



DA 750.B2 N0 51



a31188000453114b

CALL No.	51332
DA 750 B2 no.51	Bannatyne, Richard. Memorials of transactions in Scotland.

THE LIBRARY



UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH  
Arts Division

*mk*

Date due

OCT 21 1970	JAN 14 1971		
		JUL 20 1970	
		83 09 08	
		83 05 04	
AUG 14 1972		84 05 14	
		84 05 01	
		84 10 19	
AUG 14 1972			
JAN 5 1976			
JAN - 8 1976			
MAY - 3 1976			













MEMORIALS

OF

TRANSACTIONS IN SCOTLAND,

A. D. MDLXIX—A. D. MDLXXIII.

BY RICHARD BANNATYNE,

SECRETARY TO JOHN KNOX.

PRINTED AT EDINBURGH.

MDCCCXXXVI.

EDINBURGH PRINTING COMPANY.

THE LIBRARY  
UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

## CONTENTS.

TITLE PAGE, . . . . .	...
CONTENTS, . . . . .	iii
MINUTE OF THE BANNATYNE CLUB, . . . . .	v
LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE BANNATYNE CLUB, . . . . .	...
PREFATORY NOTICE, . . . . .	vii
VARIOUS READINGS, . . . . .	xxix
PAPERS APPENDED TO THE MSS. OF BANNATYNE'S MEMORIALES, WITH THE ORDER OF THEIR ARRANGEMENT IN THE TWO TRANSCRIPTS, . . . . .	xxxiii
MEMORIALES OF RICHARD BANNATYNE, . . . . .	1
THE CONFESSION OF JAMES EARL OF MORTOUN, . . . . .	317
THE MANER OF THE ERLE OF HUNTLLIE'S DEATH, . . . . .	333
LETTER FROM SECRETARY MAITLAND TO THE YOUNG LAIRD OF CARMICHAEL, TO BE SHEWN TO JAMES EARL OF MORTOUN, REGENT, . . . . .	339
LETTER FROM JAMES EARL OF MORTOUN, REGENT, IN REPLY, . . . . .	342
APPENDIX, . . . . .	347

I. A BREIF NOTE of the thingis done be the Erle of Lennox and his adherents, contrair thair promessis to the Quenis maiestie of England; by the quihilk thai haif violat and broken the Abstinence subscryved be the said Erle of Lennox, which was promised to be keptit *bona fide*, . . . . . *ib.*

II. ANSUERIS TO A CERTANE NOTE of sum thing allegit done be the Erle of Lennox, lord Regent of the realme of Scotland, and my adherentis, as contrair our promises maid to the Erle of Sussex, Lieutenant to the Quenis maiestie of England, in the North; by the quhilk it is vntrewly allegit that we haue violat and broken the Abstinance subscriued,	350
III. NOTES OF CERTANE ACTES done by the Erle of Levinax aganis the tenour of the Assurance taikin since the same wes subscriuit,	352
IV. THE ANSUEER of me the Erle of Lennox, lord Regent of Scotland, to sum Notes of certane Actis allegit done be me aganis the tennour of the Assurance taikin sen the same wes subscriuid,	353
V. LETTER from the Earl of Lennox, Regent,	356
VI. ANSUERIS TO CERTANE ARTICLES, quhairby the Abstinance is allegit violated by me, Erle of Huntly,	357
VII. LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS from Matthew, Earl of Lennox, Regent of Scotland, to Robert Pitcairn, Commendator of Dumfermling, Secretary of State, and Ambassador of Scotland at the Court of Queen Elizabeth,	358
VIII. ANSUEER TO THE NOTES of the Iniureis allegit done by the Quenis maiestie of Scotlandis pairty, sen the granting of the last Abstinance,	361
IX. The Last Will and Testament of RICHARD BANNATYNE,	363
X. The Last Will and Testament of JOHN KNOX,	366
INDEX TO THE MEMORIALES, &c.	375
INDEX TO THE APPENDIX,	408

AT A MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BANNATYNE CLUB,  
HELD IN THE ROYAL INSTITUTION BUILDINGS, ON THE 5TH  
OF AUGUST 1835,

“ IT having been stated to the COMMITTEE that Mr PITCAIRN had prepared for the press an edition of RICHARD BANNATYNE'S MEMORIALS OF TRANSACTIONS IN SCOTLAND, A.D. 1569—A.D. 1573, from the Manuscript preserved in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, the entire impression of which was not to exceed One hundred and fifty copies ;

RESOLVED,

“ That of this edition One hundred and one copies, to be printed on paper furnished by the Club, shall be taken for the use of the Members.”

*Extracted from the Minutes of the Club.*

D. LAING, *Secretary.*



# THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

M.DCCC.XXXVI.

---

THOMAS THOMSON, ESQ.

PRESIDENT.

RIGHT HON. JAMES ABERCROMBY, SPEAKER OF THE  
HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, K.T.

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM ADAM, LORD CHIEF COMMIS-  
SIONER OF THE JURY COURT.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD, K.G.

