Summer send thither an honourable Ambassage, to deal further to the increase of a greater Amity. And for this effect, the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, the Laird of *Segie*, and I were named to be sent: But I was retired, and had no will to medle, perceiving His Majesty's affairs so retarded by such as had greatest handling about him. Therefore upon my refusal, the Chancellour advised the Laird of *Barnbarrow*, and the said Mr. *Peter*, to be again employed in that matter, with uncertain and irresolute Instructions to propose marriage, and with divers fair allegiances concerning His Majesty's sufficient Right to the Isles of *Orkny*, which the King of *Denmark* was minded to use the more sharply, but for the hope he was put in, of the apparent marriage of the Kings Majesty with his Eldest Daughter.

These Ambassadors were not well embarked, when Monsieur *Dubartus* arrived here to visit the King's Majesty, who, he heard, had him in great esteem, for his rare Poesie set out in the *French* Tongue. He would not say that he had a secret Commission to propose the Princess of *Navarre* as a fit Marriage for His Majesty, but that the King of *Navarre*'s Secretary willed him, seeing he was to come this way, as on his own head, to propose the said marriage. Monsieur *Dubartus*'s Qualities were so good, and his Credit so great with his Majesty, that it appeared if the Ambassadors had not already made Sail, that their Voyage should have been stayed for that Season. The Chancellour assured Monsieur *Dubartus*, (as he shewed me) that the marriage of *Denmark* should not take effect. For our Ambassadors had indeed such strait

Instructions, and so slender a Commission, that it was enough to have caused the King of *Denmark* to start, and to quarrel with our King, were it not that they dealt above their Commission: Which kept that King in some Temper, albeit they returned without fruit, full of displeasure, thinking themselves scorned, as they were indeed.

In the mean time that they were in *Denmark*, Monsieur *Dubartus* being in *Falkland* with his Majesty, came to my house, to persuade me to take a Commission in hand, which he said His Majesty would lay to my charge, which was to be sent unto the King of *Navarre*, and to be acquainted with Madam the Princess, his Sister. And because His Majesty knew that I would be loath to go, he named also my Lord *Tungland*, my Brother, who undertook the journey, and became well acquainted with the said Princess, and was well treated and rewarded by the King her Brother, now King of *France*, and brought with him the Picture of the Princess, with a good report of her rare qualities.

The Laird of *Barnbarrow*, and Mr. *Peter Tokey*, being returned back from *Denmark*, declared that the King of *Denmark* thought nothing of their Commission, judging it but fruitless dealing, and delaying of time, and fair language, without any power to conclude. I am uncertain, whether he got intelligence of His Majesties sending my Brother to the King of *Navarre*. But the marrying of his Eldest Daughter with the Duke of *Brunswick*, gave some appearance that he had got some notice thereof from the Court of *England*, who were abundantly well informed of all our proceedings.

After this, Colonel *Stuart* desirous to see the marriage with the King of *Denmark*'s Daughter take effect, went thither upon his own expences divers times. And seeing the Eldest Daughter already married, he excused the King's Majesty, and laid the blame upon those who had the handling of his Affairs. So that the King of *Denmark* promised yet to give his second Daughter unto the King, upon conditions that Ambassadors should be sent there the next year, before the first day of *May*. In the mean time, the King of *Denmark* took sickness, and departed this life, leaving the same Commission with his Council, and such as were appointed for Regents of the Realm.

Now the King being salted in marriage by many great Princes, and his Ambassadors being come back both out of *Denmark*, and *Navarre*, with the Pictures of the young Princesses; His Majesty determined first to ask counsel of God by earnest Prayer, to direct him where it would be meetest for the weal of himself, and his Country. So that after fifteen days advisement, and devout Prayer, as said is, he called his Council together in his Cabinet, and told them how he had been advising about that matter of so great concernment to himself, and his Country, the space of fifteen days, and that he was now resolute to marry in *Denmark*.

The Council appeared all to relish his resolution, requiring meet Instruments to be employed to complete the marriage, and to make the Contract. Then His Majesty said, That he had already chosen me in his mind for one, desiring the Council to choose another; which they did, to wit, The Lord of *Assy*, Uncle to the Earl of *Marshall*. We two being written for, and come to Court, found not such earnestness

with the Council as with the King: Which my Lord of *Atry* perceiving, he drew home again, excusing himself upon his Age, and Sickness: His Majesty used many persuasions, and reasons, to induce me to undertake the Voyage; declaring how he had many times sent for me to be employed in Ambassages, and could never tell why I went not. I answered, That His Majesty would have done me that honour many times above my deserving, which he would not have done, if he had known my insufficiency for such matters of so great import, as I did my self. His Majesty said, That this business concerning his marriage, was the greatest matter that ever he had to do, and that he would take no refusal. I said, That my Lord *Tangland*, my Brother, was far meeter than my self, being a good Scholar, who could perfectly speak the *Hig Dutch*, the *Latine*, and the *Flemming* Languages, with the *French* Tongue. But His Majesty would still repose upon me in that Errand, but at my desire was satisfied that my Brother should be put in Commission with me.

Then His Majesty said, Albeit the Council will form your Instructions, yet you shall receive mine out of my own mouth.

First, *If the King of Denmark had been alive, he would not have stood to have given a great Portion with his Daughter, wherein it is probable the Regent and his Council will be as sparing as they can. I doubt not thereof, but you will endeavour to draw from them as much as can be had, but at length stand not upon money to conclude the marriage.*

Secondly, *Know what friendship and assistance they will make me, when it may please God to place me by Right in the Kingdom of England, by decease of the Queen, in case any Country-man, or other would wrongously pretend to usurp and debar me from the same.*

Thirdly, *Concerning the Isles of Orkny, you may chuse any Man of Law that you please, for that Head must be answered, and debated by Form of Law. Alwise if the marriage take effect, that purpose would not be ever precisely handled. It may be that my Council will give you stricter Conditions, but this Instruction of mine you shall follow, let them say what they please.*

I told His Majesty, That I would chuse to take with me for a Lawyer Mr. *John Skeen*. His Majesty said, he judged there were many better Lawyers. I said, he was best acquainted with the *German* Customs, and could make them long Harangues in *Latine*; that he was a good, true, stout Man, like a *Dutch-man*. Then his Majesty was content, that he should go with me.

After that I had tarried long at Court, and could see no preparation for our Dispatch, neither Money, nor Ship making ready; the appointed time, wherein we should have been in *Denmark* being past, to wit before the first of *May*. For it was so ordered by the King of *Denmark* ere he died, that in case that day was not kept, that they might think themselves but scoffed. This moved me to employ my friends at Court, to cause another be named in my place, seeing so many suiting to get the said Commission. And the Chancellour gave me such terrers as he could for his part.

Now the Earl of *Marshall* was desirous to supply the place of his Uncle my Lord of *Atry*, and His Majesty was content that he should be sent thither. Whereupon I took occasion to represent to His Ma-

jesty. That the said Earl was very well qualified for that imployment, and that he would go the better contented, if he might have in Commission with him, some of his own friends and acquaintance. His Majesty answered, That it was his part to chuse his own Ambassadors, that the Earl of *Marshal* should have the first place as a Nobleman, but that he would repose the chief handling with the Regent, and Council of *Denmark* upon me. Then I declared, That the appointed time was past, and that yet there was no appearance of any preparation of Money or Ship, wherewith His Majesty was very angry. I named the Laird of *Barnbarrow*, or Mr. *Peter Young*, as very fit to be imployed in the Commission with the Earl of *Marshal*, because they had been there already. But he would not hear thereof, for the blame had been wrongously laid upon their insufficiency, it being alledged, That their mismanagement, was the occasion that matters formerly took not the desired success. Would not this kind of Court dealing, scare any man from meddling in such weighty matters, where such men are preferred to have the special credit about a Prince, who mind only their own designs, and not the Prince's advantage?

Those who at present ordered Affairs, counselled His Majesty first to send to the Queen of *England*, and require her advice and consent to the said marriage with *Denmark*, who they knew would not only dissuade him from the said marriage, but also stay him from any marriage, as she and her Council had ever done, and dealt, both with his Mother and himself. When I understood of this new delay, I obtained licence to go home to my house, and make me ready against the next warning. In the mean time, the season of the year was well spent. The Queen of *England's* answer returned, not to marry with *Denmark*. She said, That she had credit with the King and Princess of *Navarre*, that she would imploy the same for effectuating that marriage, which was much more His Majesty's interest. In the mean time she did write to the King of *Navarre*, to hold back the marriage of his Sister three years, for such frivolous pretexts as carried no reason. Upon this answer of *England*, our Council was Convened, and inticed to Vote against the marriage of *Denmark*. Whereat His Majesty took such a despiht, that he caused one of his most familiar Servants to deal secretly with some of the Deacons of the Craftsmen of *Edinburgh*, to make a mutiny against the Chancellour and Council, threatening to slay him in case the marriage with the King of *Denmark's* Daughter were hindred, or longer delayed. This boasting and fear caused a new resolution to be taken, that the Earl of *Marshal* should be dispatched with diligence, with the Constable of *Dundie*, and the Lord *Andrew Ker*, whom the said Earl requested His Majesty to send with him. Which His Majesty granted the more easily, because he found so many difficulties in the matter, and some of my friends had informed him, that it would be very satisfactory to me that some other were imployed. Now it was a yet long time, before the Earl of *Marshal* could be ready, and dispatched. Then as to his dealing with the Council of *Denmark*, his power to conclude was so limited, and his Commission so slender, that he was compelled to send back again my Lord *Dingwall*, either for a Licence to come home, or for a sufficient

power to conclude. Where it chanced that he found His Majesty at *Aberdeen*, and the Chancellour and most part of the Council absent. Which was a great furtherance to get a full power to conclude the Contract and Ceremony of the Marriage, by the Earl of *Marshal*, who was incontinently dispatched by the Regent and Council of *Denmark*, and the Queen sent home with him well accompanied. But the tempestuous winds drave them upon the Coast of *Norway*, where they landed and stayed a long time for fair Winds and Weather. Which storm of Wind was alledged to be raised by the Witches of *Denmark*, as by sundry of them was acknowledged, when they were for that cause burnt. That which moved them thereto, was, as they said, a blow which the Admiral of *Denmark* gave to one of the Bayliffs of *Copenhagen*, whose Wife consulting with her Associates in that Art, raised the Storm to be revenged upon the said Admiral.

His Majesty had heard that they were upon the Sea, and left nothing undone to make all in a readiness to receive the Queen and her Company honourably. But in the mean time, was very impatient, and sorrowful, for her long delay, laying the blame thereof upon the Chancellour, and such other of his Council as had plainly Voted against the said marriage, and thereby had delayed the dispatch of the Ambassadors so long, until the Season of Sailing upon the Seas was near past. The storms were also so great here, that a Passage-Boat perished betwixt *Brunland* and *Lieith*, wherein was a Gentlewoman called *Jean Kennedie*, who had been long in *England* with the Queen His Majesty's Mother, and was since married to Sir *Andrew Melvil* of *Garvock* my Brother, Master of His Majesties Household. Which Gentlewoman being discreet and grave, was sent for by His Majesty to be about the Queen his Bed-fellow. She being desirous to make diligence, would not by the storm be stopped the Sailing of the Ferry, where the vehement storm drave a Ship forcibly upon the said Boat and drowned the Gentlewoman, and all the Persons, except two. This the *Scottish* Witches confessed to His Majesty was procured by them. In that Boat also, I lost two Servants.

Now His Majesty remained quietly in the Castle of *Craigmillar*, dissatisfied, as said is, with the greatest part of his Council. He could neither sleep, nor rest. In the mean time, he directed Colonel *Stuart* to my Brother Sir *Robert*, and me, charging us to take care of his mishandled Estate in time-coming, lamenting that he had been abused by such as formerly he had too much trusted to, and that he had always found us faithful and careful of his welfare. He therefore desired us to sit down, and advise how he might best put remedy to things by-past, and prevent such inconveniencies in time coming, seeing he had determined hereafter to repose most upon our Council. Our answer to His Majesty was, That we had great reason to render His Majesty most humble thanks for the favourable opinion he entertained of us, which we should endeavour to deserve, and were very sorry for the displeasure His Majesty had taken, praying His Majesty to take patience, seeing that as he had always reposed upon God and not Man, that the same God would mend his Estate, as he had oft-times done before. That our care should be presently, how to receive the Queen honourably, who was upon the Sea (we daily looking

ing for her landing) and next how to treat and reward the Noblemen of *Denmark*, Her Majesties Convoy. That being done, and they returned back to their Country, it would be best time to take order with the Affairs of the Kingdom, conform to His Majesty's desire, with the concurrence of so many of the Council, as His Majesty had found most faithful, and least factious. But we did not think fit to take upon us the whole burthen, in respect that hath been always the chief cause of the wrack of *Scots* Kings, especially of all His Majesty's own troubles, in laying the whole burthen of his Affairs upon any one, or two, who most commonly for greediness and ambition abuse good Princes, and few or none dare controul them, for fear of their great Authority and Credit.

The Chancellour being advertised of His Majesty's discontent, and displeasure, as said is, made preparation to go off the Country, and caused it to come to His Majesty's Ears, that he would Sail himself and bring home the Queen with him: And that they were all but Triflers who went with her. He forgot not to anoint the hands of some who were most familiar with His Majesty, to interpret this his design so favourably, that it made the King forget all by-gones, and by little and little he informed him so well of the said Voyage, and the great charges he had bestowed upon a fair and swift sailing Ship, that His Majesty was moved to take the Voyage himself, and to sail in the same Ship with the Chancellour, with great secrecy, and short preparation, making no Man privy thereto, but such as the Chancellour pleased, and such as formerly had all been upon his Faction. He had also heard an inclining of a word, That His Majesty, in the time of his high displeasure, had said, That he would lay the burthen of his Affairs upon my Brother, and me; whereat he had a great envy and despight, and was the cause why His Majesty made me not privy to his Voyage. He was very discontent, when His Majesty had appointed my said Brother *Robert* to be left Vice-Chancellour, and Convened the Council in His Majesty's absence, to hold hand with the Duke of *Lennox*, my Lord *Hamiltoun*, *Botbwell* and other Noblemen; with the Officers of the Crown, and to Rule the Country in His Majesty's absence.

Three other Ships sailed with His Majesty, wherein was the *Justice Clerk*, *Carmichael* the Provost of *Lincludin*, *Sir William Kietb*, *George Hume*, *James Sandstrand*, With all His Majesty's Ordinary Servants. The weather was rough enough, for it was in the beginning of Winter. But the last day was so extream stormy, that they were all in great hazard, but His Majesty landed that same night at *Norway*, where the Queen was abiding the turning of the Wind, and where he accomplished his marriage in person. But he could not be perswaded to return to *Scotland* that Winter, by reason of the raging Seas and storm he had sustained a little before.

The Queen and Council of *Denmark*, being advertised that His Majesty was resolved to abide all that Winter, sent and requested him to come to *Denmark*. Whither he went by Land with the Queen his new Bride, and behaved himself honourably and liberally by the way, and at the Court of *Denmark*, where he tarried during his abode there.

But



But the Company who were with His Majesty put him to great trouble to agree their continual janglings, strife, pride and partialities. The Earl of *Marshal* by reason that he was an ancient Earl, and had been first employed in this honourable Commission, thought to have the first place next unto His Majesty, so long as he was there. The Chancellour by reason of his Office, would needs have the preheminance. There were also contentions betwixt him and the *Justice Clark*. The Constable of *Dundie* and my Lord *Dingwal* could not agree about place. *George Hume* did quietly shoot out *William Kieth* from his Office of Master of the Wardrobe. At length they were all divided into two Factions. The one for the Earl of *Marshal*, the other for the Chancellour, who was the stronger, because the King took his part: So that the Chancellour triumphed, and being yet in *Denmark*, devised many Reformatiions to be made, and new Forms and Customs to be set forward at His Majesty's return: As to have no Privy Council but the Exchequer, and the Nobility to be debarred from it: Sundry of the Lords of the Session to be put out, who he judged had no dependence upon him, and others his Creatures put in their room. He caused a Proclamation to be per'd, which was sent home to be proclaim'd before His Majesty's return, That none of the Nobility should come to Court not being sent for, and then to bring with them six persons and no more: Likewise every Baron to bring but four. Likewise he resolved to cause Ward such as had been unruly, and disobedient during His Majesty's absence, as the Earl *Bothwell*, the Lord *Hume*, and divers Borderers and Highland Men.

The next Spring His Majesty came home, and Landed at *Lietb*, well accompanied with the Admiral of *Denmark*, and divers of the Council and many other Gentlemen. All whom his Majesty treated honourably, and after the Queens Coronation they were magnificently rewarded with more than twelve Golden Chains, and many Medals of Gold with His Majesties Picture.

His Majesty at his landing was pleased to send to me to bear them company, which I did until their parting, to His Majesties great contentment.

In the mean time, the Earl of *Worcester* was sent Ambassadour from *England*, to Welcome and Congratulate both their Majesties, with some Presents unto the Queens Majesty. Upon whom I was commanded by His Majesty to attend diligently all the time of his being here, and at his parting he was presented with a Ring of seven great Diamonds. He parted well satisfied, and so did all his Company.

His Majesty was pleased at leisure to declare unto me his whole Voyage, and proceedings during his absence. He said that he wished that I had been sent alone Ambassadour to *Denmark*, in place of the Earl of *Marshal*, and the two who were joined with him, he was so ill informed of the said Earl. I answered, That I understood that the Earl for his part had behaved himself very honourably, and discreetly, as the Admiral of *Denmark*; and divers of the company had informed me. But His Majesty had been so possessed with the Chancellour's misinformation, that for the time he believed it. He said further to me, That he had greater trouble to keep good order among the few  
company



company that was in *Denmark*, than my Brother Sir *Robert* had to keep quiet all *Scotland*, during his absence. Which praise my Brother indeed deserved, for he had such favour and credit among the Nobility, Barons, and Burroughs, that they followed his advice, believing that he would not say but the truth in His Majesty's Name, and that he would give no mis-information against them at his home-coming. But the Chancellour, envied my Brother for the great opinion His Majesty had of him, though he had been the greatest instrument of bringing the Chancellour into Court with His Majesty first; when His Majesty past to his Liberty at *St. Andrews*; and afterwards of getting him the keeping of the great Seal, and in effect of making him Chancellour since. The Chancellour remembred also of his Majesty's deliberation before his going to *Denmark*, and the direction he had sent by Collonel *Stuart* to my Brother and me. Which the Chancellour now went about to prevent, by taking occasion to Caluminate my Brother in his absence, because he was not present in the time, when there was to do with his Office to furnish some little necessaries to the strangers. He having been sent for to visit his Wife lying at the point of Death in *Brustland*. The Chancellour told His Majesty, that during his Majesty's absence he used every *Saturday* so to do, tarrying three or four days, neglecting the common Affairs of the Countrey. And that it was the Clerk-Register, *Alexander Hay*, who had done all the good Offices, which were alledged to have been done by Sir *Robert*. Whereby he kindled up so the King's anger against him, that he threatned to Ward him, and take his Office from him, six days after he was so much praised for the great and faithful Service he had done. So ill handled oft-times are good Princes, and faithful Servants, by crafty Calumnies. But his Majesty being thereafter fully informed of the matter soon repented his anger, and converted the same against the said Chancellour upon another occasion.