LORD BELHAVEN AND HAMILTON.

ROBERT BELL, ESQ.

WILLIAM BELL, ESQ.

WILLIAM BLAIR, ESQ.

10 THE REV. PHILIP BLISS, D.C.L.

JOHN BORTHWICK, ESQ.

THE MARQUIS OF BREADALBANE.

GEORGE BRODIE, ESQ.

CHARLES DASHWOOD BRUCE, ESQ.

O. TYNDALL BRUCE, ESQ.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBERRY, K.G.

JAMES CAMPBELL, ESQ.

WILLIAM CLERK, ESQ.

THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

---

- HON. HENRY COCKBURN, LORD COCKBURN. VICE-  
PRESIDENT.
- 20 DAVID CONSTABLE, ESQ.  
ANDREW COVENTRY, ESQ.  
JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, ESQ. TREASURER.  
WILLIAM GIBSON CRAIG, ESQ.  
HON. GEORGE CRANSTOUN, LORD COREHOUSE.  
THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE.  
JAMES DENNISTOUN, ESQ.  
GEORGE DUNDAS, ESQ.  
ROBERT DUNDAS, ESQ.  
RIGHT HON. W. DUNDAS, LORD CLERK REGISTER.
- 30 LORD FRANCIS EGERTON.  
CHARLES FERGUSSON, ESQ.  
ROBERT FERGUSON, ESQ.  
GENERAL SIR RONALD C. FERGUSON.  
COUNT MERCER DE FLAHAULT.  
HON. JOHN FULLERTON, LORD FULLERTON.  
THE DUKE OF GORDON.  
WILLIAM GOTT, ESQ.  
ROBERT GRAHAM, ESQ.  
LORD GRAY.
- 40 RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE.  
THE EARL OF HADDINGTON.  
THE DUKE OF HAMILTON AND BRANDON.  
EDW. W. A. DRUMMOND HAY, ESQ.  
SIR JOHN HAY, BAR  
JAMES MAITLAND HOG, ESQ.



THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

---

- LORD HOLLAND.  
JOHN HOPE, ESQ., DEAN OF FACULTY.  
COSMO INNES, ESQ.  
DAVID IRVING, LL. D.  
50 JAMES IVORY, ESQ.  
THE REV. JOHN JAMIESON, D.D.  
SIR HENRY JARDINE.  
HON. FRANCIS JEFFREY, LORD JEFFREY.  
JAMES KEAY, ESQ.  
THOMAS FRANCIS KENNEDY, ESQ.  
JOHN GARDINER KINNEAR, ESQ.  
THE EARL OF KINNOULL.  
DAVID LAING, ESQ. SECRETARY.  
THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE, K.T.  
60 THE REV. JOHN LEE, D.D.  
ALEXANDER WELLESLEY LEITH, ESQ.  
LORD LINDSAY.  
JAMES LOCH, ESQ.  
THE MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN.  
WILLIAM MACDOWALL, ESQ.  
HON. J. H. MACKENZIE, LORD MACKENZIE.  
JAMES MACKENZIE, ESQ.  
JOHN WHITEFOORD MACKENZIE, ESQ.  
JAMES MAIDMENT, ESQ.  
70 THOMAS MAITLAND, ESQ.  
VISCOUNT MELVILLE, K.T.  
WILLIAM HENRY MILLER, ESQ.  
THE EARL OF MINTO.

THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

---

- HON. SIR J. W. MONCREIFF, LORD MONCREIFF.  
RIGHT HON. JOHN A. MURRAY, LORD-ADVOCATE.  
WILLIAM MURRAY, ESQ.  
MACVEY NAPIER, ESQ.  
SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE.  
LORD PANMURE.
- 80 HENRY PETRIE, ESQ.  
ROBERT PITCAIRN, ESQ.  
ALEXANDER PRINGLE, ESQ.  
JOHN RICHARDSON, ESQ.  
THE EARL OF ROSSLYN.  
ANDREW RUTHERFURD, ESQ.  
THE EARL OF SELKIRK.  
RIGHT HON. SIR SAMUEL SHEPHERD.  
JAMES SKENE, ESQ.  
EARL SPENCER.
- 90 JOHN SPOTTISWOODE, ESQ.  
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOSEPH STRATON.  
SIR JOHN DRUMMOND STEWART, BART.  
THE HON. CHARLES FRANCIS STUART.  
THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND.  
ALEXANDER THOMSON, ESQ.  
WALTER C. TREVELYAN, ESQ.  
PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, ESQ.  
ADAM URQUHART, ESQ.  
RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE WARRENDER, BART.
- 100 THE VEN. ARCHDEACON WRANGHAM.

## PREFATORY NOTICE.

THE authenticity as well as the intrinsic value of the historical "MEMORIALES" compiled by RICHARD BANNATYNE, having for a considerable period been recognised and appreciated by every inquirer into the eventful history of the stirring times to which they relate, it is almost superfluous, even in an Introductory Notice to the first complete edition of his Work, to point out the general strictness and accuracy of his details, or the fidelity and veracity of Bannatyne as a chronicler. These, it is presumed, may now be considered permanently established.