There was Emulation betwixt the Council and the Chancellour. The Council complaining, That the Chancellour was the deviser of all the wrongs that were done, by causing His Majesty to subscribe sundry hurtful Signatures, and Commissions; getting them past for himself and his friends, taking thus the best and most profitable Casualties to himself, and his dependers.

The Chancellour again endeavoured, to have the most part of the Council at his devotion, or such who would not be in all things ruled by him changed, and others placed in their room, who would have more dependance upon him. Whereupon the Council consulted, and concluded together, to cast the Chancellour. Yet one of the Council, who had a matter of great moment to be dispatched, to curry favour with the Chancellour, discovers the design to him, who having that knowledge thereof before-hand, had the opportunity of preventing the enterprize, as to the effect designed. Yet at his first coming to speak with His Majesty, he rebuked him very sorely. And leaving him, he took me by the hand, saying, I am the worst handled Prince in the World, as I shall shew you To-morrow; for now when I go to Bed, I desire not to enter upon so Melancholly Subjects so late. Therefore send for your Brother, and at his coming, I shall declare unto you both, more of my mind. I cannot forget an expression of

yours,

yours, That it is the greatest Art in the World to be true. 100

At my Brother's coming, we found that the only cause was, That the Chancellour, and some with him, would have ruined those who were His Majesty's truest friends. Yet my Brother, finding it His Majesty's interest, took up the matter betwixt the Council and the Chancellour, to His Majesty's great contentment.

After the Coronation of the Queens Majesty, and Banqueting, and rewarding the strangers, and that they returned home well contented: There was another Convention appointed, for taking order with the Affairs of the Country. To the which, many Noblemen, and Barons were written for; but very few obeyed the said Letters, or would come near the Court. Because when they were first written for to the Queens Coronation, they judged themselves slighted: For Hall, Chamber, and all doors were so straitly shut, and undiscreefly kept, that they could get no entry. Therefore many of them returned discontent to their houses, for there was no man appointed to welcome them, or to direct them, except so many as were made Knights. Which was the cause that so few came again to Court, the next time, when they were written for. Those who had been lately in *Denmark* with His Majesty, thought to retain him and the whole Government in their hands, and had given His Majesty counsel not to be over familiar, nor of too easie access. That none should be permitted to enter his Chamber, but such as were Gentlemen of his Chamber, with the Chancellour, and some of the Council. They were not content to have the whole access, and only handling at all other times, but even also at the Conventions, they continually occupied His Majesty's Ear in presence of the whole Assembly, thereby to let their great credit be seen, that they might be courted, by such as had to do with the King. None of them all had more occasion of occupying His Majesty's Ear, then I had at that time. Yet when it would please him to call upon me, to know how every stranger was treated, and satisfied, and to be informed about other things: I would give him a short answer, and instantly retire. Which was perceived by many of the Nobility, and Barons, who were come to the Convention. In the which sundry necessary Reformations were intended, though nothing was performed: Which was the more complained of, because every man was in expectation to see a settled Estate at His Majesty's home-coming, by reason of His Majesty's promise made publickly in the high Kirk of *Edinbragh*, to be a new Man, and to take up another kind of care and doing in his own person, than ever had been seen, or used before. Which certainly His Majesty was very willing to have put in execution, but alas he lacked help and assistance. For such as he reposed most upon, had no further care of his affairs, then as they found could best serve their own particular profit, and advancement to such ambitious aims as they shot at: making His Majesty in the mean time believe, that all was well ruled and ordered. The contrary being too manifest, moved me to present unto His Majesty some Memorials, and Informations concerning his Estate and Government. The most part whereof I had set down in writing, after that Colonel *Stuart* had brought Commission from His Majesty to my Brother *Sir Robert*, and me, before His Majesty's

Voyage to bring home the Queen, during the time that he was in great vexation in *Craxmillar*, and discontent with the Chancellour, and such as were his dependers in the Council, who had been hinderers of his marriage. For at that time, he had desired my said Brother, and me, to sit down, and advise upon some good Rules, for the establishing of some good order in his Country, the Coppy whereof was as followeth:

SIR, your Majesty's happy return hath greatly rejoiced your whole Subjects. The expectation they have had of you ever since your Birth, hath been great, both far and near. Your publick promise to take upon you a more Kingly care since your home-coming through greater experience, hath augmented a good hope of a gracious Government. Your Religion pure and clean, your zeal to Godliness and Justice, your chaste and sincere Life: your promptitude to suppress Rebellions when they arise, ravisheth the hearts of most part of your Subjects to love you, and esteem you the best King that hath been these many years in this Realm. And yet they all marvel with surpris'd minds, to see your affairs so unluckily handled, complaining that your Country was never in greater disorder, the Kirk never worse contented, their dissatisfaction influencing the whole Kingdom; Your house so evil at a point: The Nobility so divided; The Barons were never in greater poverty: The Commons never more Oppressed; Never more Taxations raised, mostly applyed to the utility of private persons: Never more Parliaments holden: Never more Laws broken; your Proclamations and Missives no ways obeyed; Never war more bitter and Blood shed more increased, then since your home-coming, and publick promise of better Government.

Therefore, Sir, as in a perillous storm upon the Sea, or in quicken sudden kindled fire on the Land, every mans help is requisite, and acceptable, so I hope your Majesty's clemency will consider, and your prudence will take in good part, this my dutifull Declaration and Admonition, the boldier interpreted under the Warrant of your favourable Alliance, following your Commandment before your Majesty's going to *Denmark*, that my Brother and I should set down the Causes of the evil and disorders that have been, and yet are in the Kingdom, with the meetest Remedies for Reforming and Amending the same.

There be Three chief Causes of all these Evils and Disorders.

The *First* is concerning God's Service.

The *Second* is concerning your own Estate, and the Provision of your House.

The *Third*, Concerning the policy and right managements of the Country.

As concerning the service of God neglected by our sins, and carelessness in setting forth his Glory, it should be redressed and amended by humble Repentance, and amendment of Life, and good Example first in your own Person, upon whose carriage, every Man's Eye is fixed, as the Head to Rule the rest of the Members, with Religion, Justice, Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude.

Chiefly by Religion and Justice, have all Common-wealths been Ruled. So that such Countries as wanted the knowledge of the True Religion, seeing the great works that God brought to pass by his

own peculiar people observing his Religion, they invented Religions. Thus thinking to imitate the Jews, they fell into Idolatry, and Superstition: yet they strictly observed their said invented Religions, and caused to punish with Death such as despised or spoke against the same. Far more should your Majesty be careful to advance the True Religion, and to see the same Reverenced and Observed. And for that effect, should devout and discreet Ministers be chosen, whose Christian Lives may Preach, as well as their Doctrine. Auditors ought to be provided with sufficient local stipends, neither too much to charge them, to Avarice, nor too little to make them Indigent, and give them ground in their Preachings to cry out of Poverty, in such sort as they may have no occasion yearly to leave their flocks, to seek and make suite for their living, with great pain and expences as they do presently.

Divers are the causes of the disorders in your Court, and House Of Peers, and Servants. For they are not chosen for their Qualities, but as the instance of this and that Friend, or Courtier. Then the number of all sorts of Servants are not limited, by placing about your Majesty so many as are needful, but an extraordinary number, whereas two in every Office are enough. And then your prudence will be best known, when you shall be seen to make good Elections of six Persons for every occupation. For the Prince is ever esteemed to be like unto those sort of servants, he likes best to be about him. Much consisteth in this, to have in Court, discreet, modest Courtiers, such as are not Covetous, nor unpleasable Ambitious. Nothing wins more the hearts of the People to the Prince, for so long as they see about him such Persons, they are out of fear of being unmeasurably burthened; When they see men, who are not greedy, nor prodigal spenders of the Princes Estate, nor their own, nor stirres up of the Prince, to take Men's Lives for their Lands; they are in hope that every Man may live upon his own, and the Prince also upon his proper Patrimony. Therefore should the Officers of the Exchequer, be true and honest Men. And the Prince should be frequently present himself, and hear his own compts for few dare controul, or find fault with the wrong compts of his Officers, or great Courtiers. Which I have oft-times found fault with, when upon the Exchequer, though afterward to my great Prejudice.

The causes why the Patrimony of the Crown is so diminished, is because your Majesty disposed much to the Church, for Devotion; and to the Noblemen, and Barons, for good Service. And when Princes were careless to prevent Rebellions, occasioned by their vile government, they were compelled to buy the Assistance of some, by disposition of Lands, to help to suppress their unnatural Subjects. Which inconvenience, their careful and provident Government, might have prevented and eschewed.

Your Majesty also out of your Noble and Princely disposition, disposed liberally unto divers greedy and importunate Persons, during your minority, divers Lands, lands Rents, which would have stood in great stead, to the entertainment of your House. And you heaped gift upon gift to a sort of greedy cravers, and that by the persuasions of such as had your Ear, and not to those who deserved best at your hands.

hands. Now the Officers of the *Chesquer* being well chosen, as said is, the Rent-Masters, and their Officers, who are accomptable, must be responsible Men; neither too mean, nor too great Men, or Courtiers, but such as dare be controuled, and whom People will not fear to offend. All vacant Benefices, and Casualties, should be retained in your own hands, till you see what you may spare.

Then the best part of the property lies in the *High-Lands*, where neither God, nor the King is served or obeyed. Your Rents may be redoubled, if the High-lands, and the Islands were reduced, as was done by your King *James* the Fifth: For the Kings of *Scotland* were never rich, since they left the High-lands and the Isles, to dwell in the Low-lands: For since that their Rents have been diminished, and their superfluous expences increased, at the unruly example of other neighbour Nations.

Then your Majesties Parks would be put to profit, and replenished, which will be found a necessary help to the keeping of your House. The rest of your store Grounds, lying in the far South parts, are in such hands, as it is not fit meddle with them yet; but some yearly number of Weathers will be easily granted by them who possess presently the said store grounds.

Also the forbidden Goods that go yearly out of *Scotland*, if they were stayed and taken according to Acts of Parliament, would be very profitable.

The best means to bring these good purposes to pass, is a Princely, Prudent and Gracious Government: Which is easiest brought to pass, when the Prince corrects himself, before he correct his Subjects: For they will be soon subdued to his Will, when they see the same made Subject unto Reason: For being Subject unto Reason, the Prince hath conquered himself, the readiest means to conquer the hearts of all his Subjects. Their hearts being conquered, the Country is easily conquered. The Country being conquered, the Prince may plant and Establish good order there at his pleasure.

*Theopompus* being demanded, what way a King might best rule his Realm: Answered, In giving liberty to those who love to tell him the truth.

The Senate of *Rome* writing unto *Trajan*, excuseth Princes to be negligent in many things, not so much for that they have not desire to foresee, as because few or none dare warn them of the truth; and says moreover, That it belongs to good Princes rather to have regard to the benefit of their Country, then to the delights of their Person, and rather to follow such Exercises as will increase their Reputation, then only to be taken up with their pastime, that they should be sparing in Speeches, and Prodigal in Deeds.

*Plutarch* saith to the same *Trajan*, If thy Government answer not the expectation of thy people, thou must necessarily be subject to many dangers. He said further, That Princes should Rule well, if they be thankful to the great God, and if they should be patient in chances of fortune, and diligent in Execution, careful of their Affairs in dangers, mild to the people, tractable to strangers, not covetous of riches, nor lovers of their own opinions, and desires. For then the burthen of their Office, will be easy unto them. As God is the Ruler and Spirit

of the World, so ought Princes to Rule and be the Spirit of their Country. The Heaven, the Earth, the Sea, and all the Elements, obey God's Ordinance by the strength of his continual Motion and Providence; so should the Prince who is God's place-holder, by continual Care, Providence, and Motion, cause every Lieutenant, Minister, Magistrate, Judge, Officer, and Sheriffs to keep their due course in their Vocation. For the which effect, it may please your Majesty to consider the nature, and wrong kind of *Scottish* Government, by a continual long corrupted Custom.

*Scotland* is indeed Hereditary, and a Monarchy, yet among all other Monarchical Kingdoms, it is ofttest out of Tune, by the sloth and carelessness of Princes, the unruliness and sturdiness of the Subjects, and the great number of the Nobility; as also by reason of the great cumbersome Clanns, so ready to concur together, and to Rebel for the defence of any of their name, or to revenge the just Execution of some of them for Murder, Slaughter, Theft, or such other Crimes. For our King wanting hired Soldiers remaining in Garisons, as other Monarchs have, may not at all occasions punish and redress such wrongs, and disorders; except they have by Wisdom and Vertue conquered their own passion, opinions, and desires, and by the same means ravished the hearts of the most and best part of the Subjects, to assist them with heart and hand to suppress the Rebels, and to punish the offenders. Such Kings again as endeavour to command absolutely, not caring for the hearts of their Subjects; their Proclamation may well be outwardly obeyed with their Bodies, but they will never help the Prince in time of need, save only to help to ruine him. There is nothing more dangerous for a *Scotts* King, that hath not the love of his Subjects, then when a great number are Convened together. For at such times, they use to take sudden consultations to put order to the Prince, and his familiar Minions. Of these two sort of Kings, the first, is more then a Monarch, and the less then Elective. Of the first, in *Scotland* too few have Reign'd, and of the last too many. Which is the cause, that the Country is not conquered to the lawful Kings. Which is also the cause, that the corrupt Customs and Disorders, have lasted so long, and are not to be remedied, untill it please God to send three such Kings as I have named of the best sort, granting them long life, each one to succeed after other. I pray God grant that your Majesty be the first of the three. But it appears your Majesty is not well advised, while you are creating more Noblemen, making them thereby the stronger, whereas divers other Princes endeavoured to make them lower and fewer. By reason of the old Emulation which hath lasted between the Kings of *Scotland*, and their Nobility, the Kings to Command absolutely as Sovereign Monarchs; the Nobles to withstand their absolute power, sometime by secret and indirect means, and oft-times by plain resistance and force. Hence but few Wise, Vertuous, and Potent Kings, or Sovereign Monarchs who have obtained the Mastery; whereas there have been many careless, slothful, and simple Princes, that have Ruled by wicked Councillors, and have commonly been brought to ignominious ends. The good and worthy Prince, took upon him more or less absolute Power and Authority, as he found himself able by Assistance, Substance, and Alliance, or as he found his Nobility feeble, foolish, and divided.

Eng.

*England* believes it self to be in the better Estate by shedding the blood of their Nobility, and debarring them from the Council, and handling of the Princes Affairs; *Scotland* contrariwise, by sparing the blood of the Nobility, and Barons, and by making them partakers of Honours, and Offices. For the way of taking the life of a Nobleman or Baron, breeds an hundred Enemies more or less, according to the greatness of the Clan, or Surname. Of which some will live at wait to be revenged, albeit long after, as they can find their opportunity. For the Nobility being so numerous by long evil customs, they esteem themselves to be born Councillors. And yet will not remain at Court, nor upon the Council, unless it be at Conventions, or for some particular profit. And if the Prince intend to Rule without them, they use to make sudden enterprises against him, and his familiars, with the which Tragedies, the Chronicles are filled. Then after such a violent alteration, they find themselves odious to the Prince, so that they commonly seek to be Masters over him from that time forth, lest he should when he sees a fit time take his revenge for their contempt.

It is not best then to debar your Nobility from being upon your Council, but grant place to a number of the wisest of them, wherof they will soon be weary, and retire when their Purse begin to grow empty. Thus they will want occasion to grudge or rebel.

It is meet also to gain by good deeds, part of the worthiness of your Nobility, which may be a means to keep the rest from Rebellion, when they see so many of their number daily about you, and in your favour.

Princes are by *Homer* called *Patrons*, by the *Romans*, *Fathers of the Country*. None can be answerable to such honourable Names, without extream diligence, and fatherly care, to see every Officer about his duty, and straight account taken how they discharge the same; rewarding Well-doers, and punishing Offenders; reward and punishment being the Pillars, whereupon the Commonwealth stands. Especially take care, the first year of your marriage; for the reputation obtained the first year will last long afterwards, whether it be good or evil.

Be earnest and liberal to get good intelligence, as well of your neighbours Estate, as your own. Of the grievances of your Subjects, and their partialities, and feuds; which will open your Eyes to see sundry out-gates in matters of State.

Give familiar access to your Nobility and Barons, when they come: Chiefly to all such, who are written for to your Conventions. Give open Audience once every Week at least, to Rich and Poor, receiving their Supplications and Complaints, with strict Command to the Council, and Master of Requests, to give them answer with sudden dispatch.

Cause to reform the superfluity of Clothing and Banqueting, as well by your Example as Commandment.

Now supposing your Majesty to be ripe fruit, and no more green, I hope your dear bought experience hath made you apt enough to receive all profitable impressions, presented to your Majesty by your faithful proved Servants, and not to commit so easily the weighty charge of your Affairs to any one, or two, or three, seeing the same may have

been



been clearly observed, to tend highly to the prejudice of such, who have been, through flattery, or otherwise, induced to follow such courses. Such Minions have been always observed to shoot at their own marks, not valuing the endangering the Estate of the Prince, so that they gain their own ends, by enriching themselves, and their dependers.

No man will think strange that, during your younger years, you have been pressed and perswaded to lay the burthen of Affairs of your self upon others, who greedily courted that weighty charge above their capacity, wanting care, knowledg, and ability to bear it. But now every Man will marvell, if you should commit such a gross Error in your perfect age, thinking that your pregnant ingeny, excellent memory, and hurtful experience, may compel you to exercise the Office of a King in your own Person. For whence hath proceeded so many attempts, so many enterprises, so many times the taking of your Majesties Person, so many alterations and changes of Court-Servants, Councillors, and Laws; but by committing the charge and keeping of your Sheep, and Subjects, to certain ambitious and ravenous Wolves, who choose to bring into Court for their assistance, such as they knew to be of their own qualities, that they might conquer together, first how to put out of your favour, and debar from your Ear, all such honest true Persons, as would oppose their pernicious proceedings, that so your Majesty might neither see nor understand, but by their Eyes and Ears. Your Majesty can well enough remember, how oft for my part I have forewarned you of the storms which were to fall out, through the misbehaviour of such insolent, such inconstant, such scornful, and such partial Persons, as have oftest possess'd your Ear, and carried the vogue in your Court. And what I thereby gained to my self, your Majesty knows. Yet however disadvantageous to my own particular interest, was that manner of procedure, I had this Comfort, that your Majesty confessed that I had shewn you the verity, but the said confession was ay behind the time, with over late Repentance.

Here your Majesty may reproach me of inconstant Councils; because one year after your returning from *Denmark*, I told you that your Subjects were not satisfied of their expectations, nor of your publick promises, praying your Majesty yet to begin, and either be at that pains which is requisite to a right Governing King, or else to submit the whole burthen of your affairs to such a number as I should name, only for one year. In doing of any of these two, I engaged that you should find your Estate sufficiently settled at the years end. Then it pleased your Majesty to demand of me the manner that I would wish you to Rule after. Whereunto I made answer, that it did not become me, or any in *Scotland* to shew you the duty of a King, which you could declare better then any of your Council, seeing you could exercise the said Office as well as any King in *Europe*, if you were pleased only for one year to take the pains to do it your self. In so doing, I supposed that before the end of it, there should ensue such profitable effects, as you should find the Government pleasant, and no more painful, by the which means your Majesty should eschew the reproach of the Poet, in one of his sayings in *French*.

*Je hay ; dit il entre les homes ceux  
Qui sont espris aux vouloir passens  
Et tousiours semblent son fy fy  
Practiquer last de la Philosophie.*

Italian.

*Chi non fa qualche dono, qual bassetta non retene.*

Spanish.

*Si fueras regido par raxon amabas regirata.*

In four things a Prince soonest wracks himself, to be careless and slothful in his Affairs; to forsake the Counsel of his true Servants; to give ear unto unthankful flatterers, and to spend above his Reins.

To return again to the purpose, it pleased your Majesty to require for the second part; *viz.* What might best settle your Estate within the year? I said; to devolve the management for a year upon such as I should name, joyned to the best inclined of your own Council. To that your Majesty once agreed, but when I came more to particulars, your Majesty judged it not your interest, as having been otherwise advised.

Then I requested your Majesty to exercise this Office your self. Yet not long after, your Majesty submitted your self wholly and intirely to eight Persons, called *Officers*, and told me that you had followed my Opinion therein, and had submitted *simpliciter* for your time to these eight Persons. I replied, that I spoke but for one year, and that I would have named some of the said number but not all. They were Wise Men, Learned and Politick; but the unmeeter that they were chusers of themselves. Yet they began to do better than any had done before them, but they continued not, but divided among themselves, after they had divided the Offices of the Crown to every man one: Whereas at the first, they had given forth that they should plant mean responsible men in the said Offices, and they all too but Controulers of the said Officers. So that many began to grudge against them, seeing them become in a sudden rich. And perceiving their great backs, the whole Subjects, and His Majesty's own Domesticks to follow and depend upon them, and His Majesty to pass through the Streets with three or four as forsaken; because none hoped any more for reward at his hands, but so much as might be had for serving and depending upon the said Eight Lords. They became also hated and envied, partly for the Causes specified; as also there was great ground of jealousy; that they were intending the establishment of Popery. So that there was a Rebellion raised in *Edinburgh* against them, in his Majesty's presence; upon which they fled out of the Town, and since durst never take upon them the whole Government, but were content to be joyned with a number of Noblemen, and others of the Council, to the number of twenty four. But the greatest part of the Noblemen did not attend, but came when they were written for to the Conventions, as formerly they used. So all this new device turned to the old *sicut antea*.

You

You have heard how that his Majesty was advised at his returning from *Denmark*, to imprison such as were given up to have been most thruly during his absence. But being returned, even some of those who had advised the said Warding, were the first who gave advertisement to those who were to be Warded, not without some profit for their reward, to the great discontentment of some of their Associates. Which loosed the bond which was made at *Denmark* by the *Chancellor* and his Faction, and caused every one of that number to go sundry, and to do for themselves. So that all their Plots and devises turned to change some of the Session, but there was no concurrence, and so it stopped of it self.

The Officers of the *Exchequer* continued a while to be the only Council. And the Nobility when they came, were kept at the doore, I having at that time the honour to be one of the *Exchequer*; took the freedom to acquaint His Majesty that the Nobility would be offended at such usage, which was so manifest a slight. I said it would do no prejudice to cause them come in, they being great men, as my *L. Hamilton*, my *L. Maxwell*, and others of principal note. But His Majesty of his own nature was not changeable from the order laid down by them he liked, and reposed upon. Yet of my own accord I went forth of the Chamber, and told the Noblemen, That His Majesty was up on the ordering of his Accompts and Rents; and the daily Expences of his House; that he was asham'd they should see the Estate thereof, which was the cause they were suffered to stand without. This little excuse was somewhat satisfactory to them. But that Order was also soon altered.

Concerning the reducing of the Highlands and Isles, three of the Principals, as *Maclean*, *Macdonel* and *Donald Gorin*, were subtilly drawn to the Court by the *Chancellor*, who understood of the differences among them. Every one of them being by him put in hope to get his hand above his Enemy. But at their coming, they were all three Warded in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, to their great astonishment. For they had each of them committed such foul murders under trust, that it was horrible to rehearse. Being therefore apprehensive of their Lives, they dealt largely of their ill won Gold to those who had most Credit, nevertheless to terrifie them the more, to draw more from them, they were put to an Assize, and Convict of Treason. Which caused them to redouble their gifts to the Guiders, but not to the King. In such sort that there was an agreement betwixt His Majesty and them, that they should give pledges that they should pay yearly unto His Majesty twenty thousand marks for the Lands, of the property whereof they had no security. Of the which they had of yearly Rent, as was given into the *Exchequer*, two hundred and fifty thousand Marks. This was all given them for twenty thousand Marks. And whereas before they had no right, nor security, but a forcible possession, they obtained sure infeofments by Charter, Seisin, and the Great Seal, and a remission of their foul Crimes. But shortly after their Pledges, who were kept in the *Blackness* for giving a small Sum, were released, and so the twenty thousand Marks was lost and never payed.

Here was a good Prince ill used, and abused ; and the half of the Rents robbed from him ; his God offended by sparing to do justice upon such bloody Tyrants, who acknowledged neither God nor the King.

I had advised his Majesty to go himself to the *Iles* to build a Fort there, and to remain two years till all things were order'd ; shewing His Majesty that the Kings of *Scotland* were never rich, since they left the High-lands to dwell in the Low-lands ; but have ever since diminished their Rents, and increased their superfluous expences in Dyet and Clothing, following the Customs of other Nations : Which His Majesty, after inquiry, found to be most true , and His Majesty was resolved to follow the said advice, and I had promised to go with him , but all was altered by the former misrule. Matters thus carried on, many began to lose hope of amendment , or to see the Reformation promised and expected ; lamenting to see a good King so ill Counsell'd.

Yet this time His Majesty sent for me, and at my coming to *Falkland*, where the Court remained for the Summer Season ; it pleased His Majesty to tell me, how that at his coming out of *Denmark*, he had promised to the Queen and Council there, to place about the Queens Majesty, his Bed-fellow, good and discreet Company, which he had left too long undone. That at length having advised with himself, he thought me the fittest man to commit that charge to, desiring me not to refuse the just calling of my Prince, wherein I might serve as in a lawful Vocation ; because such as ordinarily suit for Service at Court, or for any Office, do it for their own profit ; but they are more profitable for Princes that are sought after, and are chosen for their qualities. I know, says he, That you would gladly live at home in your own house , with contentment of mind , which you think is not to be had in the troublesome alterations in Court. But you know that a man is not born for himself only, but also for the weal of his Prince and Country. And whereas your continual on waiting, will be chargeable and expensive to you, and hinder some to your own Affairs at home, I shall ordain sufficient entertainment for your present relief, and recompence for this and your former faithful Service.

I answered, That as His Majesty's most humble Servant and Subject, I never refused to obey his Commandment, however prejudicial to my own interest the same should have appeared to me, and contrary to my natural inclinations : That I should resolve in that His Majesty's desire, to satisfy his expectations. Then it pleased him to tell me, That none of his Council or Chamber were privy to this his design of giving me that charge, but only one man, and that the Queen notwithstanding had got notice thereof, and supposed that I was to be put there , to inform her rightly of the Estate of the Country, and concerning her behaviour to His Majesty, and to every Nobleman and Lady, conform to their Ranks and Conditions, and to be her keeper.

His Majesty the next day took occasion openly at the Table , to shew unto the Queen how that she and all her Nation were obliged to me, for the continual good report I had made of them, and the

good will I carried toward the whole Nation; and also how I had travelled many Countries, and had so great experience that both he and she might learn of me several things for their advantage, and for the well and standing of their Estate: And that the Queen his Mother found her self much relieved by my Conversation, and Service of importance, as well here at home, as when I was imployed by her abroad. Thus far his Majesty said above my deservings, to recommend me to her Majesty; to oblige her to like me the better. Notwithstanding whereof, the Queen did shew me no great countenance, but took coldly with me, when after Dinner it pleased his Majesty to present me unto her, to be her Highness's Councillour, and Gentleman of her Chamber. Some days afterward her Majesty asked me, if I was set to be her Keeper? I answered, That her Majesty was known to be descended of so Noble and Princely Parents, and so well brought up, that she needed no Keeper; albeit her dignity required to be honourably served with Men and Women, both young and old, in sundry occupations. She replied that I had been ill used, shewing me that at the first, when she was yet ignorant of every mans qualities, some indiscreet envious endeavoured to give her a bad Character of me. I answered, That I was put in her service to instruct such indiscreet persons, and also to give them good example, how to behave themselves dutifully, and reverently unto her Majesty, to hold them aback, and that way to keep her from their rashness, and importunity. At length her Majesty appeared to be well satisfied with my Service, in which I spent years, keeping sometimes the Council days, and sometime waiting upon the Exchequer, when their Majesties were together; but when they were asunder, I waited only upon the Queen.

About this time, many Witches were taken in *Lauthian*, who deposed concerning some design of the Earl of *Bothwell's* against his Majesty's Person. Which coming to the said Earl's Ears, he entred in Ward within the Castle of *Edinburgh*; desiring to be tried: Alledging that the Devil, who was a lyar from the beginning, ought not to be credited, nor yet the Witches his sworn Servants. Especially a renowned Midwife called *Amy Simpson* affirmed, That she in company with nine other Witches, being Convened in the night beside *Prestoun Pans*, the Devil their Master being present, standing in the midst of them, a Body of Wax shapen and made by the said *Amy Simpson*, wrapped within a Linnen Cloth, was first delivered to the Devil, who after he had pronounced his Verdict, delivered the said Picture to *Amy Simpson*, and she to her next Neighbour, and so every one round about, saying, This is King *James* the Sixth, ordered to be consumed at the instance of a Nobleman *Francis* Earl *Bothwell*. Afterward again at their meeting, by night in the Kirk of *North-Berwick*, where the Devil clad in a Black Gown, with a Black Hat upon his Head, preached unto a great number of them out of the Pulpit, having like light Candles round about him.

The effect of his language was to know what hurt they had done; how many they had gained to their Opinion since the last meeting; what success the making of the Picture had, and such other vain things. And because an old silly poor Plough-man, called *Gray Meik* chanced

to say, That nothing ailed the King yet, God be thanked, the Devil gave him a great blow. Thus divers among them entred in reasoning, marvelling that all their Devilry could do no harm to the King, as it had done to divers others. The Devil answered, *Il est un home de dieu, Certainly he is a man of God*, and does no wrong wittingly, but he is inclined to all Godliness, Justice and Vertue, therefore God hath preserved him in the midst of many dangers. Now after that the Devil had ended his admonitions, he came down out of the Pulpit, and caused all the company come kiss his Arse: Which they said was cold like Ice, his body hard like Iron, as they thought who handled him; his Face was terrible, his Nose like the Beek of an Eagle, great burning Eyes, his Hands, and his Legs were hoary, with Claws upon his Hands and Feet like the *Gryphon*, he spoke with a low Voice.

The Tricks and Tragedies he played then among so many merr and women in this Country, will hardly get credit by posterity. The History whereof with their whole Depositions, was written by Mr. *James Carmichael* Minister of *Haddingtoun*. Among other things, some of them did shew that there was a West-land man called *Richard Graham*, who had a familiar Spirit, the which *Richard* they said could both do and tell many things, chiefly against the Earl of *Bothwell*. Whereupon the said *Richard Graham* was apprehended, and brought to *Edinburgh*, and being examined before his Majesty, I being present, he granted that he had a familiar Spirit, which shewed him sundry things; but he denied that he was a Witch, or had any frequentation with them. But when it was answered again, how that *Amy Simpson* had declared, that he caused the Earl of *Bothwell* address him to her: He granted that to be true, and that the Earl of *Bothwell* had knowledge of him by *Esse Muchallan*, and *Barbary Naper*, *Edinburgh* Women. Whereupon he was sent for by the Earl *Bothwell*, who required his help to cause the King's Majesty his Master to like well of him. And to that effect he gave the said Earl some Drug, or Herb, willing him at some convenient time to touch therewith his Majesty's face. Which being done by the said Earl ineffectually, he dealt again with the said *Richard*, to get his Majesty wracked, as *Richard* alledged. Who said, he could not do such things himself, but that a notable Midwife who was a Witch called *Amy Simpson*, could bring any such purpose to pass. Thus far the said *Richard Graham* affirmed divers times before the Council; nevertheless he was burnt with the said *Simpson*, and many other Witches. This *Richard* alledged, That it was certain what is reported of the Fairies, and that Spirits may take a form and be seen though not felt.

The Earl of *Bothwell*, as I said, was entred to Ward within the Castle of *Edinburgh*, his Majesty not willing to credit his Devilish Accusers, but the Council thought fit that for a while he should pass his time in other Countries, and so to be set free upon some Articles, and Conditions. But some of those who were appointed to deal with him, endeavoured to make advantage of him to be his friends. Others who were desirous to have the State troubled, made him false advertisements, as if his life had been in danger. Which caused him resolve to save himself over the Castle Wall, and retired himself to *Caitness*:

whence he was shortly after sent for by such as were male-contented, and others who were desirous to fish in troubled waters, alledging they had made him friends enough in Court, and that there was a fair enterprize devised, to take the King, and kill the Chancellour. Upon which information, he was easily perswaded to come, and make himself head of that enterprize.

He therefore not long after accompanied with *James Douglas* sometime Laird of *Spott*, the Laird of *Nidrie*, Mr. *John Colvil*, and some others, entred into the Kings Palace late, about supper time, by the passage of an old Stable, not without secret intelligence of some about his Majesty. So soon as they were all within the Close of the Palace, they cried Justice, Justice, a *Bothwel*, a *Bothwel*, and had been Masters of the whole, were it not that *James Douglas* of *Spott* after that he had taken the Keys from the Porters, entred within the Porters Lodge to relieve some of his Servants, who were kept there in Prison, and had been examined upon suspicion of the slaughter of his good Father the old Laird of *Spott*, where he met with some resistance from the Porters, the noise whereof did rise sooner than was the intention of the enterprisers. Which alarmed his Majesty, the Chancellour and others, to shut and fortifie their Chamber-doors, and to make resistance till some relief came from the Cannon-gate, conducted by my Brother Sir *Andrew Melvil* of *Garvock*, Master of his Majesty's Household, who knew a secret passage through the Abby Church, and entred by the same in Armour. Whereof the Earl of *Bothwel* and his Company being advertised, they stole quietly through the Galleries unto the part where they entred the Palace, and fled without any great harm as God would have it. In his out-going, he chanced to meet with *Jahn Sbarw* Master Stabler to his Majesty, whom he slew, together with his Brother, being in a rage that the enterprize had failed. But divers of his Company were apprehended by my said Brother, and by others, who were all Executed the next day.

Their manner of proceeding was, first the Laird of *Spott* with a Company took the Keys, and made themselves Masters of the Gates of the Palace; another Company was directed to the Chancellour, who was sitting at his Supper, and my Brother Sir *Robert* with him, and they had been taken, had it not been for the Laird of *Spott*'s earnestness to relieve his Servants. The bruit whereof caused the Chancellour to flee out of his Hall to his Chamber, and shut the door after him. So that my said Brother got no entry, but retired himself to another void house, whither none pursued him, neither was he in any fear for himself.

The Earl of *Bothwel* accompanied with Mr. *John Colvil* and others addressed themselves unto the Queens Chamber door, where he supposed the King would be found. But the door was defended well by *Hary Lindsay* of *Kilsans*, Master of her Household. In the mean time, his Majesty was conveyed up to that Tower above the said Chamber, after the door of her Majesties Chamber had been broken with Hammers in divers parts, and that Mr. *John Colvil* had caused bring fire to burn it. The door of the Chancellours Chamber was manfully defended by himself. He caused his men to shoot out of the Windows continually, and through doors. Where *Robert Scot*  
Brother



Brother to the Laird of *Balweary* was shot through the thigh. The Chancellour took courage when he heard my Brothers voice, and then the enterprisers fled as said is.

At their first entry within the Palace, I was sitting at Supper with my Lord Duke of *Lennox*, who incontinently took his Sword, and pressed forth. But he had no company, and the place already was full of Enemies: We were compelled to fortifie the Doors and Stairs, with Tables, Forms and Stools, and be Spectators of that strange hurly burly for the space of an hour, beholding with Torch-light forth of the Duke's Gallery their reeling, their rumbling with Halberts, the clack ing of their Culverins, and Pistols, the dunting of Mells and Hammers, and their crying for Justice. Now there was a passage betwixt the Chancellour's Chamber and my Lord Duke's by a Stair, and during this fray, the Chancellour came up the said Stair, and desired entry into my Lord Duke's Chamber. My Lord Duke by my advice, desired him to cause his men debate at the nether door so long as they might, and offered to receive himself within the Chamber. Which the Chancellour took in an evil part, and suspected my Lord Duke: And so returned back again to his own Chamber, and debated the best he could, as said is. So soon as my Lord Duke saw a company of friends within the Close, he went forth to pursue the Earl of *Bothwell* and his Company, but the night was dark, and they took them speedily to their horses and escaped.