It is necessary, however, to inform the reader of the genuineness and value of those original sources from which the present edition has been drawn, and of the plan and manner in which it has been conducted. The details of these shall therefore be submitted to the reader as briefly as possible.

The text of the present edition has been adjusted by the Editor, after a careful and laborious collation of the only two manuscripts which are now known to be extant. There is good reason for concluding that neither of these MSS. is at all likely to be the original; but both of them are assuredly early transcripts, and it may be safely asserted, that they were made during the lifetime of the author. These two transcripts are preserved in the Libraries of the University of Edinburgh and of the Faculty of Advocates; and the Editor embraces this opportunity

of acknowledging the polite and liberal manner in which his researches have been facilitated by the Curators of these Institutions, to whom he has been indebted on former occasions for ready access to their valuable and original stores of information.

The University MS.<sup>1</sup> is written on foolscap folio, in a neat and clear hand, of the close of the sixteenth century, which the Editor recognises to be the same as that employed in a variety of other MSS. of the period. It may be remarked, that the whole of this transcript bears evident marks of greater care and accuracy than the MS. which belongs to the Faculty of Advocates; the latter being, throughout, written in a hasty and careless manner, in the common scroll-hand of that age. It consists of one hundred and thirty-one folios, or two hundred and sixty-two pages.

The latter mentioned transcript, preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, is also written on foolscap folio, and is bound up with a large and heterogeneous collection of unarranged Papers,<sup>2</sup> which formerly belonged to a well known and indefatigable antiquary and collector of books and MSS., who flourished during the earlier portion of the last century, Mr Robert Mylne, who was either a Clerk to the Signet, or a practising writer, in Edinburgh. Notwithstanding the active exercise of a most laborious profession, Mr Mylne succeeded, by means of long continued and unwearied industry, in amassing an immense collection of materials, illustrative of the history and antiquities of Scotland; and attained the patriarchal age of one hundred and three, having died in Edinburgh, in the year 1747.<sup>3</sup> It is sufficient here to state that it was this same

<sup>1</sup> Marked Al. d. 3.    <sup>2</sup> Marked W. 3. 12, and titled on the back "Historical Miscellanies."    <sup>3</sup> "Robert Mylne, writer, aged 103. He enjoyed his sight, and the exercise of his understanding, till a little before his death, and was buried on his birth-day."—*British*

Mylne, whose persevering interpolations of the copy of Lord Fountainhall's Chronological Notes afforded scope for those humorous observations of Sir Walter Scott, in the Preface to his edition of that work; but it is also justly due to the merits of that venerable man to mention that, with the exception of Mr Robert Wodrow, he was probably the most extensive and the most indefatigable collector which Scotland has ever produced.<sup>1</sup> That portion of the Advocates' MS. which contains Richard Bannatyne's "Memoriales" had originally consisted of one hundred and two folios, or two hundred and four pages; but it appears certain, from the evidence afforded by a Table of Contents prefixed to the volume, as well as from the present defaced and soiled appearance of the first page of the MS., that the first nine folios, or eighteen pages, must have been destroyed previous to the MS. having become the property of Robert Mylne; and, consequently, a long period before it was acquired by the Faculty. In his Table, which consists of eight closely written columns, and is prepared with his characteristic minuteness and industry, Mylne commences with the contents of the tenth folio,<sup>2</sup> being the existing state of the transcript at this date. The entire volume has more recently been numbered as consisting of five hundred and eighty-four pages. On the fly-leaf immediately following the contents, Mylne has

*Magazine*, or London and Edinburgh Intelligencer, for 1747.—The *Scots Magazine* also records his demise, but states that he died on December 21, 1747, in the one hundred and fifth year of his age.

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of those who may wish to inquire more minutely into the extent and variety of Robert Mylne's MSS. and printed collections, the Editor may refer to the MS. *Catalogue* of his collection of printed books, preserved in the *Advocates' Library*—*Crawford's* History of Renfrewshire, and his Genealogical History of the Family of Stewart, Preface, 1710—and *Book of Scottish Pasquils, &c.*, duodecimo, Edinburgh, 1827, Prefatory Notice, where a great variety of interesting details concerning Mylne and his family are to be found.

<sup>2</sup> See the present edition, p. 32, "The grit Secretar," &c.

proudly inscribed—" In this manuscript are several noble miscellanies."

The "MEMORIALES" of Richard Bannatyne were, for the first time, made known to the public by John Graham Dalyell, esquire, a gentleman to whose antiquarian taste and persevering zeal the public has been indebted for many valuable works on early Scottish history, poetry, and general literature; but who, at the time his volume was published, had access to the Advocates' transcript only, which unquestionably is the more imperfect of the two MSS. The University MS. had not then been discovered; at least it was not generally known to antiquaries. Mr Dalyell's edition<sup>1</sup> appeared, in an octavo form, about thirty years ago, and justly excited much interest. Since the publication of Bannatyne's "Journal," that work has uniformly been referred to, and cited as one of undoubted authority by all writers who have treated of the close of the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, and the commencement of that of King James VI.