They being retired, we got entry to her Majesties Chamber, whether the King was for the time come down. Where his Majesty discoursed with me a good space, concerning this terrible attempt, and of his many hard misfortunes. Where I left not to tell his Majesty some of the special Causes of the said enterprises, and how that many of them might have been prevented by a prudent and careful Government, as may be sufficiently marked and considered by the many admonitions, and former advertisements made unto his Majesty before all the accidents that chanced unto him, and also in this. For two days before this enterprife, my Brother Sir *Robert* and I, had got intelligence, that some such design was shortly to be put in execution by the Earl of *Bothwell*, and his Complices against his Majesty, and the Guiders of Court. Whereof his Majesty made no account, though thereof advertised. But was the next day going to hunting, which coming to my Brother's Ears, he rose out of his Bed in his Shirt, only in his Night-Gown; and came forth to the utter Close of the Abby, and took his Majesty by the Bridle, (for he was already upon Horse-back) using many persuasions to have stayed him, though all in vain: For we were in doubt whether the enterprife would be executed in the Fields, or in the Palace.

After this attempt, his Majesty went up to the Town of *Edinburgh* for his greater security; where there were divers new enterprises made, whereof my Brother Sir *Robert* getting frequent advertisements, sometimes to keep his Lodging such a night, sometimes to be well accompanied such a night, as being one who had done pleasures to many, and was not hated, nor would never have been in danger, so that he could but save himself from the first fury of the attempters.

This hath been the hard Estate of this good King, occasioned by his laying the burthen of his Affairs upon a few hated and envied for their Ambition, Covetousness, and Partialities, who so soon as they had attained so weighty a charge, took only care how to make themselves soon rich, most commonly by the wrack of others. So blindly transported by ambition and greediness, that they neglected both King and Common-Wealth, satisfying the King with fair language, though displeasing the Country with foul deeds; caring only how to discredit and bear down so many honest men, as they knew would discover their misbehaviour, or who would oppose them in their pernicious designs, which I may justly testify for my part.

Not long after this, a new enterprize was made, to make a great alteration in Court, by some Courtiers among themselves. When as the Master of *Glams* was Treasurer, Sir *George Hume* Master of the Wardrobe, my Lord of *Spinze* Gentleman of the Chamber, and young *Logie*; also Sir *John Mastland*, Lord *Thirlstane* Chancellour, Sir *Robert* my Brother Treasurer depute, had the principal handling of the Office by disbursing and receiving; the Provost of *Lincludin* Collector, and *Seatoun* of *Parbroth* Controller, Sir *Richard Cockburn* of *Charkeingtown* Secretary, and I was one of the Privy Council, and Gentleman of her Majesties Chamber; my Lord Duke of *Lennox*, my Lord *Hume*, and my Lord of *Mar* were drawn upon this course, to reform the abuses at Court as was alledged. There was no good liking between the Master of *Glams*, and my Lord of *Spinze*, chiefly for the feud between the Houses of *Crauford* and *Glams*. At that time my Lord *Spinze* was in great favour with his Majesty, and sometime his Bed-fellow: And upon that account he was envied. And besides the foresaid feud, he was accused to have been a dealer with the Earl of *Bothwell*, and upon that was for a time decourted. Young *Logie* was also thought to have had much dealing with the said Earl, and was accused, taken and warded for the same. But he escaped out of a Window in *Dalkieth*, by the help of a *Danish* Gentlewoman, whom he afterward married.

There was great hatred betwixt my Lord *Duke* and the Chancellour. For after the late enterprize in the Abby, the Chancellour caused close up the passage with Stone and Lime that was betwixt their Lodgings, whereby he gave the *Duke* to understand that he suspected him; which was too rashly done by the said Chancellour. For after that, the new alteration was intended, and called the enterprize made at *Dalkieth*, my Lord *Duke*, and my Lord *Hume* riding from *Dalkieth*, to *Edinburgh*, met the Chancellour well accompanied riding to Court, where the said Lords made a mint to set upon him to slay him; yet the matter was at that time taken up by *Alexander Hoom* of *North-Berwick*, and my Brother Sir *Robert*, who were in company with the Chancellour for the time. But shortly after that the Chancellour left the Court, retiring himself to his House, and in his absence a great number of faults were charged upon him, and among the rest, that he had so long hindered the King's marriage, whereby the Queen's Majesty was made his great Enemy. The Master of *Glams* also would fain have had my Brother out of his Office, to brook the whole Office of Treasurer alone. Therefore the Laird of *Carmichael*  
Captain

Captain of the Guard, was easily perswaded to cause a number of the Guard, who stood with Culverins at the Gates of the House of *Dalkieth*, to boast to slay my said Brother divers times in his passing in and out of the same house, supposing that my Brother should fear his Life, and leave the Court, as the Chancellour had done. But my Brother made no account of their boasts; for he knew the Duke was his friend, and that he had but few enemies: Therefore he frequented the Court more frequently then formerly, but came always well accompanied; for they could get nothing to lay to his charge, but said to his Majesty that he was too lavish in his Office to be a Treasurer, over easie in his Compositions, and over gentle to such as were denounced to the horn. The Queens Majesty according to her custom, whenever she understands that his Majesty by wrong information is stirred up against any honest Servant, or Subject, she incontinently intercedes for them, and useth great diligence to get sure knowledge of the verity, that she may the boldier speak in their favour. Therefore so soon as her Majesty understood that they were dealing against Sir *Robert*, my Brother, it pleased her to speak far in his favour, declaring how that at her first Landing in this Country his Majesty had presented him to her, praising him as one who had been a true and faithful Servant to the Queen Regent his Grand-mother, to the Queen his Mother, and to himself, willing her to look upon him as such, and to follow his advice. Also many of the Lords took my Brother's part in such sort, as he still kept the Court and his Office.

When this alteration was made I was absent, and at my coming again to Court, his Majesty told me of the Chancellour's fearful retreat, and that he was in no danger in his company. I answered again, that the Prince's presence should be a safe-guard, albeit it was not always so in *Scotland*. It appeared that his Majesty was somewhat altered upon the Chancellour, my Lord *Sping*, and my Brother. For as the Master of *Glams* would have had his Office, so others disliked him, because he haunted the Chancellour's company, and was lookt upon as his great friend, who was generally hated. So that his Majesty was moved to think and say that he was not meet for his Office. I being present, answered, That it grieved me to the heart, to hear and see so good a Prince always invironed with bad company, causing him so oft without reason or offence to cast off his most faithful Servants; and that it would be seen, let men serve never so well, if they were misrepresented by such as had his Ear, it availed nothing. To this His Majesty replied, That he knew my Brother to be a true Servant, but too gentle, liberal, and easie in his Compositions: he declared that he would never alter upon him nor me, so that he continued constant against the intentions of those who were about him.

Here it may be seen how necessary it is, to have good friends about the Prince, and how hurtful and dangerous it is for a Courtier, when such as have the Prince's Ear are his Enemies. For in that case, whatsoever his good Service hath been, he is in hazard of being couped and wracked.

About this time the Earl of *Arran*, who had been absent ever since the Road of *Sterling* came to Court, and spoke with his Majesty, and pretended to have obtained again his Office of Chancellour. His Majesty had still some favour for him, and would have been content of his company. But others held him back, and shortly after that he was surpris'd, and slain by *James Dowglas of Park-head*, in revenge of the death of the Earl of *Mortoun* his Uncle. Little diligence was made to revenge the same, many thinking strange that he was permitted so long to live, in respect of his arrogant and insolent behaviour, when he had the Court at his will.

Now the Chancellour, who was decourted at the alteration made in *Dalkieth*, did what he could to procure his Majesties favour, which at last he obtained, and was again introduced. But at first, the Queen would not see him; yet at length by the moyan of *Sir Robert Ker of Cesfoord*, who had married his Brother's Daughter his peace was also made with her Majesty.

About this time there did arise great strife and disorders in the Country between the Earls of *Huntly* and *Murray*; between the Earls of *Caitness* and *Sunderland*; between my Lords *Hamilton* and *Angus*: for divers of them made suits, and obtained Commission, with ample Priviledges over other Lands, as well as over their own, which engendred many discords. Whereof I advertised his Majesty, that Order might be taken therewith. Whereupon the Council being Convened, they ordered Lters to be directed in his Majesties name, charging them all to desist from Hostility, and to compear before the Privy-Council at prefixed days. First the Earls of *Murray* and *Huntly* compeared, there being a Gentleman of the name of *Gordoun* killed with a shot out of the house of *Tarnua* by the Earl of *Murray*. Both the parties being come strong to Court, were commanded to keep their Lodgings, for preventing of trouble before their compearing. When his Majesty was advised by the Chancellour what to do in reference to that matter, then his Majesty proposed the same to the Council; to wit, three points, either present Agreement to be made, or Warding both the Earls, or Caution to be taken of both; then to send home the one, and hold the other still at Court for a while. His Majesty following forth this Proposition, declared first, That the parties could not be agreed, because of the hot blood of the Laird of *Cluny*, *Gordoun's* Brother lately slain. Concerning Warding, he alledged, That the Castle of *Edinburgh* had enough of prisoners already; that the Abby was not a fit Prison for Noblemen. So that it would be fittest to take Caution of them both, and to hold them sundry, to send home the one, and retain the other at Court for a season. The Chancellour was of that opinion, and sundry others who used to depend upon such who had the chief handling. Then his Majesty commanded me to tell my Opinion, which was different from this: I advised present agreement, supposing that the Earl of *Huntly* for his Majesties pleasure, and in obedience to his command, would not refuse to compound the matter by a present up-taking, seeing he was come so great a journey with his Lady and whole Household, to remain all Winter at *Edinburgh*. At this the Chancellour took me up ntigly, saying, that the Earl of *Huntly* would tarry at Court all

that day till to morrow, and would part no sooner; for he had promised to the said Earl that advantage over his Enemy, albeit I knew the Earl's intention was to tarry all Winter at Court. The *Justice Clark* was of my judgment, but said, that it appeared his Majesty with the Chancellour had already concluded to send *Huntly* home, and keep the other at Court. So soon as *Huntly* went home, wanting his competitor, he triumphed and took sundry advantages upon the Earl of *Murray's* Land, giving the Earl just occasion of complaint, and getting no redress, he retired himself from the Court, and became so malecontent, that he took plain part with the Earl of *Bothwell*, who was still upon his enterprizes.

The Earl of *Huntly* being advertised that his Adversary was an Out-law with the Earl of *Bothwell*, he returned again to Court, to get yet some advantage upon him. But in the mean time the Lord *Ochiltree* endeavoured to agree them by consent of his Majesty. He drew the Earl of *Murray* to *Dunibersil* to be near hand, that Conditions and Articles might be added, and paired at the pleasure of their friends. The Earl of *Huntly* being also made privy to his coming to *Dunibersil*, obtained incontinently a Commission ( appearing therein to do his Majesty acceptable Service ) to pursue by Fire and Sword the Earl of *Bothwell*, and all his partakers. Little knew his Majesty that under this general, he was minded to assail the Earl of *Murray* at his own house, to kill him, as he did to the regret of many. But the Lord *Ochiltree* took such a despight that his friend was so slain under communing, as he alleaged, that he took plain part with the Earl of *Bothwell*, and so did divers others in revenge of his quarrel, encouraging the said Earl to assail his Majesty within his Palace of *Falkland*, having divers in Court familiar enough with his Majesty upon the said conspiracy with him, whose Council his Majesty followed most. So that they drew him into a Net to abide still in *Falkland*, notwithstanding of the many sure advertisements that had been made unto him. Such hath been his Majesty's hard fortune in many such straits.

The few number who were faithful to, and careful of his Majesty, counselled him after the first advertisement, to pass the *Coupar*, and Convene with all possible diligence the Barons of *Fiffe* for his defence. But such as sought his wrack, perswaded him to tarry and delay, alledging that they had sure advertisement, that the Earl of *Lauthian* would not come out of *Lauthian*, till such a day, which would have been two dayes longer and behind the day which he kept; for he came to *Falkland* two dayes sooner. This advice was given, that his Majesty might be surprized before he could either enter within the Tower of *Falkland*, or be provided with any forces to defend him. And because they knew my Brother and me to be careful for him, they advised his Majesty to send us home to our houses that same night, that we understood the Earl of *Bothwell* would be there, and had so told his Majesty, but he believed his abusers better. We gave his Majesty counsel to ride quietly to *Bambrigh*, that there he might when he pleased take a Boat and goe over to *Angus*, where he would have leisure to Convene the Towns of *Pearth* and *Dundie*, and the Countrey thereabouts. But this advice was also overthrowen, by those who were upon the contrary part.

D d

Thus

Thus we being commanded by his Majesty to ride home, and to warn the Countrey in case he were besieged within the Tower, we obeyed. My Brother that same night, by the way, was advertised by one of the Earl of *Bothwel's* company, that he was already in *Fiffe*, and would be in *Falkland* against Supper time. Upon which advertisement he sent his Gentleman called *Robert Auflock*, to acquaint his Majesty therewith, and to request him to enter within the Tower in due time. When the said *Robert* declared the matter unto his Majesty, they all laughed him to scorn, calling him a Fool. The said *Robert* returning malecontent to be so mocked, met the Earl of *Bothwel* and his Company upon the heighth of the *Lummonds*, when it was already dark night, and turned incontinently, as if he had been one of their Company. He used great diligence to be first at his Majesty. Entering within the Palace of *Falkland*, he closed the Gates himself, and cryed continually to cause his Majesty enter within the Tower, who at length believed him, and mocked him no more.

The Earl of *Bothwel* at his coming had Potards to break up Gates and Doors. It was not without ground alleadged, that some of those who shot out of the Tower for his Majesties defence, charged their Culverins with Paper. But some of his Majesties Household Officers shot out Bullets, which gave the Earl and his Company a great scare; as also his being within the Tower before he was surprized. And supposing that the Countrey would gather together, the said Earl and his Company retired, and fled, none pursuing them: Whereas a few might easily have overtaken, and overthrown them. That same night I lay in my Boots upon my Bed, expecting word from *Falkland*, where there was one left to be ready for that effect. At whose back-coming, I with other friends and neighbours, did ride to Convene the Countrey about *Coupar*, to have rescued his Majesty. But the King immediately sent me advertisement, that the Earl was fled, yet he desired me to bring these forward, whom he knew I would Convene for his relief, as they did to the number of 3000 that afternoon. Thus God miraculously delivered his Majesty as he had done divers times before.

About this time came to his Majesty an honest Gentleman from *Ireland*, called \_\_\_\_\_ who made offers of consequence to his Majesty. Whereof the Queen of *England* was incontinently advertised, and desired to require the said Gentleman to be delivered to her. Which the most part of the Council, counselled his Majesty to do. But the *Justice Clark*, my Brother, and I, were of a contrary opinion. Which deed did great harm to the settlement of his Majesty's Affairs in *England* and *Ireland*. This I speak with great regrate, because it was so far against his Majesties own mind, and yet he suffered it to be done, because the chief Ring-leaders advised it, who have been alwayes won to the devotion of *England*.

Now the Prince being born at *Sterling*, the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ in the year \_\_\_\_\_ his Majesty thought fit to send Ambassadors to *England*, *Denmark*, *France* and *Flanders*, to require their Ambassadors to be sent to the Baptism of the Prince his first-born Son. The Council were commanded to nominate such as were meetest to be sent on that message, as they did. Yet some obtained that Commission

mission, who were very unmeet for that Errand, as Sir *William Keeth*, for he could neither speak *Latine*, *French* nor *Flemings*. The Laird of *Easter Weems* procured to carry the Commission to *France*, and also to *England*, because he was to go thither about his own Affairs, being the King of *France* his Servant. But Mr. *Peter Young* sped best, who sent to *Denmark*, and to the Dukes of *Mecklburg*, and *Brunswick*, for he got three fair Chains. But the King of *France*, nor the Queen of *England* gave nothing; which they would have been engaged to do, if Ambassadors had been sent to them exprefs. Neither sent the King any Ambassadors here at that time. The Queen of *England* was once resolved to have done the same, till she was advertised by her own Ambassadour in *France*, that the King was resolved to send none. Then very late she sent the Earl of *Suffex*, to let us see that she would ever be a ready Friend, when *France* would refuse and lye back. On the other part the Dukes of *Mecklburg* and *Brunswick* were discontent that they were so far slighted, as not each of them to be thought worthy of an Exprefs. A special day was appointed for Solemnizing the said Baptism. The Ambassadors of *Denmark* and *Dutchland* arrived almost together. His Majesty had sent for me to be there at their coming to receive them, and to entertain them. But the Ambassadors of *Mecklburg* and *Brunswick*, would not ride out of *Leeth* in company with the *Danish* Ambassadour, when they were Convoied up to *Edinburgh*, but desired a Convoy apart.

A few dayes after them, arrived the Ambassadors of the Estates of the Low-Countreys, to wit, *Monsieur de Broderod*, and *Monsieur Fulk* great Treasurer of *Holland* and *Zeland*, who landed at *New-haven*: where I was well accompanied to receive them, having Horse and Footmantles in readines to carry them up to *Edinburgh* to their Lodgings.

A little before the landing of the said Ambassadors the day of the Baptism was delayed, because there was neither word of an Ambassadour from *France*, or *Ireland*, and the King's Chappel in the Castle of *Sterling* which was cast down to be built again in a better form, was not yet compleated. So that the Ambassadors were ordered to remain in *Edinburgh* till all might be put in good order. Therefore his Majesty appointed the Master of his Household, and my Lord *Tungland*, my Brother, together with me, to entertain them upon his charges, and also to bear them company. After that they had tarried longer in *Edinburgh* (there being no appearance of any Ambassadors from *France* or *England*) we were commanded with some others of the Council to Convoy them to *Sterling*, where his Majesty made his excuse that they were so long delayed at *Edinburgh*. But they alledged, they had great contentment in our company. Which his Majesty forgot not to declare before the whole Council, giving me thanks, alledging, that I had done him good Offices, and this among the rest, which he would never forget, and that he had three other of my Brothers all fit for such matters, and for forreign Affairs.