The accidental discovery of the University transcript at a more recent date, induced the Committee of THE BANNATYNE CLUB to include, among other desiderata, in their Album of works recommended, or ultimately proposed by them for publication, at the expense of the Club or of some of its individual Members, a new and more correct edition of these Historical Memoirs. At the suggestion and desire of their late President, Sir WALTER SCOTT, Bart. (who himself purposed to have presented the Club with notices and historical illustrations, to be

<sup>1</sup> "JOURNAL of the Transactions in Scotland, during the contest between the Adherents of QUEEN MARY and those of her Son, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573. By Richard Bannatyne, Secretary to John Knox." Edinburgh, 1806, p. 546, 8vo.

incorporated with or attached to the work), the Editor, many years ago, made considerable progress in the collation and adjustment of the text; but circumstances, unnecessary to be here particularized, occasioned that plan to be entirely abandoned until the present time.

Of RICHARD BANNATYNE, very little information has been gleaned by the Editor, notwithstanding a good deal of patient research bestowed on the subject, excepting that he had acted, for a considerable period, in the capacity of amanuensis or secretary to John Knox, and continued in that situation down to the time of Knox's death. From the whole complexion of his "Memoriales," and other fragments of notices still remaining which have been collected by the Editor, Bannatyne appears to have enjoyed a large share of the affection and confidence of that very remarkable man; and, during the latter portion of Knox's eventful life especially, his secretary appears to have grown considerably in his estimation and friendship, having been most indefatigable in his personal attentions to him, and anxiously anticipating the wants and wishes of a master he so greatly revered, and to whom it is evident he was devotedly attached. Dr M'Crie,<sup>1</sup> in his masterly historical work, notices a fact which is apt to escape the observation of an ordinary modern reader—"The word 'servant' or 'servitor' was then used with greater latitude than it is now used, and in old writings often signifies the person whom we call by the more honourable name of clerk, secretary, or man of business." That the designation of 'servant,' as applicable to the case of

<sup>1</sup> *M'Crie's Life of John Knox*, fourth edition. Edinburgh, 1812, ii. 237.

Richard Bannatyne, did not infer any menial or servile employment on his part under John Knox, is sufficiently obvious from what is contained in the pages of the "Memoriales" themselves; and Dr M'Crie's own researches have enabled him to assert of Bannatyne,<sup>1</sup> without hesitation, that "he was a man of respectability and learning." In addition, however, to the opinion of so acute and accurate a writer as Dr M'Crie, the Editor is happy to say that he has discovered most satisfactory and conclusive proof from the Records of the Commissariat of Edinburgh, where the Last Will and Testament of Richard Bannatyne is fortunately preserved. That curious and interesting document will be found in the Appendix;<sup>2</sup> and the Editor has also inserted the Will of Bannatyne's revered patron and friend, John Knox, procured from the same original Records.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps the most extraordinary, as it is certainly the most graphic, of the scattered notices which have been preserved of Richard Bannatyne, is contained in the Diary of Mr James Melville;<sup>4</sup> who has thus recorded one of the latest of the pulpit appearances of John Knox, with the happiest dramatic effect:—  
 "The town of Edinbruche recouered againe, and the guid and honest men therof retourned to their houses. Mr KNOX, with his familie, past hame to Edinbruche; being in Sanct Andros, he was verie weak. I saw him euerie day of his doctrine go hulie and fear, with a furring of matriks about his neck, a staff in the an hand, and guid, godlie RICHARD BALLANDEN,<sup>5</sup> his servant, haldin vpe the uther oxtar, from the Abbay to the paroche kirke; and be the

<sup>1</sup> *M'Crie's Life of John Knox*, fourth edition. Edinburgh, 1813, ii. 237.      <sup>2</sup> See Appendix, No. IX., p. 363.      <sup>3</sup> Appendix, No. X. p. 366.      <sup>4</sup> *Diary of Mr James Melville*, 1556-1601. Printed at Edinburgh, 1829, p. 26. This curious volume was presented to the Bannatyne Club by Viscount Melville and some other Members.      <sup>5</sup> At this period the name was almost indifferently written Ballanden, Bellenden, Ballantyne, Bannatyne, and, in older writings, Bennaclityne.



said Richart, and another servant, lifted vpe to the pulpet, whar he behouit to lean at his first entrie; bot or he had done with his sermont, he was sa active and vigorous, that he was lyke to ding that pulpit in blads, and flie out of it!<sup>1</sup> Sa, soone efter his coming to Edinbruche, he becam unable to preach; and sa instituting in his roum, be the ordinar calling of the kirk and the congregation, Mr James Lawsons,<sup>2</sup> he tuik him to his chamber, and most happelie and comfortable departed this lyff.”