Now being in doubt of the *Englsb* Ambassadour's, the Ceremony was to be Solemnized without longer delay. In the mean time, there came word that the Earl of *Suffex* was upon his journey toward *Scotland*, for the Queen his Mistress, on whom the action stayed. The



day of the Solemnity, there was great business for their Honours and Seats, that being agreed, there was an empty Chair set before the rest for the King of *France* his Ambassadour. The order of the Banquet and Triumph I leave to others to set out.

When the Ambassadours had Audience of the Queens Majesty, I was appointed to stand a little behind, and next unto her Majesty. To the *English*, *Danish*, and *Dutch* Ambassadours, her Majesty made answer her self. But though she could speak seemingly *French*, yet she rounded in my Ear, to declare her answer to the Ambassadour of the States of *Holland*. Then every one of them by order, gave their Presents. The Jewels of Precious Stones the Queen received in her own hand, and then delivered them unto me to put them again in their Cases, and lay them upon a Table which was prepared in the mids of the Chamber to set them upon. The Queen of *England's* had a great show, being a fair Cupboard of Silver overgilt, cunningly wrought, and some Cups of massy Gold. The Ambassadour of the States presented a Golden Box, wherein was written in Parchment in Letters of Gold, A gift of a yearly Pension to the Prince of five thousand by year, with great Cups of massy Gold, two especially, which were so weighty, that it was all that I could lift them, and set them down upon the said Table. I leave it to others to set down the weight and value. But I say these which were of Gold, which should have been kept in store to posterity, were soon melted, and disposed: But if they had been preserved, as they ought to have been, those who advised to break them would have wanted their part.

All these Ambassadours being dispatched, and well rewarded, those of *Denmark* were advised by *John Lindsay* of *Monmuire* to cause with all diligence send new Ambassadours, to require the Contract of marriage made in *Denmark* to be fulfilled: Alledging that the Chancellour who had made it, had left out the Rents of the Abby of *Dumfarming* fraudfully, and had taken in fee to himself, all the Lordship of *Mussilburgh*. For this end two Ambassadours were sent from *Denmark*, upon whom I was appointed to attend, to see them well entertained. As they were well instructed, so they happened upon a meet time, for the Chancellour was for the time decourted, and my Brother was Ambassadour for his Majesty in *England*. So the Chancellour was caused to renounce his part. And because my Brother *Sir Robert* was absent, young *Sir Robert* his Son, and I, obliged us that his part, which was 13 Chalders of Victual should be also renounced at his return, which was accordingly done. His Majesty promised to him as much heritage in another part, in respect that his gift was obtained long before the Contract of marriage. Divers others who had portions of these Lands, were likewise compelled to renounce, either voluntarily, or by a new Law made for that effect.

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seems to dislike, *ibid.* Becomes ac-  
quainted with Rixio, who was his  
great Friend to the Queen of Scots,  
*ibid.* Finds the Queen cold in her  
favours, after her confinement upon  
the murther of Rixio, p. 66. Fol-  
lows the Queen (though slighted)  
whither soever she went, p. 77. Goes  
to Glasgow, falls sick, being suspect-  
ed to have poison given him by a

servant of his own, *ibid.* Is brought  
from thence to Edinburgh to reco-  
ver his health, p. 78. Dies, and how,  
*ibid.*

Davison is sent Agent into Scot-  
land, and afterwards made secreta-  
ry to Queen Elizabeth, p. 157. Pro-  
fessed himself a Scot, *ibid.* Re-  
mains at Coupar till he had Au-  
dience, which he had at Falkland,  
*ibid.* But proves deceitful, p. 158.  
Returns to England, *ibid.* Receives  
the written Summons for the Exe-  
cution of Queen Mary, with a strict  
charge not to deliver it without  
her express Command, p. 172. But  
being deceived by the Council of  
England delivers it, *ibid.* For which  
he is Committed to the Tower by  
Queen Elizabeth, for disobeying her  
orders upon that account, p. 175.

Dingual Lord, is sent to King  
James for a License to return, or a  
Commission to conclude the Match  
with Denmark, p. 179. Finds his  
Majesty at Aberdeen, the Chancel-  
lor and most part of the Council  
being absent, p. 180. So that he ob-  
tained a full power to conclude the  
said Match, *ibid.*

Dofel Monsieur, Lieutenant in  
Scotland for the French King, p.  
24. a passionate Man, p. 25.

Douglas Archibald, is cleansed of  
the late King's murther in Scot-  
land, p. 174. Frequents the Court  
familiarily, *ibid.* returns to England  
to remain Ambassador there, *ibid.*  
Hath great reputation with Mary  
Queen of Scotland, yet injureth her  
Cause in England, and is dischar-  
ged of his Embassy upon the Ar-  
rival of Sir Robert Melvil in Eng-  
land, *ibid.*

Douglas George, the Natural  
Son of the Lord Angus enters the  
King's Closet with the Lord Ruth-  
ven, the Queen being present, and  
with the King's Dagger struck him,  
p. 64. And afterwards drew him in-  
to the outer Hall, and kill'd him;

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p. 65. Conveys the Queen to Lockleven as a Captive to the King's Lords, p. 90. Hath the House of the Castle delivered to him, p. 121.

Douglas Sir George, desires to have the Commission for Ambassadour to Spain, p. 175. But is denied, *ibid.*

Douglas James, the Natural Son of the Earl of Mortoun, p. 127. Kills the Earl of Arran in Revenge of his Uncle's death the Earl of Mortoun, 200.

Drake Sir Francis, by a stratagem of a Ship full of Powder with a burning Link, fires the Spanish Navy, and discomfits them, p. 176.

Drumhazel Laird, Master of King James his Household when young, p. 125. Draws the Earl of Arguile and Athol to Sterling, p. 126. Is discharged out of Court, *ibid.* Assures the Earl of Grange that the Duke of Lennox designed to kill him, p. 131. though it prov'd false, p. 133. Is imprison'd by the procurement of the Earl of Arran and his Lady, p. 137.

Du Bartas Monsieur, famous for his French Poesie, arrives at Scotland, p. 176. Proposeth a marriage with the King of Scots and the Princess of Navarre, *ibid.* Resides at Falkland with the King, p. 177.

Dundee Earl, is sent one of the Ambassadors to Denmark about the King's marriage, p. 179.

Dudly, Lord Robert, afterward made Earl of Leicester, is proposed by Mr. Randolph, as a fit Match for Mary Queen of Scotland, p. 40.

## E

After Weems, Laird, goes with a Commission to England, and France, p. 103. Is a Pensioner to the French King, *ibid.*

Elizabeth Queen of England sends Instructions to Mr. Randolf, her Ambassadour in Scotland, to pre-

pose the Lord Robert Dudley as a fit Match for Mary Queen of Scotland, p. 40. Disrelisheth the proposal of a Match between Queen Mary and Charles the Arch-Duke of Austria, p. 41. which appears by her sending the Earl of Suffex to the Emperor's Court to draw on the marriage of the Arch-Duke with her self, *ibid.* This occasion'd grudges between the two Queens of England and Scotland, p. 42. She designs Darnly for Queen Mary's Husband, *ibid.* Creates the Lord Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, and Baron of Denbigh, p. 47. Is Distemper'd with a Fever, insomuch that her life was question'd, p. 67. Disturbed at the Birth of the Prince, Queen Mary's Son, p. 69. Yet promiseth to be Gossip to him by proxy of Lords and Ladies, p. 70. Upon her fair promises Queen Mary flies to England, but she would not see her, though she often desired it, p. 92. Causeth her to be kept Prisoner till she lost her life, after a tedious confinement, *ibid.* Is Reprach'd by the Ambassadors of Foreign Princes, for her unprincely dealing with Queen Mary, p. 93. Having obtained her desires upon the Accusation of Queen Mary received great content, having now matter sufficient to shew Foreign Ambassadors why she detained the Queen, p. 97. Is glad of the Queen's dishonour, yet sends privately to comfort her upon her false Accusation, *ibid.* Her Answer to the Abbot of Dumfirling upon his Proposition, p. 106. Sends an Ambassadour to the King of Scots, when confin'd, offering him her Assistance, p. 132. Sends a short Letter to King James, p. 139. The Contents thereof, p. 140. Receives intelligence of a Magnificent Embassy from Denmark to Scotland, p. 161. by Three Ambassadors with a splendid Train, *ibid.* Upon which she sends Wotton to Scot-



# The Table

land to disturb the Affairs of that Kingdom, *ibid.* Is intreated by the Council and Nobility to take away the life of Queen Mary, p. 172. which at first she refuseth, but afterwards condescends to, *ibid.* Purgeth her self of the Death of Queen Mary as being deceived by her Council and Mr. Secretary Davison, p. 175. Is sent to for consent to the Marriage of King James with the Daughter of the King of Denmark, and returns her Answer, p. 179. Saying, She would employ her Credit with the King & Princess of Navarre, to bring his Marriage with that Princess to pass, *ibid.* Sends the Earl of Suffex Ambassador to Scotland, and upon that account, p. 203.

Elphinstoun Nicholas, adviseth the Regent Mortoun that he was in disfavour with the King, and ought by Gold to purchase friends, p. 125.

Emanuel Duke of Savoy, leads the Spanish Army that Invades France, p. 201.

Emperor of Germany retires to a Monastery of Monks in Spain, p. 18. Endeavours to get his Son Philip Elected Emperor, but is denyed; *ibid.* Gives him all the Dominions he had in Spain, Italy, and the Low-Countries, p. 19. Labours for a Treaty with France for 5 years, which was agreed and sworn to, but broken by the Popes persuasion, *ibid.*

Enig, the Dutch word, admits of Two divers interpretations, which was disputed by the Emperor, &c. p. 12.

## F

Ferdinand King of Bohemia, Brother to the Emperor Philip and Arch-Duke of Austria, Blessed Emperor by the Princes, p. 19.

Fernbass Laird, Warden of the Borders on the Scots side, p. 166. Marries to the Earl of Arran's Brothers Daughter, *ibid.*

Foster Sir John, Warden, a strange trick of his Steed, that mounted and hurt Mary Queen of Scots, when discoursing with him, p. 77.

Francis the 2d. Dauphin of France Married to Queen Mary of Scotland, p. 8. Succeeds his Father Henry the 2d, p. 28. Is wholly guided by the Duke of Guise, and Cardinal Lorraine, *ibid.* Raiseth Men to send into Scotland, p. 29. Dies at Orleans in France, *ibid.*

Frederick King of Denmark, his Genealogie related by the Author to King James, when he had Three Ambassadors joyned in one Commission in Scotland, p. 165. Hath several fair Daughters, p. 167.

## G

Gaury Earl, Treasurer of Edinburgh, p. 129. Intercedes for the life of the Duke of Lennox, p. 132. Keeps the Earl of Arran in Custody, p. 133. Repents his being drawn in by Drumhafel to joyn with the Lords that were against the King, *ibid.* But at St. Andrews he turns to the Lords of the Kings Party, p. 136. Treats his Majesty Royally at the House of Ruthven, p. 137. Begs his Majestys Pardon and obtains it, *ibid.* Is driven from Court by the Earl of Arran, but reconciled to him, p. 142. Yet conditions being unperform'd, he resolves to leave the Country, *ibid.* Obtains his Majestys consent to depart, the said Earl of Arran proving his mortal Enemy, p. 155. Before he goes takes part with the Earl of Angus and others in their design to take Sterling in despite of the said Earl, *ibid.* Is taken Prisoner in that enterprise, p. 156. Is near of Kin to his Majesty, hath his Lands seized, and is Executed on the Scaffold, dying a devout Christian, *ibid.*

Gordoun

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*Gordoun a Gentleman of that name, is kill'd by the Earl of Murray, p. 200.*

*Graham Richard; hath a familiar Spirit, p. 195. Is brought to Edinburgh and examined before his Majesty about the Earl of Bothwell, and burnt with other Malefactors, ibid.*

*Grange Laird; is Lord Treasurer and Favourite to King James, upon the Kings Command allegeth reasons against the Pretex Propositions, p. 2, 3, and 4. A stout, bold Man, p. 4. Pursues with two Ships Bothwell, p. 184. But he escapes, and his Servants were taken and the first discoverers of the Kings Murder, p. 185. Is made Chief of a Company of Horsemen, who came to fight against Bothwell, which the Queen understanding, sends for him under surety, p. 83. Was like to be kill'd by a Souldier, appointed by Bothwell for that purpose, but was saved by the Queens crying out, ibid. Offers to Combat Bothwell upon his Challenge, but is coldly refused, ibid. Promiseth upon his honour to protect Sir James Balfour upon his delivery of Edinburgh Castle to him, p. 100. Offers to fight with Mr. Archibald Douglas being guiltless of the Kings Murder, ibid. Takes Secretary Lidington into the Castle of Edinburg, p. 101. His virtues are envied by some, and his Charge coveted by others, p. 104. Obtains a warrant from the King's Lords to fet the Duke of Chattellerault and the Lord Herreis at liberty, p. 105. Sticks close to the Kings Authority, p. 108. Sides at last with the Queens Lords, ibid. Sends for the Laird of Fernihast and Buccleugh, who resolved to seize on the Lords at Sterling, p. 113. Which they attempted but failed, p. 114. Laments the slaughter of the Earl of Lennox Regent of Scotland, ibid. Was ever esteemed honest, p. 119.*

*Is taken Prisoner after the delivery of Edinburgh Castle with Sir Robert Melvil and Lidington, p. 121. Is wracked to death, p. 123. His Character, ibid.*

*Guise Duke; goes with a great Army into Italy, after the breach of the Truce between the Emperor and French by the Popes persuasion, p. 19. He and the Lieutenant of Picardy unexpectedly enters on the King of Spains Dominions, p. 19, and 20. Is killed by Poltrot at the Siege of Orleans, p. 35. For which the Admiral of France is Accused, p. 36. But cleared, ibid.*

## H

**H***Amiltoun Laird, is advanced to be Governour of Scotland, p. 7. Induced to resign the Governmant to the Queen, p. 2. Shoots the Regent Murray in his passage to Lithgow, p. 203. And Escapes, ibid.*

*Henry the 8th King of England; is discontented at the Popes denial of his Divorce from Queen Katherine, and thereupon proclaims himself Head of the Kirk, discharging St. Peter's Pennies here, and the Popes Authority, p. 1. Declares his Daughter Mary a Bastard, ibid. Obtains a Divorce from his own Clergy, and seeks amity with his Nephew James the 5th, King of Scotland, desiring an interview with him at York, ibid. A short Character of him, p. 3. Is highly offended at the disappointment and affront put upon him by King James his not meeting him at York, that he sent an Army to Scotland to destroy it, p. 5. Is much afflicted at the death of the King of Scotland, and lays down the reasons of his warring with that Nation, p. 6. His wrath against the Pope is great, ibid. He demolisheth Abbeyes, and compells the Nobility to exchange their Lands for them,*

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## I

them, that might never return to the Kirk, *ibid.* Endeavours a Match between Edward the Sixth his Son, and Mary of Scotland, though it brake off, and caused war between the two Kingdoms, p. 7. But it was at last agreed, *ibid.*

Henry the Second of France had hot wars with the Emperour, the occasion and management thereof from p. 15, to p. 18. Is hurt by the shiver of a Spear, engaging with the Earl of Montgomery at the Jubbings of his Daughter's Marriage with the King of Spain, p. 28. And dies Eight days after, *ibid.*

Henry Prince, King James his first Son, born at Sterling, 202.

Herreis Lord, is Imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh, p. 101.

Hume George, turns William Kieth out of his place of Master of the Wardrobe, when King James was in Denmark, p. 182. Being Knighted is made Master of the Wardrobe, p. 198.

Hume Lord, takes part with the Hamiltons and Queens Faction, p. 106. With whom the Regent Mortoun durst not meddle, standing in awe of his Party, p. 122. Dies shortly after, being a Prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, *ibid.*

Hunfdon Earl, hath a Conference on the Borders with the Earl of Arran, p. 158. Contrives a secret Plot, *ibid.*

Huntley Earl, is Chief of the new Faction about his Majesty, p. 175. Endeavours to turn out the Master of Gray, and Martland the Chancellor, *ibid.* Procures the Gift of the Benefice of Dumfarming, *ibid.* Great disorders occasioned by the Dissention between him and other Earls, p. 200. Is sent home hereupon, p. 201. Triumphs, and takes advantage of the Earl of Murray's Lands, giving him just cause of Complaint, *ibid.* Kills the Earl of Murray, *ibid.*

James the Fifth of Scotland his resolute Speech to the Prelates, p. 4. Gives the Ward and Marriage of Kelly in Angus to the Second Son of the Lord Grange, *ibid.* Gives ear to the Clergy to put off the Convention with King Henry the 8th at York, *ibid.* Is forced to raise an Army to defend his Country upon that account, p. 6. Is much troubled at the Defeat of his Army, and useth severe Language against the Prelates, who fearing his displeasure, poison him with an Italian Posset, *ibid.* His Character, p. 7.

James Lord Prior of St. Andrews, the Natural Son of James the Fifth, p. 25. Hears of Queen Mary's Resolution to return to Scotland, and goes to France to request it, p. 31. Returns to Scotland to prepare them for her Reception, *ibid.*

James the Sixth, King, born, p. 69. When of Age he causeth the Heirs of the Lord Grange to be restored, p. 123. Orders his bones to be taken up and honourably buried at Killingborn, *ibid.* Is brought up at Sterling by Alexander Areskine, and the Lady Mar, p. 125. Hath Four Masters, their Character, *ibid.* The Earl of Mortoun being deposed, he takes the Government into his own hands, p. 128. Is surpris'd by the Lords in the House of Huntingtoun, p. 132. Is convey'd afterwards to Sterling, and there retain'd, *ibid.* Laments his misbandling during that Captivity, *ibid.* Invites by Letters some of the Nobility to a Convention, p. 133. Goes from Falkland to St. Andrews, some few dayes before the Convention, to the Earl of March, p. 155. Thinks himself there at liberty, *ibid.* Lodgeth in an old Inn there, *ibid.* Becomes Master of the Castle, p. 138. And declares

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declares his moderate intention to word all the Lords, *ibid.* Orders 4 Lords to retire, and retains the rest as his Council, *ibid.* Causes a Proclamation to be made according to his moderate intentions, p. 137. Returns the Author thanks, as the only instrument of procuring his liberty, *ibid.* Is gently inclined to all the Nobility, and Treated particularly by the Earl of Gaury, *ibid.* Solicites the Authority to prevail with the Lord Gaury, that, the Earl of Arran might come to Court and kiss his hand, p. 138. Promising he should not stay there, *ibid.* Sends a Letter in Answer to Queen Elizabeth's, p. 140. The Contents thereof, p. 140, 141, and 142. His Majesty is taken again, p. 142. Gives Secretary Wallingham Audience, p. 147. Sends a Letter to Queen Elizabeth, promising not to bring again the Earl of Arran into Court, p. 148. Is taken at the Road of Ruthven, p. 149. And retain'd Captive, *ibid.* Takes little care to prevent inconveniences, yet obtains his liberty. *ibid.* Assures the Author that he would convene a Council of Lords at Edinburgh, p. 150. His Dream concerning the Earl of Gaury, p. 156. Writes for Melvil the Author to come and advise him, p. 157. As also to come and entertain Wotton, being sent to him by the Queen of England, p. 159. Whom he loved before he saw, by reason of the advantageous Character, which the Master of Gray gave him, *ibid.* Orders the Author to entertain the Danish Ambassadors, p. 162. And because they were three in Commission willeth him to choose two more to accompany him, which he did, *ibid.* Gives them Audience at Dumfarming, and is much dissatisfied at their ill handling, *ibid.* Grows impatient to hear the Author speak against Wotton, p. 164. Acquaints the Author that he was in-

formed the King of Denmark's Descent was from Merchants, *ibid.* But after he was informed of the truth, he sends for the said Ambassadors, p. 165. Promiseth them a speedy dispatch to their satisfaction, *ibid.* Orders a Banquet for them, is hindered from being present at it, but being informed how matters stood, goes thither and drinks to the King, Queen and Ambassadors of Denmark to their great content, p. 166. Causes their dispatch to be ready according to promise, *ibid.* Sends to the Earl of Arran for a great Gold Chain which he got from Sir James Balfour, to present it to the Three Ambassadors, which was done accordingly, *ibid.* Sends to agree with the Banished Lords at their coming to Sterling, p. 169. Where it was agreed his Majesty should be in their hands, and no rigour used to those about him, *ibid.* Calls them Traytors at first, but after grants them a Pardon, *ibid.* Acknowledgeth the Earl of Arran to have been a bad Minister of State, and that he should never be readmitted to Court, p. 170. Hears the news of his Mothers Execution, which highly displeas'd him, p. 173. Convenes a Parliament desiring the Assistance of his Subjects, *ibid.* When he at first hears they were about the Conviction of his Mother, he sent Two Ambassadors on her behalf, *ibid.* Sends for the Author to prepare him to go Ambassador to England, *ibid.* Goes to the Western Borders to reform some disorders between the Maxwells and Johnstons, p. 175. Resolves to wait an opportunity to revenge his Mothers Death, rather than trouble the Peace of the Kingdom of England, *ibid.* Is Courted in Marriage by many great Princes, p. 177. Asks Council of God by Prayer Fifteen days, and then resolves to Marry the King of Denmark's Daughter, *ibid.* Makes choice

choice of the Author to go Ambassadour to Denmark, *ibid.* Perswades him to undertake that Embassy, p. 178. Consents that his Brother, the Lord Yungland should be joynd in Commission with him, and gives him Commission by word of mouth, *ibid.* Is angry with the Author, p. 179. Is advised to send to Queen Elizabeth to desire her Consent to his Marriage with Denmark, *ibid.* Her Answer thereunto, *ibid.* Is incensed with his Council for Voting against that Marriage, *ibid.* Deals privately with those at Edinburgh, to threaten the Council and Chancellor, menacing him with Death, if that Marriage was hindred, upon which he sends the Earl Marshal with 2 other Persons to Denmark, *ibid.* Hears of their being at Sea with the Queen, and makes preparation for her Reception, and being impatient at their long delay, lays the fault on his Council, p. 180. Directs Colonel Stuart to Sir Robert Melvil and the Author, charging them to take care of his Estate in his absence, p. 180, and 181. Is perswaded to go in person to Denmark, p. 181. Sails to Denmark in person to fetch the Queen, and leaves Sir Robert Vice-Chancellor, *ibid.* Three Ships went with him besides his own, he lands at Norway, where the Queen waited for a Wind, and their Celebrates the Marriage, *ibid.* Returns not that winter, is sent for to Denmark, whether he went by Land with his new Queen, where he behaves himself liberally and honourably by the way, and at the Court of Denmark, *ibid.* Is much troubled to make those Officers of State agree that, were with him there, p. 182. Returns the next Spring with the Admiral of Denmark and other Persons of Quality, *ibid.* Treats them all honourably, and after the Queens Coronation dismisseth them Magnificently. Rewards, *ibid.* Sends for the Author at his Landing, *ibid.* Repents his anger

with Sir Robert Melvil, and turns it against the Chancellor, who incensed him against Sir Robert, p. 183. Rewards the Strangers nobly after the Queens Coronation and Banqueting to their great satisfaction, p. 184. Desires Sir Robert Melvil and the Author to advise upon some good Rules for the establishing Affairs before his going to Denmark, p. 185. Is abused upon the account of Maclean and other Highlanders, p. 192, and 193. Sends for Melvil the Author to wait upon the Queen, promising him rewards, p. 193. takes occasion at Table to discourse advantageously of the Author to his Queen, p. 193, and 194. Secures himself in Edinburgh after Bothwel's Attempt on the Palace, p. 197. Thinks Sir Robert Melvil not fit for his Office, yet continues him still, p. 199. Is design'd to be seized at Falkland by Bothwel and his Party, p. 201. And miraculously delivered by God from that Conspiracy, p. 202. Determines to send Ambassadors, to England, Denmark, France and Flanders about the Birth of his Son Prince Henry, p. 203. Requiring them to send Ambassadors to solemnize the Baptism of the first born Son, *ibid.* The Ambassadors are sent, p. 203. Jane Kennedie, the Wife of Sir Andrew Melvil was a long time in England with his Majesties Mother, p. 180. Is sent for by him to wait upon the young Queen, who making hast, was drowned in the Passage-Boat in a great Storm, which was raised by the witches of Scotland, as appears by their own Confession to his Majesty, *ibid.* John de Monluck, Bishop of Valence, is sent Ambassador from France to the Queen-Mother of Scotland, p. 8. Goes first to Ireland by his Majesters Command, and why, *ibid.* A pleasant story of his Harlot, *ibid.* Was formerly Ambassador from the French King, to the great-Turk Solyman,

Solyman, p. 9. After his Arrival at Paris is sent to Rome, p. 10. And wherefore, p. 10, 11, 12, and 13. But to no effect, p. 11. Learns the Mathematicks of Cavatius & other Sciences by Taggot another knowing Man, p. 13.

K

**K**eer Henry, one of the Counsellors of the Duke of Lennox, p. 128.

Keeth Sir William, is sent Ambassador to Flanders, upon the Birth of Prince Henry, p. 203.

Kieth Andrew Lord, is sent Ambassador with the Earl of Marshal to Denmark, at the request of the said Earl, p. 179.

Killegrew Henry, is sent Ambassador from England to Scotland, p. 68. Complains against Mr. Raxby as a Rebel and Papist harboured there, *ibid.* Upon which he was secured, p. 69. Is dispatch't with a friendly Answer some time after, p. 72. He carries two Letters from Queen Mary to Sir Robert Melvil in England, and to what intent, p. 72, 73, and 74. Is hasted Ambassador to Scotland after Mr. Randolphs return to England, p. 115. Desires the preservation of Sir Robert Melvil's Life as a reward for his labour, p. 122.

King of Denmark marrieth his eldest Daughter to the Duke of Brunswick, p. 177. Excuseth to King James, laying the blame upon his Ministers, *ibid.* But promiseth to dispose of his Second Daughter to him, if he would send his ambassadors thither, but in the interim dies, leaving the same Commission with the Council and Regents, *ibid.*

King of Navarre, is Governour for the time of the young French King, Charles the 9th, p. 30. Procures of the Three Estates assembled at Orleans, that the Queen-Mother should be Regent of the Realm, *ibid.*

King of Spain enters the Frontiers of France with a great Army, p. 20.

Kings of Scotland never grew rich since they left the High-Lands to dwell in the Low-Lands, p. 193. But ever since diminished, which his Majesty found true, *ibid.*

Knolls Sir Henry, is sent Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth at the Dyet Imperial held at Franckfort, Anno 1562, p. 39.

L

**L**icester Earl, Queen Mary's avowed Friend, p. 71. And several other Persons of Quality, *ibid.*

Lennox Duke, endeavours to free the King of Scots, but is chased into the House of Ruthven, and saved by the intercession of the Earl of Gaury, p. 132. Retires to Dumbartoun, *ibid.* Afterward goes to France and dies, p. 133.

Lennox Earl, is sent for to be made Regent of Scotland, in the room of the Earl of Murray, p. 104. Proves a true Scotsman, p. 106. after he had accepted of the Regency, he takes Breechin, and hangs the Soldiers found in the Kirk and Steeple, p. 107. Is shot in the Back in the Enterprize of taking the Lords Prisoners at Sterling, p. 114. Dies in few days after, and makes a godly end, *ibid.*

Lennox Lady, the Mother of Darnly King of Scotland, is Committed to the Tower and kept there a long time, because he Married the Queen of Scots without Queen Elizabeth's advice, p. 58.

Lidingtoun, Secretary to Queen Mary, and of great Credit with Secretary Cecil, p. 32. He with the Prior of St. Andrews procures a fair Correspondence between the 2 Queens of England and Scotland, *ibid.* And p. 33. He retires with other persons, being in danger of their lives, p. 65.

## The Table.

p. 65. Goes from Court, p. 100. Is accused of the late King's murder, and imprisoned, *ibid.* Is brought by the Regens to Edinburgh, and delivered to the Lord Grange to be a Prisoner, *ibid.* Is set at liberty by the King's Lords, p. 105. Taken Prisoner after the surrender of Edinburgh Castle, p. 121. dies at Lieth to prevent his coming to the Shambles with the rest, p. 122.

Logie, a young man, Gentleman of the Chamber to King James, p. 198. Is Accused and imprisoned for dealing with Earl Bothwel, *ibid.*

Lords (called the Queen's Lords, as the other the King's) meet together at Dumbartoun to procure their Sovereign's liberty, being against the King's Lords, p. 88. Binding themselves in a Bond, *ibid.* They issue out Proclamation on both sides to Convene their friends, p. 90. Meet and fight, but the Queen's Lords are Routed, p. 91. The King's Lords send for the Earl of Lennox, to make him Regent in the room of Murray, p. 104. They hold a Parliament at Sterling, and the Queen's at Edinburgh, p. 113. Lords all written and unwritten for arrive at St. Andrew's, to attend the Convention intended there by the King, p. 136. Design to have the King in custody, *ibid.* Lords met at Edinburgh, pass a Vote unanimously, being preoccupied by the Earl of Arran, p. 153. Those Lords who designed the attempt on Sterling fly to England, p. 157. Are foresawled, p. 158. They return and come to the Borders with Assistance, p. 168. 3000 of the banished Lords enter Sterling, fall on their knees, and beg his Majesty's pardon, p. 169. Which is granted, *ibid.* The Lords gain great credit by their moderate behaviour, p. 170.

Lorrain Cardinal, designs to promote Queen Mary to the Crown of England, by alleging Queen Eliza-

beth to be Illegitimate, p. 32. Causes all Queen Mary's Silver Vessels to be engraven with the Arms of England, *ibid.* After the conclusion of Peace is sent Ambassador to Spain to take that King's Oath, and to swear for his Master's observing the same, *ibid.* Proposeth two Matches to the Emperor of Germany, p. 33.

### M

**M**Acclean and others, chief of the Highlands is subtilly brought to Court by the Chancellour, p. 192. Are imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, accused of foul murder, but get off *ibid.*

Maitland Secretary, is confin'd to his house with others, p. 166. Opposeth the Author in Council, p. 171.

Mar Earl, keeps the young Prince, and will not deliver him to Bothwel, p. 80. Is made Regent in the room of Lennox, p. 111. Goes to Edinburgh to Convene the Lords in order to an Accommodation, p. 118. In the mean time goes to Dalkieth, and shortly after dies at Sterling, *ibid.*

Margil David, one of the Duke of Lennox his Chancellors, p. 128.

Marshal of Berwick besiegeth Edinburgh assisted by an English Army, and all Scotland, p. 120. Contends with the Ambassador, p. 121. Is forced to deliver up the Prisoners in Edinburgh Castle to the Regent, being commanded by the Queen of England to do it, *ibid.* Which he doth with much regret, and returns to Berwick discontented, *ibid.* The Laird of Cleech having before offered them good Conditions to quit the Castle, *ibid.* Takes the Death of the Laird of Grange very much to the heart, by reason of the breach of his promise, and thereupon quits his Employment of Marshal, whose loss is much lamented.



## The Table.

ted, being a worthy Captain, *ibid.*  
 Marshal Earl, and others, lodge  
 within the Castle with his Majesty  
 of Scotland, p. 136. He and others  
 retire to their houses, p. 137. De-  
 sires to supply the place of the Lord  
 Atry as Ambassadour to Denmark,  
 p. 178. Which is granted, *ibid.* But  
 his Commission is so slender that he  
 sends the Lord Dingual for a Li-  
 cense to return, or a power to con-  
 clude the Match with Denmark,  
*ibid.* Which he receives, and is pre-  
 sently dispatcht for Scotland by the  
 Regent and Council, and the Queen  
 sent home with him well attended,  
 p. 180. But are driven by Tempest  
 upon the Coast of Norway, the  
 winds being raised by the Witches  
 of Denmark, and the reason why,  
*ibid.* Is not well thought of by the  
 King upon the account of his Embas-  
 sy to Denmark, occasioned by the  
 Chancellour's misrepresentation of  
 him to his Majesty, p. 182.  
 Marland is made Chancellour in  
 Scotland, p. 175. Threatned to be  
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 sties discontent as the Queens de-  
 lay of coming from Denmark, and  
 adviseth him to sail thither in per-  
 son to fetch her home, p. 181. Who  
 goes with him privately, *ibid.* Be-  
 ing at Denmark, he deviseth many  
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 jesties return, p. 182. Causes the  
 Lord Hume, Earl Bothwel, and di-  
 vers others to be imprison'd for  
 their disobedience, during the ab-  
 sence of the King, *ibid.* Misrepres-  
 sents Sir Robert Melvil, and envies  
 him, though a great friend to his  
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 the Council and him, who desire to  
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 it being discovered, *ibid.* Great ha-  
 tred between him and the Duke of  
 Lennox, p. 198. He retires to his  
 own House, and is accused of sever-  
 al Crimes, *ibid.* Procures against his  
 Majesties favour, and is re-introduc-

ted at Court, p. 200. And at length  
 reconciled to the Queen, *ibid.*  
 Mary Queen of Scotland, the on-  
 ly Child left of King James the 5th.  
 p. 7. Born when he lay on his death-  
 bed, p. 7. After her arrival in  
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 her Marriage between the two Fa-  
 ctions in France, but is at last wed-  
 ded to the Dauphin, p. 8. Proves a  
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 of her Husband, p. 30. By degrees  
 leaves the Court upon dislike, *ibid.*  
 Occasion'd by the Queen-Mother's  
 rigorous dealing with her, p. 31. Is  
 advis'd to return to Scotland, and  
 behave her self moderately, *ibid.*  
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 Match proposed by Cardinal Lor-  
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 Duke of Austria, *ibid.* Advertiseth  
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 sal, desiring her advice, p. 40.  
 Which she answers by Mr. Ran-  
 dolph, *ibid.* and p. 41. Lays aside  
 the thoughts of that Match, p. 43.  
 And the Reasons why, *ibid.* Behaves  
 her self very discreetly, and gains  
 great reputation in all Countries,  
 p. 53. Her Character, p. 54. Is  
 much taken with the Lord Darnly,  
 p. 55. Determines to marry him tho  
 oppos'd by several Lords, *ibid.* And  
 is married to him accordingly, p. 57.  
 Is kept Prisoner by Douglas and his  
 Party upon the Murder of Rixio, p.  
 65. Causes the King to advise them  
 to withdraw the Guards they had  
 upon her, *ibid.* So they went all to  
 their home, but the Queen, King, and  
 some in their Retinue went at mid-  
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 Remissions for the Lord Murray and  
 his Dependents, leaving the young  
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 67. She mislikes the King who grows  
 more and more uncharitable, *ibid.* She is  
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ling her Servant Rixio to the endangering of her self, and the Child in her Womb, p. 74. Keeps her Chamber sometime after the murder of her Husband Darnly, p. 78. She wonders at the reports of her marriage with Bothwel, but denies it, *ibid.* Is forced to marry him, the Nobility approving it, and he having first Ravished her, p. 80. Is married by Adam Bothwel, after the Reformed Religion, *ibid.* Resigns her self to the Lord of Grange, and conveyed to Edinburgh, p. 83. where she is respected by the Nobles, but reviled by the vulgar, *ibid.* Writes a Letter, wherein she calls Bothwel her dear heart, promising never to forsake him, p. 84. Which being brought to the Lords by the Treachery of one of her Keepers, they sent her to be secured in Lockleven, *ibid.* Upon the Lord Lindsay's coming she subscribed to the Demission of the Government to the Prince, and certain Lords named as Regents, p. 85. Is conveyed from Lockleven to Hamiltoun, p. 90. After the loss of the Battle of Langside, she quite loseth her courage, never thinks her self secure till she arrives in England, p. 92. Is kept Prisoner in the North parts here, p. 99. Endeavours to get her self declared second Person of England, p. 152. but it proves ineffectual, *ibid.* Receives warning of her death for the Council the night before, p. 172. Her carriage and deportment thereupon, *ibid.* Takes her death patiently, and dies courageously, p. 173. Receives divers strokes with the Ax through the Executioner's cruelty, *ibid.*

Master of Glams is Treasurer of Scotland, p. 198. Designs to get the Office from Sir Robert Melvil, and manage the Treasury solely, *ibid.*

Master of Gray is in great favour with the King of Scots, and why,

p. 158. His Character, *ibid.* Is sent Ambassador to England, and returns with great Credit and Approbation, notwithstanding he is misrepresented by the Earl of Arran, whom he begins by degrees to Eclipse, *ibid.* Acquaints his Majesty that Mr. Watton, a Man of great Parts, is upon his journey from the Queen of England, and upon what account, p. 158, & 159. Procures the Earl of Arran's liberty, p. 166. Is rewarded for it with the Abby of Dumfarming, *ibid.* At which the English Ambassador is enraged, but afterward reconciled to him, *ibid.* He retires to Dunkel, p. 168. Is sent for again to Court, p. 169. And in as great favour as ever, *ibid.* Is deprived of his Benefice of Dumfarming, p. 175. And discharged from the Court, *ibid.*

Maurice Duke, God-son to the Landgrave of Hesse, p. 11. persuades his God-Father to come to the Emperor, who retains him Captive, *ibid.* Is Cousin to the Duke of Saxony, and obtains the Electorate as a gift from the Emperor, p. 12. Sollicits the Emperor for the liberty of his God-father, but in vain, *ibid.* Lays Siege to Magdeburgh, being the Emperor's Lieutenant, *ibid.* A subtle man, *ibid.* Surpriseth the Emperor at Isburgh, compels him to fly so clearly out of Dutchland, that he never set foot in it again, p. 13. Yet he and the Emperor is after reconciled, and lay Siege to the Town of Metz, tho to no purpose, *ibid.*

Maximilian, King of the Romans, by his politick carriage between Protestant and Catholick obtains the Empire, p. 33. Is skill'd in several Languages, p. 34. Proves an enemy to the Match with his Brother Charles, the Arch-Duke of Austria, and the Queen of Scots, though seemingly a friend, p. 35.