In consequence of the present work being so minutely connected with many particulars relating to the personal history and domestic affairs of JOHN KNOX, it is believed that the subsequent documents (which are equally creditable to the character of Regent Morton, and to the General Assembly who voted so liberal and seasonable a supply for completing the education of the three daughters of the great Reformer) will not be considered out of place in this notice. They have been procured

<sup>1</sup> In the preface to a very curious privately printed volume, *The Poetical Remains of Mr John Davidson*, 8vo, Edinburgh, 1829, the Editor, JAMES MAIDMENT, Esquire, Advocate, observes—“It may perhaps be amusing to learn the opinions which foreigners seem to entertain of the character of this eminent individual, if we may judge by the remarks of a modern French journalist (*Journal des Debats*), who, in criticising *Monsieur Campenon's* translations of *Robertson's* History of Queen Mary, thus expresses himself:—‘A presbyterian fanatic, named KNOX, stirred up the people by his violent preaching. Nothing proves the coarseness of that people so much as thè ascendancy which such a madman possessed over them. Old and broken down, and so helpless as to be hardly able to crawl along, he was raised to his pulpit by two zealous disciples, where he began his sermon with a feeble voice and slow action; but soon heating himself by the force of his passion and hatred, he bestirred himself like a madman; he broke his pulpit, and jumped into the midst of his auditors (*sautoit au des auditeurs*), transported by this violent declamation, and words still more violent!’” This strange perversion of *Melville's* meaning affords another proof of the hazard which foreigners necessarily encounter in rashly attempting too free a translation of our ancient and racy vernacular. <sup>2</sup> Mr James Melville notes on the margin—“A man of singular learning, zeal, and eloquence, whom I neuer hard preache bot he meltit my hart with teares.”

by the Editor from the transcript of Calderwood's valuable work, belonging to the Faculty of Advocates.<sup>1</sup>

“THE REGENT sent to the Assembly the request following, for Mr Knoxes wife and children :

“REVEREND FATHERS, trustie and wellbelovits, We greit you heartily well. Seeing JOHN KNOX, minister of the word of God, is now departed this life, after his long and faithfull travells in the Kirk, leaving behind him MARGARET STEWART, his reliēt, and his three daughters begotten of her, unprovided for; and seeing his deserts merit to be favourably remembered, in the help of his posterity, We will effectuously require, and pray you to give and conferr to the said Margaret, reliēt, and three daughters forefaids, the Pension which the said umquhill John had of the Kirk, in his time, for the next year after his decease, viz. of the year of God 1573 years, to their education and support; extending to 500 merks money, two chalders of wheat, six chalders bear, four<sup>2</sup> chalders of oats, to be lifted for that year out of the famine assignations and places that he had it of in his time. Wherein We doubt not but ye shall doe a work acceptable to God; and We will also receive it in thankfull and good pleasure. Thus We committ you to God. AT EDINBURGH, the 26 day of November, 1572.

“Your assured freind,

JAMES, REGENT.”

*The deliverance of the General Assembly.*

“THE Assembly, remembering the long and faithfull travels made in the work of God be unquhill JOHN KNOX, minister of Edinburgh, lately departed in the mercy of God, leaving behind him Margaret Stewart his reliēt, and his three daughters gotten on her, unprovided for: And seeing his long travells and deserts merit to be favourably remembered in his posterity—being also required most earnestly thereto be my Lord

<sup>1</sup> From the transcript of *Calderwood's Church History*, Advocates' Library (Session iii. of the xxvi. Assembly, anno. 1573, vol. iv. 268.)      <sup>2</sup> The Warrant reads “two chalders.” See John Knox's Will, App. p. 367, &c.

Regent's grace, as his direct letters thereupon bear—have granted and consented to give, and be the tenor hereof, grants, gives, consents, and dispones to the saids Margaret Stewart, relict, and her three daughters of the saids unquhill John, the pension which he himself had, in his time, of the Kirk, and that for the year next approaching and following his decease, viz. of the year of God 1573 years, to their education and support, extending to five hundred merks money, two chalders of wheat, six chalders bear, two chalders' oats, to be uplifted for that year allenerly, out of the famine affignations and places that he had it, in his time. And therefore requires, and in the name of God desires, the Lords of Counsell and Session to grant and give letters, at the instance of the said relict and bairns of the said unquhill John Knox, to cause them be answered, obeyed, and payed of the said pension of the year forsaide, in the same form, and better if need be, as was granted to himself, in his time."

Previous to the discovery of Bannatyne's Testament, it was generally conjectured that he had been a person of very obscure origin, earning a scanty and precarious livelihood as a transcriber, and dying unknown and in poverty; but it now appears probable that he was descended of the same respectable family of which George Bannatyne was a cadet, in honour of whose devotion to Scottish literature, the Club bearing his name adopted its title.

From the internal evidence of the "Memoriales" themselves, and the documents which are quoted, it may be safely affirmed that Richard Bannatyne was of a kindred spirit with his namesake George; but whether he was connected with the profession of the law, or whether he was a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, the Editor cannot determine, or even hazard a conjecture. It is clear, however, that our author uniformly enters with great keenness into all discussions connected with

<sup>1</sup> The Regent's Letter reads "*four* chalders."

ecclesiastical affairs, and he is usually much more copious on such subjects than on those which exclusively relate to the general or political history and aspect of the times in which he lived. There is no reason for supposing that Bannatyne had ever been employed as an authorised Reader or Catechist under John Knox. Although the first minister of Edinburgh would most likely require the services of such an individual, to aid him in overtaking the laborious but important duties of parochial visitation and catechising, &c., yet it is not known that Knox availed himself of the continued personal assistance and services of any other person than Richard Bannatyne. But at the same time it ought to be remarked, that, in the course of the "Memoriales," notice is repeatedly taken of Richard Bannatyne having made appearances in the General Assembly, and before the Kirk Session of Edinburgh, during the illness or absence of John Knox; and that he was permitted to address these courts as a "prolocutor" or speaker, where there were many persons present sufficiently tenacious of all their rights and privileges. It is not easy to account for such permission having been conceded to him, except on the supposition, either that Bannatyne was at the time a Member both of the General Assembly and of the Kirk Session, or that he had made his appearance in these Church Courts in the capacity of a solicitor, practising law agent, or procurator, entitled, by virtue of his profession, to plead the cause of all parties entrusting their interests to his management.

In the course of the investigations which the Editor made while preparing this volume for the press, he has strongly felt that BANNATYNE'S "MEMORIALES" are entitled even to a still

higher degree of authority and historical merit than has hitherto been attached to them; and he is now decidedly of opinion that the present work forms an essential, and perhaps the most prominent, part of those historical materials left by JOHN KNOX for publication, as a continuation of his HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND and of the REFORMATION of Religion in this country. There are frequent instances, in the course of Bannatyne's Work, which show that these "Memoriales" were originally compiled by him almost in the very shape in which they now appear, namely, as a diary or journal of events and occurrences. The Editor farther observes that, if it be thought too much to concede that the whole, or at least a considerable portion, of this History was actually composed or dictated by John Knox to his Secretary, or that it was revised throughout by him, it seems to be clear that numerous entries were made by Knox in Bannatyne's first draught of his diurnal, and that many of these insertions were subscribed by Knox, in his usual manner, as if in attestation of the various facts and circumstances which he noted at the time. An attentive examination of this volume will induce the reader to arrive at a similar conclusion, especially when the following circumstances are kept in view.

At the first General Assembly which was held immediately after the death of John Knox (which happened on November 24, 1572), Richard Bannatyne, with that zeal and affection for the honour of his deceased master which had so long characterised him, preferred a petition to the General Assembly, in his own name, requesting that no time should be lost by the Church in aiding his individual exertions to secure the preservation of the voluminous and varied materials left by the Reformer to his faithful servant and friend "to use at his pleasure." In consequence of the interest which usually attends the prosecution

of such enquiries, and feeling the propriety of procuring all the information which the records of the Church of Scotland could afford, the Editor applied to the Rev. Dr LEE, in whose custody are all the Books and MSS. belonging to the Church,<sup>1</sup> in the hope that they would throw much light on the mass of historical materials left by John Knox. The readiest access was afforded to the Editor by that learned divine to the transcripts of the "Buik of the Universall Kirk,"<sup>2</sup> and of Calderwood's Church History; but unhappily the Church MS. of the first of these authorities has been compiled so very much in abstract of the original work, that no satisfactory details can be obtained, from that source, of the proceedings of Richard Bannatyne, as to the arranging and publication of his master's papers. It fortunately happens, however, that Calderwood<sup>3</sup> has preserved a copy of his "Supplication," and of the subsequent deliverance or award of the Assembly. In consequence of the importance of these documents, in reference to the present work, the Editor thinks that the following literal transcript affords the most satisfactory mode of conveying a correct impression of all the circumstances connected with this affair. The whole has been collated with the transcript of Calderwood's History in the Advocates' Library.

<sup>1</sup> It is trusted that, by means of the vigorous steps adopted by Dr Lee, under the sanction of the Church of Scotland, the valuable MSS. which have for so long a period been detained in England will soon be restored to the Church, and made more generally useful and available. It is most probable that the original MS. of the "Buik of the Universall Kirk," and perhaps a portion of John Knox's papers, may be contained among these MSS.

<sup>2</sup> In the preface to *Knox's History*, edit. 1732, folio, Life, pp. xlv. xlv., quotation has been made from another transcript of the *Buik of the Universall Kirk*, MS. p. 56; but it is understood that that MS. is not now extant. The transcript in *the Advocates' Library* is also a mere abridgement of the original MS. <sup>3</sup> *Calderwood's Church History*, MS., *penes* Church of Scotland, fol. 401, 402. This MS. has also been greatly modernised and abridged in the transcription.