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Melvil Sir Andrew, one of the undertakers to keep the Castle of Edinburgh p. 120. Is Master of the Household to Queen Elizabeth, p. 173. After Master of the Household to King James p. 180. Marries Jane Kennedy, who had been a long time in England with Queen Mary, *ibid.*

Melvil Sir James, the Author and Brother to Sir Andrew Melvil, is sent by the Queen-Mother with the Bishop of Valence to be Page of Honour to her Daughter there Married to the Dauphin, p. 8. The kindness of Odocart's Daughter to him, promising him Marriage, p. 9. His pleasant discovery of the two Scotsmens Deceit, to whose care he was committed in their Journey to Paris p. 10. Is design'd to be promoted by the Bishop, but prevented and by what means, p. 14. Is entertain'd in the Service of the Constable of France, by the consent of the Bishop of Valence, p. 15. Is commissianated by the French King, and afterward by the Constable to go into Scotland, and the purport of his Commission, p. 25. and 26. Endeavours to be inform'd of the Prior of St. Andrews intentions who declares his mind to him at large, p. 27. In his return to France meets with an English Mathematician, and the Discourse between them, p. 27. and 28. Gets licence of the Queen of France to Travel, the reason thereof, he takes his leave, p. 29. Is recommended to the Elector Palatine by the Constable his Master, and entertain'd as one of his Servants, *ibid.* And is thereupon sent by the Elector to Condole the death of Francis the 2d. French King, *ibid.* Receives great Favour from the King of Navarre and Queen Regent, dispatching him back with thanks and a gift, p. 30. Returns, visits the Queen of Scotland, Mary, in her return home at Janville, with a comfortable Letter from Duke Casimire, p. 31. Receives thanks from

the Queen for it with favourable offers when return'd from Travel, *ibid.* Is desired by the Duke and his Father to go into England about a Match with the Queen and the Duke, but refuseth, p. 32. And why, *ibid.* Receives a Letter from Scotland to inquire about the Arch Duke of Austria, p. 33. Is sent for by Maximilian, and goes with a Letter from the Elector to him, p. 34. The passages between them, *ibid.* Finds the proposition of a Match with the Arch-Duke would prove ineffectual, and therefore presseth for a dispatch, which at length he obtains, p. 35. Receives a Letter from Maximilian to the Queen of Scots, *ibid.* Is sent by the Prince Elector to the Queen-Mother of France, with an Answer and Picture to her propositions of a Match between her Son Charles the 9th, and Maximilian's eldest Daughter, p. 36. Is introduced into her Presence by the Constable, *ibid.* Is prefer'd very large offers of Preferment by the Queen Mother, if he would reside there, p. 33. Receives Letters from Queen Mary to return home, *ibid.* Parts with a Commission to the Queen of England, p. 39. Presents the Pictures of Casimire and his Relations to the Queen, *ibid.* Which she returns next day, p. 40. Refusing to accept of them, *ibid.* Writes back to his Father, and himself a disswasive from that Marriage and receives thanks, *ibid.* Returns into Scotland and presents the Queen with Letters from Foreign Princes, p. 43. Receives great offers from the Queen, but refuseth them, and upon what ground, *ibid.* Is sent with instructions to Queen Elizabeth and her Friends to procure a Reconciliation, *ibid.* The instructions at large, p. the 44th. and 45th. Being Arrived at London, he next morning receives his Answer from the Queen, p. 46. Perswades her Majesty to tear the Angry Letter she intended

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intend to send to Queen Mary in answer to hers, p. 47. Which she did, *ibid.* The private Conference between the Queen of England and Melvil, being a Character of the Two Queens full of diversion, p. 47, 48, and 49. Takes his leave and returns to Scotland with many Presents, p. 52. Acquaints his Queen with Queen Elizabeth's Answer, *ibid.* After the Queens Marriage begs leave to Travel, which she refuseth, p. 58. Upon her promises staves and adviseth her, p. 59. Officiates as her Secretary, Lidington being absent upon some suspicion, p. 67. Rides Post to London to give an account to the Queen of the Birth of a Son in Scotland, p. 69. Has a satisfactory Audience, p. 70. Shews a Letter to her Majesty from Tho. Bishop against her Marriage with Bothwel, and is forced to fly for it, p. 79. But returns, Bothwel's rage being allayed, *ibid.* Is afterward taken Prisoner when Bothwel seized the Queen, p. 80. Refuseth at first to be sent Commissioner by the Lords who concluded to Crown the Prince, to the Lords Assembled at Hamiltoun, but at last accepts, p. 85. Declares their Answer at Sterling, p. 86. Is sent to meet the Lord Murray at Berwick upon his return from France, to advise him, p. 87. Is sent by another Party with contrary Instructions, *ibid.* Deviseth with others a remedy for his preservation and brings into a good opinion with the People, p. 102. Is sent to Berwick to the Earl of Suffex, and why, p. 105. Receives an Answer, *ibid.* Visits the Regent the Earl of Lennox there, p. 106. Disswades him from the Regency as dangerous, *ibid.* Is taken Prisoner by the Earl of Bughan, p. 111. Whom the Laird Grange would have released by force but he disapproves of it, *ibid.* Finds Bail to serve his Majesty and the Regent, and is discharged, p. 112. Is sent by the

Regent Marr to Edinburgh to make an Accommodation between them and him, p. 117. Which they were all inclinable to, *ibid.* And after Marr's death by the Regent Mortoun, p. 118. Proferreth himself a Pledge that the Castle of Edinburgh should be delivered by the Laird Grange to the Regent, p. 119. Loseth the Regents favour by telling his faults freely, p. 124. Is ordained to hold the Justice-Eyre of West Lauthian with other persons at Edinburgh, p. 131. Is sent for by his Majesty, p. 133. Goes to wait upon him, though resolv'd to lead a contemplative life, *ibid.* Discourseth with his Majesty about the State of all Countries, p. 134. Prevailes with the Bishop of St. Andrews to entertain his Majesty in the Castle, p. 135. Adviseth him to go into the Castle for his security, p. 136. Is acknowledged by his Majesty to be the sole Procurer of his liberty, p. 137. His Council is much depended upon by the King, p. 138. Is made one of his Council, *ibid.* Opposeth the Earl of Arran's new invented Proclamation in the Council-House, p. 139. Is made Gentleman of his Chamber, and a member of the Privy-Council, p. 142. Is writ to by his Majesty to attend him, and obeys, p. 143. Takes a long Letter with him to put him in mind of his Promises, the Contents thereof, p. 143, 144, 145, and 146. Arrives at Sterling and disswades his Majesty from sending Ambassadors to England for that present, p. 146. Which his Majesty condescends to and he retires, *ibid.* Is sent for again to conduct Secretary Walsingham to his Audience, p. 147. Is appointed with four more to endeavour the understanding his intentions, p. 147. and 148. Refuseth the Office of Secretary offer'd him, p. 149. Is deprived of all employment by the Earl of Arran's means, though contrary to his Majesties promise, p. 150. Yet is ordered

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ordered to prepare for an Embassy to England, and Pens the Speech he intends to pronounce to the Queen, *ibid.* The Contents, p. 150, 151, and 152. A large Conference is held between King James and him about his Affairs, p. 153, and 154. Is left by his Majesties manager. p. 154. He entertains a smart discourse with the Earl of Arran, p. 155. Is resolv'd upon that account to attend no longer then the end of the Convention, *ibid.* Is sent for by his Majesty, and graciously receiv'd, p. 157. Conducts Davison the English Agent to his Audience at Falkland, *ibid.* Adviseth his Majesty that Davison endeavours the disturbance of that Kingdom, p. 158. Is sent for to entertain Mr. Wotton, p. 159. Gives an account of his carriage and designs in France at the age of 21, p. 159, 160, and 161. Gives his Majesty caution to be wary of him, but is not taken notice of, p. 161. Is appointed with Two more to entertain the three Danish Ambassadors, p. 162. Pacifies the first of the 3 with discourse for Indignities offered them, p. 163, and 164. Gives an account of the King of Denmark's Genealogy, p. 165. which undeceives the King of Scotland and satisfies him, *ibid.* Goes on Board of the Ambassadors from Denmark, being upon their departure, with Presents, p. 167. Takes leave of them, rewards the Officers, declaring the particulars to his Majesty, *ibid.* Shifts off his going Ambassador to Denmark, *ibid.* Is sent for to Court, p. 168. Is sent upon a framed Errand to Dunkel and his Commission, p. 168, and 169. At his return forewarns his Majesty of what would follow the Earl of Arran's rash proceedings, p. 170. Is for and Act of Oblivion and restoring the Banished Lords, but Opposed, p. 171. Is sent for to go. to England to confirm the League with Queen Elizabeth, p. 173. But endeavours to avoid it,

*ibid.* Is discharged of that Embassy, p. 174. And design'd Ambassador to Spain, p. 175. but has no desire for that Voyage, *ibid.* Is nominated to go to Denmark, which he likewise declines, p. 176. Is desired by Du Bartas the French Poet to go with a Commission to the King of Navarre, p. 177. But refuseth it, *ibid.* Seeing no preparations for his dispatch to Denmark, he obtains licence and prepares himself for the next Order, p. 179. Is sent for by his Majesty at his landing in Scotland, p. 182. Is Commanded to attend the Earl of Worcester Ambassador from England, sent to Congratulate both their Majesties at their Arrival, *ibid.* Is acquainted with his Majesties proceedings in his Voyage, p. 112, and 183. He and Sir Robert Melvil set down some Rules for the management of his Affairs by his order, from p. 185, to p. 192. Is sent for to Falkland and acquaint him that he is design'd to wait upon the young Queen, p. 193. which he did several years, p. 194. He and his Brother Sir Robert advertised his Majesty of a design against him by Bothwel and his Complices, p. 197. which was slighted, *ibid.* Is one of the Privy Council and Gentleman of her Majesties Chamber, p. 198. Is appointed with others to entertain Ambassadors from Forraign Parts upon the Birth of Prince Henry, p. 203. Is also appointed to attend the Two Ambassadors from Denmark about the performance of the Contract of Marriage, p. 204.

Melvil Sir Robert, is sent Ambassador in Ordinary into England by Queen Mary, p. 63. And upon what account, *ibid.* Is taken Prisoner with others after the Surrender of Edinburgh Castle, p. 121. Is made one of the King's Council, p. 138. Gets intelligence of the English Ambassadors designs against King James, p. 167. Acquaints his Majesty there-  
with

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with, *ibid.* Offers by Combat to justify it, p. 168. But is prevented by his Majesty, *ibid.* Is sent Ambassador with another to treat about the Accusation of the Queen of Scots, p. 173. Speaks boldly, and had been detained Prisoner but for the interest of the Master of Gray in England, *ibid.* Is left Vice-Chancellor of Scotland, during his Majesty's absence at Denmark, p. 181. Though calumniated and threatened to be imprisoned, and have his Office taken through the Chancellor's means, p. 183. Gives his Majesty notice of Bothwel's design against him, p. 197. Is made Deputy-Treasurer, p. 198. Is threatened with death by the Captain of the Guards, p. 199. But the Queen stood his Friend, *ibid.* Sends his Servant to acquaint the King with Bothwel's Conspiracy against him in Falkland, for which he is derided, p. 202. Sir Robert is sent Ambassador to England from King James, p. 204. Morton Earl, is challenged to fight by Lord Herreis upon the account of the Kings death, p. 100. Appoints four men to kill Grange at the entrance of the Regent's Lodgings, without the Regents priority, p. 101. Has a great Faction in the Country, though disappointed of the Regency, p. 116. But is made Regent after the decease of the Earl of Mar by the assistance of England, p. 118. Promiseth to the Agreement with the Lords of the Castle of Edinburgh, but steers another course, p. 120. Anticipates the March of Berwick, and pass an Answer from the Queen of England to have the Prisoners taken at Edinburgh Castle, and a Commission for their Execution, before he could send, p. 121. Triumphs a while, being with great Assistance from England, p. 123. His whole study is to gain riches from England and Scotland, p. 123. Of which England had

late repented, *ibid.* Holds the Country in a more settled Estate then it had been in for many years, p. 124. Grows proud, displeaseth the Nobility, commits several wrongs, and persecutes several Lords, *ibid.* exposeth the Earl of Orkny to great hardship, p. 126. Yields easily to his deposition from the Regency, retiring to Lockleven, *ibid.* But by his designs gets in again to be Master of the Court, *ibid.* Is Accused by James Stuart of the late King's Murther, p. 127. Is condemned at the Affize for it, 128. And dies resolutely, *ibid.*

Murray Earl, takes part with Bothwel, p. 201. And is kill'd at his own House.

Murray Lord, and Bedford meet at Berwick about the marriage of Queen Mary with Leicester, p. 53. with slanderer offers then expected from him, *ibid.*

Murray being one of the banished Lords is sent for from Newcastle, and re-entertain'd by the Queen, p. 65. Retires from Court, p. 78. Obtains leave to go to France before the Queen married Bothwel, p. 80. Is appointed by the Queen first Regent of the young Prince, p. 85. Whereupon he is sent for from France by the Lords, *ibid.* Accepts the Regency of the Prince, after a Refusal, p. 87. Enters at first sight upon such injurious Reproaches of her Majesty, as were like to break her heart, *ibid.* Takes the Forts and Castles into his hands, p. 90. Clears the Borders of Thieves, and holds Justice in Eyre, *ibid.* Goes to England, accompanied with many Lords, to accuse Queen Mary, p. 93. Is perswaded from it by the Duke of Norfolk, p. 94; and 95. He agreed that he shall by no means proceed in that Accusation, p. 95. Breaks his word with the Duke, and comes from the Council-House with Tears in his Eyes, p. 97. Is despi-

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sed by the Queen of England for his intention to Accuse her, detest- ed by the Duke, reproached by his Friends, living at Kingston pen- less and unregarded; p. 97. Is re- conciled to the Duke, p. 98. Has 2000 l. of the Queen, for which the Duke becomes surety, and after- ward paid it, 99. Takes leave of the Queen, but discovers again all that ever past between the Duke and himself, p. 99. Promising to send the Queen those Letters he should receive in Scotland from him, *ibid.* Sends for Secretary Li- dington, as being of Council with the Duke of Nortolk, resolving to accuse him, and writes for him to come to make a dispatch for Eng- land, p. 100. Being come is Accused before the Privy Council of the late King's Murder, and imprisoned, *ibid.* Is misled, though well inclined, by vain pretences to his own and the ruine of others, p. 102. Gives ear to flatterers, *ibid.* Dissembles with Grange and Lidington, *ibid.* His Character, p. 103. Is shot by Hamiltoun, and dies the same night, *ibid.*

### N

**N**orfolk Duke, sent with an Ar- my out of England to help the Congregationists, p. 29. He and several other Councillors sent down to York to hear the Regent's Accu- sation of his Queen, and he Judges thereof, p. 94. Privately dissuades the Regent from Accusing the Queen for the King her Son's sake, p. 95. Is the greatest Subject in Europe, not being a free-born Prince, p. 96. Ruling the Queen and all, *ibid.* His purposes discovered to the Queen, whereby the Regent lost the Duke's favour, yet speaks boldly to her Ma- jesty, p. 98. Is prevailed with to enter into friendship again with the Regent, upon promise of his future

secrecie, *ibid.* Acquaints the Regent with his resolution to marry the Queen of Scots, and that he had a Daughter fitter for the King then any other, p. 98 and 99. Becomes Security for 2000 l. which Murray the Regent of Scotland received from the Queen of England, which he after paid, p. 99. Is sent for by the Queen to come to Court (being again deceived by the Regent then in Scotland) applies himself to Se- cretary Cecil, who told him there was no danger, so that he rode with his Train only, *ibid.* Is seized by the Treachery of Cecil, and after a tedious Captivity, dies of the Reform- ed Religion, p. 100.

Normand Lesly, gains great ho- nour in the Wars, between Henry the Second of France, and the Em- perour, p. 17.

### O

**O**Chilterie Lord, and divers o- thers, in revenge of the death of the Earl of Murray, takes part with Earl Bothwel, p. 201. Adviseeth him to Seize on his Ma- jesty in his Palace at Falkland, *ibid.*

Octavians in Scotland, who, and why so called, p. 191.

Octavio Duke, Son-in-law to the Emperour Charles the Fifth, is left to the Pope's discretion, and why, p. 11.

### P

**P**arliament Proclaimed at Lith- gow for the restitution of the banished Lords, p. 170.

Parma Duke, Governour of Flan- ders, wins the hearts of his Soldi- ers, and Enemies, by his prudent be- haviour, p. 166. Is suspected by the Spanish King to have a design on Flanders, which caused him to deny the Spanish Victuals, Ships, and landing



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landing in his Territories, *ibid.*

Paul the fourth, Pope, breaks off the five years Truce between the French King and the Emperour, p. 19.

Peace concluded between Scotland and England. and upon what Terms, p. 30.

Pool Cardinal, appointed to be Mediator between the two Princes, p. 16.