*Supplication of Richard Bannatyne to the General Assembly.*

“RICHARD BANNATYNE, fervitor to unquhill Mr Knox, presented the Supplication following :

“UNTO your wifdoms humbly means and shows, I, your fervitor, RICHARD BANNATYNE, fervant to your vnuquhill most dearest brother (JOHN KNOX), of worthy memory: That where it is not unknowen to your wifdoms, that he left to the Kirk and town of Edinburgh his History, containing in effect the beginning and progres of Chrif’s true religion, now of God’s great mercy established in this realme; wherein he hath continued and perfectly ended at the year of God 1564: So that of things done sensyne, nothing be him is putt in that form and order as he hath done<sup>1</sup> the former; yet not the less there are certain scrolls, papers, and minutes of things left to me be him, to use at my pleasure, whereof a part were written and subscribed with his own hand, and another be mine at his command; which, if they were collected and gathered together, would make a sufficient declaration of the principall things that have occurred since the ending of his former History at the year foirsaid; and so should serve for stuf and matter to any of understanding and ability, in that kinde of exercife, that would apply themselves to make a History, even vnto the day of his death. But forsamikle as the said scrolls are so untacked<sup>2</sup> and mixed together, that if they should come in any hands not used nor accustomed with the same, as I have been, they should altogether lose and perish. And seeing, also, I am not able, upon my own costs and expenses, to apply myself, and spend my time to put that in order, which would consume a very long time; much less am I able to write them and put them in register, as they require to be, without your wifdoms make some provision for the same: Wherefore, I most humbly request your wifdoms that I may have some reasonable Pension appointed to me be your wifdoms discretion, that thereby I may be more able to awaitt and attend upon the same, least that these things done be that servant

<sup>1</sup> The preface to *Knox’s History* reads, “that he has put the former.” <sup>2</sup> Abbreviated, contracted. The Advocates’ MS. of *Calderwood’s Church History*, iv. 271, reads “are untacked,”—*i.e.* unbound, unstitched together. The reading in the text is preferable.

of God, who was dear unto you all, should perish and decay; which they shall doe indeed, if they be not putt in register; which I will doe willingly, if your wifdoms would provide, as said is. And your wifdoms anfuere, &c."

*Deliverance by the General Assembly.*

"THE ASSEMBLY accepted the said Richard's offer, and request the Kirke of Edinburgh to provide and appoint some learned men to support (Richard Bannatyne) to putt the said History, that is now in scrolls and papers, in good forme, with aid of the said Richard. And because he is not able to await thereon, upon his own expences, Appoints to him the sum of flourty pounds, to be payed off the 1572 years' crope, be the Collectors underwritten, viz. the Collector of Lothian, Fife, Angus, and the West, Galloway, and Murray, and every one of them to pay six pounds thirteen shillings four pennies off the said crope: and it shall be allowed to them in count, (they) bringing the said Richard's acquittance thereupon."

Here, unluckily, all traces of the result of the labours of Richard Bannatyne, and of the Committee of the Assembly which had most probably been appointed to co-operate with him, cease. The Editor has not discovered the slightest vestiges of the fate of the great mass of Knox's papers and materials of history, other than those shortly noted by Dr M'Crie, and by the editors of the various editions of Knox's History, which simply show that they existed at a date considerably subsequent to the period of Bannatyne's "Supplication," and he therefore concludes that all traces of them are lost.

A very remarkable instance of the peculiar minuteness and authenticity of the sources of information which were laid open to Bannatyne, through the means of John Knox, was recently pointed out to the Editor by JOHN RIDDELL, esquire, Advocate—an antiquary whose learned researches are too well known and



appreciated to require any more particular notice in this place—and the details are in themselves so singular and important, and so closely connected with the present work, that the Editor gladly avails himself of this opportunity of enriching the present volume with the whole of Mr Riddell's remarks on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

“ Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, English Ambassador to Scotland in the year 1567, intimates to Queen Elizabeth, in a letter dated at Edinburgh, upon the 25th of July of that year, that after certain conferences among the confederate Lords upon the 23d, the deposition of MARY, then a prisoner at Lochleven, had been finally resolved.<sup>2</sup> He at the same time informs her, that

‘ THE Lord Lindfay departed this morning (the 24th)<sup>3</sup> from this town, accompanied with Robert Melvill. He carrieth with him three Instruments to be signed by the Queen. The one containing her consent to have her son crowned, and to relinquish the government of the realm—the other is a Commission of Regency of the realm, to be granted to the Earl of Murray, during the King's minority; the third is a like Commission, to be granted to certain of the Nobility and others for the government of the realme, during the King's minority, in case the Earl of Murray will not accept the Regency alone.’

“ By an entry in the Privy Council Register, we learn that, upon the 25th, Lord Lindsay returned to Edinburgh, having accomplished the object of his mission.<sup>4</sup> The Queen signed,

<sup>1</sup> The communication was originally made by Mr Riddell to the Editor of a justly popular periodical work. See *Blackwood's Magazine*, ii. 32. <sup>2</sup> Original Letter, *Cotton. MSS.* “ Calig. C. 1,” *apud Keith*, Hist. p. 424. <sup>3</sup> He writes on the 24th, though his letter is dated on the 25th. <sup>4</sup> *Keith*, Hist. p. 434, where the minute of Privy Council is inserted. The precise hour of the day when the Council met, or when Lindsay appeared, is not specified.

upon the 24th, the three Instruments mentioned above; and these, though their warrant be no longer preserved, professing to have been *regularly* sealed upon that day, are engrossed at full length in the Acts of Parliament of that year.<sup>1</sup>

“ So stands the matter, as narrated by historians, founded upon public record and official correspondence.