Prelates of Scotland endeavour to win King James by large proffers and persuasion, to their Opinion, p. 4. They exasperate his Majesty against the Treasurer by their insinuations, p. 5. But he gets well off, *ibid.*

Prior of St. Andrews, the Lord James, Natural Son to James the Fifth, King of Scotland, p. 25. Afterwards Earl of Murray, p. 32.

Prior of Pittenweem, a great debaucher of Women and Maidens. p. 5.

Protestants grown very numerous in Scotland, p. 24.

Q

Queen Mother of France is glad at the death of Francis the Second her Son, he being wholly ruled by the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal his Brother, p. 29. Whereupon she dischargeth the King of Navarre and Prince of Conde, who had a Scaffold erected for their Execution, *ibid.* Is made Regent by the Three Estates, during the minority of Charles the Ninth, p. 30. Seems inclinable to the Protestant Religion, intending to joyn with the Protestant Princes, *ibid.* Makes a Peace after the battle of Drues, p. 36.

Queen Regent of Scotland receives the Government from Hamilton, p. 24. Issues out a severe Proclamation against Protestants, *ibid.* Is disturbed at the discourse of the

Prior of St. Andrew's and others, and resolves to persecute the more, p. 25. Sends to France about the disorders in her Country for help, *ibid.* She, during the Controversie with the Congregation, retires with Monsieur Dofel and other Frenchmen to Ljeth, which is fortified expecting French supplies, p. 29. But being indisposed, retires to the Castle of Edinburgh, and dies with regret that she followed the advice of her French friends, *ibid.*

Queen of Scotland married to King James from Denmark, is Crowned, p. 184. Shews Melvil no great countenance at first, p. 194. But at length seems well satisfied with his Service, *ibid.* Is offended with the Chancellour for delaying her Marriage with the King of Scots, p. 198. Usually speaks in favour of those Officers that are misrepresented to the King, p. 199. Is offended with the Chancellour, but reconciled, p. 200. Gives the English, Danish, and Dutch Ambassadors Audience, p. 204.

St. Quintin, and several other Towns lost by the French to the Spaniard, p. 22.

R

Randolph, Thomas, Queen Elizabeth's Agent in Scotland, p. 40. Denies the Queen of England made any promises to those who would oppose the Marriage of the Queen of Scots, p. 60. Is sent with the Earl of Lennox Ambassadour unto Scotland to set him forward with his power, p. 107. Is a double dealer, and sower of Sedition, *ibid.* Glories that he had kindled such a fire in Scotland as would not easily be extinguished, p. 109. Designs to have Mortoun Regent in the lieu of Lennox, but failed, p. 115. Returns home, and why, *ibid.* Is sent again Ambassadour to Scotland, p.

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127. Hears that the Author was designed to be sent Ambassador into England and opposeth it, proposing other persons in that juncture of time, p. 173.

Rixio David, a mean fellow, who came to Scotland with the Ambassador of Savoy, is made Secretary to the Queen of Scots, p. 54. A Musician perswaded to sing with others, the occasion of his promotion, *ibid.* Is suspected to be pensioner and Favourite to the Pope, p. 55. Is kill'd in the Queens presence to her great regret, she being with Child, by consent of the King, p. 64.

Ruffel Sir Francis, Warden of the English borders, p. 166. Is kill'd at a meeting between the two Wardens, *ib.*

Ruxbie sent to fist what he could get out of Mary Queen of Scots, as to her right to the Crown of England, p. 68. which he is to send to Mr. Secretary Cecil, p. 68. Addresseth himself to the Scots Queen, *ibid.* Writes to Cecil in her prejudice, p. 69. Is promised a reward but his intrigues are discovered and he secured, *ibid.*

## S

Seatoun Comptroller to King James of Scotland, p. 198.

Segie Lord, made one of the Kings Council, p. 138. Chosen to accompany Melvil in the entertainment of the Danish Ambassador, p. 162.

Senarpon Monsieur, Lieutenant in Normandy for the French King, p. 160.

Shaw William, Master of Wark, is chosen to accompany Melvil in his entertainment of the Danish Ambassadors with the Lord of Segie, p. 162.

Skeen a Lawyer, chosen to go to Denmark with the Author, p. 178.

Sinclare Oliver, promised by the Clergy to be made Lieutenant of the Army against England, if King Henry the 8th should war against Scot-

land, p. 4. Is proclaimed Lieutenant over the whole Army, yet the Lords disdaining so mean a person would not fight under him, but suffered themselves to be taken Prisoners, p. 6.

Simson Amy, a Midwife and Witch, p. 194. Is burnt with others, p. 195.

Smith Is made Secretary to Queen Elizabeth. p. 157.

Sommer, Secretary to the English Ambassador in France, p. 160.

Spanish Navy is rumour'd to be bound for England, Scotland, and Ireland, p. 175. Is three years preparing, *ibid.* The Commanders knew nothing of the Design but what they understood by the opening of their instructions at every landing place, p. 175 and 176. A violent storm of wind dissipates the whole Navy, and many of their Vessels suffer'd Shipwrack, *ibid.*

Spiny Lord, and the Master of Glams at variance, p. 198. Spiny is in great favour with his Majesty, *ibid.* For which he is envied and accused as a dealer with Bothwel, for which he is displaced and imprisoned, *ibid.* But escapes out of a window in Dalkieth by the help of a Danish Gentlewoman whom he afterward married, *ibid.* Is in disfavour with the King, p. 199.

Spinze Lord, is Gentleman of the Chamber to King James, p. 198.

Stuart Colonel, is sent to St. Andrews with Mr. John Colvil, p. 133. Is made Captain of King James his Guards, p. 137. Writes to the Author to repair to Court, p. 156. Is one of the Kings Council, p. 138. Rides to overthrow the Bannished Lords at their entry upon the borders, p. 168. But his design is frustrated, *ibid.* Is committed to the care of the Lord Maxwell, being in danger for espousing too violently the Earl of Arran's Interest, p. 170. Obtains leave to go to Denmark about his own Affairs being that Kings Pensioner,

## The Table.

*Penfioner*, p. 171. Has a Commission to treat about the Marriage of King James with the Eldest Daughter of the King of Denmark, *ibid.* Goes to Denmark several times at his own charge to complete his Masters Marriage with the King of Denmark's Daughter, p. 177.

Stuart, James, Son to the Lord Oghiltris a Favourite in Scotland, p. 126. Perswades the King to a Progress, p. 127. Accuses the Earl of Mortoun of the late Kings Murder, *ibid.* Takes upon himself the Title of Earl of Arran, p. 128. Marries the Earl of March his Relict, *ibid.* Casts off his true friends, p. 129. His Character, p. 131. Is kept Prisoner by the Lords in the Custody of the Earl of Gaury, p. 133. Obtains the favour of being confin'd to his own House at Kinneal, p. 137. adviseth the King, but is opposed by Gaury, *ibid.* Gets access to Court, and stays there contrary to promise, *ibid.* Is reconciled to Colonel Stuart by the Authors means, p. 139. He and Melvil the Author clash in Council, p. 139. His insolent carriage, p. 142. He and Gaury are reconciled by his Majesty, *ibid.* He and his wife ruling all, perswades his Majesty to go to Sterling, p. 143. He is Captain of the Castle and Provost of the Town, *ibid.* Adviseth his Majesty to send the Author Ambassador to Queen Elizabeth, in ending thereby to ensnare him, *ibid.* Desires a familiar Conference with Secretary Walsingham, who refuseth it, p. 148. At which being incens'd he puts several Indignities upon him, *ibid.* Endeavours to be made Chancellor and Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, p. 152. Useth his Craft to pervert the effect of the Convention, *ibid.* Retires discontented to the Castles of Edinburgh and Sterling, p. 155. His unworthy Carriage with many other particulars, *ibid.* Seizeth on Gaury's Lands, and divideth

them among several others, upon condition they would assist him in the ruin of the said Gaury, p. 156. Confers with the Earl of Hunfdon, on the Borders; and Plots with him secretly, p. 158. Grants all that is desired at the Conference with the Earl of Hunfdon to procure Queen Elizabeth's friendship, p. 161. Is not courted by the Danish Ambassadors, p. 163. whereupon he becomes their Enemy, *ibid.* Is in disfavour at Court, p. 166. Imprisoned in St. Andrews Castle, *ibid.* Sends his Brother to the Master of Gray, promising a reward to procure his liberty, p. 166. which he soon did, *ibid.* Is ordered to retire to his House, *ibid.* Obtains liberty to return to Court, p. 168. Flies, p. 169. Comes again to Court, p. 200. Is shortly after kill'd by James Douglas, *ibid.*

Stuart Sir William, is Captain of Dunbartoun, p. 129.

Suffex Earl, is sent from England to Berwick, p. 104. Enters the Merse with his Forces and takes the Castle of Hume and Falhastle, p. 106. Is sent to Scotland upon the Birth of Prince Henry from Queen Elizabeth, p. 203.

### T

**T**Aggot, a Scientificall Man who prognosticated the year of his own Death by Palmestry, p. 13. And dies at Geneva accordingly, p. 14.

Throgmorton Sir Nicholas, Ambassador from England to France, complains to the King and Council of the Queen of Scotland's new Usurped Style and Arms, p. 23. But without success, *ibid.* Acquaints Queen Elizabeth with it, p. 29. Is sent Ambassador to Scotland to disswade Queen Mary from the Marriage with Darnly, p. 56. Owns, when return'd, the promises he had made to those who would stop those proceed-

## The Table.

ings without fear of Queen or Council, p. 60. And comes off well, *ibid.* Is incensed that he was an instrument to deceive the Banished Lords, therefore adviseth them to beg their Queens Pardon, and penn's a persuasive Letter to her Majesty of Scotland, p. 60, 61, 62, and 63. A man of a deep reach, and great prudence, studying the Union of both Kingdoms, p. 98. Reconcileth the Duke and the Regent, *ibid.*

Tulke Monsieur, *see* Broderode.

### U

Villamonte, a French Gentleman sent to Mary Queen of Scotland to shew no favour to the Protestant Banished Lords, p. 63. A Device of Cardinal Lorrains, lately returned from the Council of Trent, *ibid.*

### W

Wachop, Patriarch of Ireland, p. 9. Went several times to Rome by Post tho blind, *ibid.*

Walsingham Sir Francis, is sent to Scotland, p. 147. His Character, *ibid.* Is conveyed by the Author to St. Johnstoun, *ibid.* Refuseth to discourse with any person about his Embassy, but his Majesty, p. 148. Is much troubled at the Earl of Arran's Court favour, *ibid.* Returns to England and dies, *ibid.*

William Bishop of Ely and Dr. Wotton sent Commissioners for Queen Mary in the Treaty of Peace at Cambray between France and Spain, p. 22.

Wood John, Secretary to Murray the Regent of Scotland, p. 95. Is desired to press forward the Accusation of the Queen of Scotland, p. 96. Produceth the Accusation of Queen Mary, upon the desire of Ce-

cil, who delivered it upon conditions, p. 96, and 97. Which was snatched from him by the bishop of Orkny, who gave it in to the Council, p. 97. Procures all the Letters sent from the Duke of Norfolk to his Master, which might tend to his ruin, p. 99. Is well rewarded for his pains, *ibid.*

Worcester Earl, is sent Ambassador from England to congratulate both their Majesties of Scotland. p. 182.

Norminstoun, kill'd at the seizure of the Lords at Sterling, p. 114.

Witches taken in Lauthian who depose against the Earl Bothwel, p. 194. They discourse with the Devil, his form and shape described, and are burnt, *ibid.*

Wotton Mr. sent by Queen Elizabeth to King James as Ambassador, p. 158. His parts and qualifications, p. 159. His carriage in France, when very young, p. 159. 160, and 161. Brothers Son to Dr.

Wotton Ambassador from England to Spain, p. 161. Fifty years old when he came into Scotland, *ibid.* Becomes one of his Majesties Favourites, tho he did more prejudice to his Majesty, as to his affairs, than any Englishman that arrived there before him, *ibid.* Is sent thither to use all his wiles to disturb the two Kings (namely of Denmark and Scotland) and their Countries, p. 161, and 162. Visits the Danish Ambassadors making large proffers to lend them Gold and Silver, p. 162. But secretly incenseth them with the Kings mean Opinion of their Master, *ibid.* Acquaints them that King James designed to affront them with delays, p. 163. Notwithstanding his double dealing with the King; he gains his Majesties Ear, p. 164. Makes a complaint to the King of the killing of Sir Francis Ruffel on the Borders, p. 166. Which occasioned the Earl of Arran's Imprisonment, *ibid.*

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## The Table.

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ibid. Obtains with the assistance of his Scotch friends, the chief management of King James's Affairs, p. 167. His designs against the King defeated, *ibid.* Flies to England without taking leave of his Majesty, p. 168. Persuades the Noblemen of that nation, who were banished into England, to return to their Native Country, *ibid.* His dangerous and circumventing Practices, p. 171.

Wotton Doctor, Ambassador from Mary, the Queen of England, who was Resident there, when she was married to Philip King of Spain, p. 159.

### Y

YOUNG Peter, King James's Almoner, sent Ambassadour to

Denmark, p. 167. His Commission, *ibid.* Returns with a friendly Answer, p. 171. Being very well contented with all Transactions there, and as well rewarded, p. 176. Is sent again to Denmark with the Laird of Barnbarrow in Commission, *ibid.* Returns, his Commission being lookt upon by the King of Denmark as insufficient, 177. Sent a third time with an Embassy to the Danish King, and the Dukes of Meeklenburgh and Brunswick, upon the birth of Prince Henry, 203. Returns with the reward of three fair Chains, *ibid.*

Yungland Laird, the Author's Brother undertakes the Embassie to the King and Princess of Navarre, 177. Is well treated and rewarded, *ibid.* A Scholar and Linguist, p. 178.

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AN

Denmark, p. 127. His Commission  
 bid, Return with a friendly  
 bid, p. 171. Bid, p. 171. Bid, p. 171.

# Alphabetical Interpretation

## OF ALL THE SCOTISH WORDS and PHRASES

Contained in this HISTORY.

**A**  
 Aback, to hold or keep back.  
 Acceſſion, Condeſcention.  
 Alwiſe, although.  
 Agent, about, concerning, as there-  
 of, anent, concerning, the ſame.  
 Alize, a Suit or Trial.  
 Ay, ſilt or ever.

**B**

Banded, joyned together, combining,  
 Beſt, as the next beſt way or courſe,  
 Bond of Alliance, a League or Truce.  
 Brangled, Turmoiled, Involv'd in  
Trouble.  
 Burrough, Burghers or Burgeſſes.  
 By-gones, all that is paſt.

**C**

Caution or Cautioner, Bail or  
 Surety.  
 Clan, a Tribe or Family.  
 Compear, Appear.  
 Comported, Patiently, bore Pati-  
 ently.  
 Compts, Accompts.  
 Conform, Agreeable or Suitable to.  
 Conquer, Credit, to gain Credit.  
 Convoyance, Conveyance.  
 Counſelable, one that is or will be  
 Adviced.

**D**

Decourted, diſcharged from the  
 Court.

Demiffion, laying down, or tranſ-  
 ferring to another.  
 Devilry, Devilifhneſs or Devilifh  
 Tricks.  
 Devotious, addic'ted to, very fa-  
 vourable to.  
 Ditty, Doom or Damage.  
 Down-caſting, pulling down, or de-  
 molifhing Houſes.  
 Dunting, the ſtunning of Hammer's,  
 &c.

**E**

Effectuate, effected or done.  
 Emit, ſend forth.  
 Evangel, the Goſpel.  
 Evite, Avoid.

**F**

Factioners, People of the Faction.  
 Fashion, as done for the faſhion, that  
 is, done as uſual and cuſtomary.  
 Forefault, to find guilty in the ab-  
 ſence of a perſon.  
 Forth-ſetting, Advancement, Pro-  
 motion.  
 Fraudful, Fraudulent, Deceitful.

**G**

Gain-ſtand, Withſtand.

**H**

Hand writ, hand-writing.  
 Home-going, returning home.  
 Hoſtlaries, Inns.

In

## I

Indwellers, *Inhabitants.*  
 Infestments, *Inheritance, Estate or Tenure.*  
 Ingenuity, *Ingenuity or Wit.*  
 Justice Eyrs, *Justice Itinerant.*

## L

Leave-taking, *bidding farewell.*  
 Leefings, *Lyes or Lying Tricks.*  
 Liberate, *free, as liberty.*  
 Logh, *a watry fongby place.*  
 Longsom, *Tedious.*

## M

Manyest, *the major part, the most.*  
 Miscontent, *Discontent.*  
 Misconstructed, *Mis-interpreted.*  
 Misgave, *Miscarried.*  
 Missives, *Lessers.*  
 Mostly, *for the most part.*  
 Moyen, *Means or Course.*

## N

Noticed, *Manifested.*

## O

Octavians, *Eight Lords appointed to govern Scotland.*  
 Onwaiter, *an Attendant.*  
 Oultmost, *last or utmost.*  
 Outgate, *a Way or Means.*  
 Out-taking, *freccing from Prison.*

## P

Practised, *dealt or laboured with to be brought over to a Party.*  
 Perilled, *Endangered.*  
 Perturbed, *disturbed.*  
 Prejudged, *Forjudged.*  
 Procedure, *Proceedings.*  
 To Procces, *to Sue.*  
 Proponed, *Proposed.*

## R

Refuse, *as he caused refuse, i. e. he made them deny it.*  
 Regrated, *Regretted, inwardly lamented or grieved for.*  
 Righteous Heir, *True Heir.*

## S

Salutary, *wholesom, healthful, healing.*  
 Skittering, *skittish, finical, silly.*  
 Signatures, *written instruments to be signed.*  
 Steadable, *firm, that will stand one in stead, available.*  
 Stormsted, *driven by Tempest into a Port or Harbour.*  
 To Suit, *to beg or request.*

## T

Time-coming, *for the future of time to come.*  
 Timoufly, *in good or due time.*  
 Tolerance, *Toleration, Permission.*

## V

Vengeable, *Revengeful.*  
 Volt, *as a merry volt, a merry pleasant countenance.*  
 Unfriends, *Enemies.*  
 Unworable, *not to be won or courted to side with a Party.*  
 Uptaking, *composing, or taking up a business or difference.*

## W

Ward, *or Warding, Imprisonment.*  
 Wel of Affairs, *the good or promotion of business.*  
 While by-gone, *a long or considerable time since or past.*  
 Whinger, *a Scottish Sword, commonly called whingard.*  
 Wrongoufly, *injariously or wrongfully.*