“ I, not very long ago, happened to meet with an original Notarial Protocol of a James Nicholson, whether the same who in the above was appointed Comptroller of the thirds of benefices,<sup>2</sup> a character of some notoriety in his day, I cannot precisely determine. It is, however, evidently the production of the 16th century, and is authenticated by his attestation throughout, as well as by that of the Director of Chancery. Between the exterior binding and the backs of the leaves, where it had been pretty effectually concealed, there appeared a thinly folded scrap of paper, which proved to be a minute of a Protest taken at the request of parties by Nicholson, acting in his professional capacity, in the view of being afterwards extended. Of this document, which fills a single sheet, and is besides evinced by the water-mark to be of corresponding antiquity with the Protocol, the following is an accurate transcript:—

‘ VPONE the xxv day of Julij, anno etc. lxxvij, hora tertia post meridiem; præsentibus Richardo Carmichaell de Edderm, Niniano Lamby,<sup>3</sup> Patricio Cranfton, Henrico Sincleir.

‘ MY Lord Lindfay requyrit Thomas Sinclair to feall thir three wittingis eftre following, contenit in pis writtinge :

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Parl.* Edited by Thos. Thomson, Esq., of Benefices, Unprinted Acts of Sederunt, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Records of Assumption of Thirds

<sup>3</sup> This Ninian Lamby was a burghess of Edinburgh. He is a witness to a discharge, in the year 1526, entered in a Protocol book of John Robertson.

‘REGINA,

‘Keipare of our Privy feill, It is our will and we charge ze, It is our will and we charge ze,’ that, incontinent eftre the fight heirof, ze put our Prive feill to our thre Lettres underwritten, fubfcrivit wy<sup>t</sup> oure hand: Ane of þame beirande dimmiſſioun and renunciatioun of the governmente of our realme in favouris of our maift deir fone: Ane uper makande our breder, James erle of Murray, Regent to our faide fone, during his minoritie: And the third, in caife of our faide brudris deceife, or quhill he cum wy<sup>t</sup>in our realme, etc, makande James duke of Chaſteaularault, Mathow erle of Lennox, Archibalde erle of Ergile, Johne erle of Athole, James erle of Mortoune, Alexandre erle of Glencarne, and Johne erle of Mar; and, in caife of the faid James erle of Murrays refuifing of acceptatioun of the faide office, ſingularlie, upone him, makande him and þaime Regentis to oure faid fone: As the faidis lettres at lenthe beris. Kepand þir prefentis for ze warrande. Subfcrivit wy<sup>t</sup> our hande, AT LOCHLEVIN, the xxiiij day of Julij, and of oure regne the xxv zeire. (*ſic ſubſcribitur*) MARIE R.—AND in name and behalfe of the remanent Lordis foirfaidis, requyrit Thomas Sinclair to feall the faidis lettres, and offerit him the faid warrande: Quha anfwerit, þat fa lang as the Quenis majeſte is in warde, he wald feall na ſic lettres that ar exteordinare. And þerafter, the faide lorde preiffit him þerto, *and tuke fra him the Privy feill, and wy<sup>t</sup> company of folkis compellit him to feill the ſame*: Quhilk þe faide Thomas proteſtit wes agains his will, *vi maiori*, to þe quhilkis he culd not refiſt. Ande the faide Lord tuke instrumentis þat he offerit to him the Lettre, for his warrande.’

“ We are thus furniſhed with a contemporary copy of a miſſing document—the warrant of Mary for her own abdication. The Privy Seal then, *de facto*, was not appended to the three Instruments until late on the 25th July. A curious inſtance is afforded of the reſolute manner in which Lindsay, ſtyled by

<sup>1</sup> This repetition, as well as other things in the deed, indicate the precipitancy of its execution.

Robertson 'the zealot' of his party, hurried on the accomplishment of their measures, at a crisis of considerable difficulty. And additional proof of the hazard, and perhaps unpopularity, of the enterprise may be discoverable in this marked opposition to a public officer,<sup>1</sup> who might not be altogether uninfluenced by the national feelings of the moment, asserted to have undergone a change favourable to the interests of the Queen.

"The above circumstance, though unnoticed by any historian, is, as will be seen by the extract which follows, alluded to in the Supplication presented to the *Queen's* parliament upon the 12th of June, in the year 1571, inserted in Bannatyné's MS. Journal, in the Advocates' Library:—'It is not to be past over with silence in what manner the Privie Seill was appendit to that lettre; *how it (was) violentlic and be force reft out of the keiparis handis, may appeir be autenticke documentis; swa, as hir majesties subscriptione was purchased be force, so was the Seill extorted be force.*"

"Without, however, what has been premised, the fact, resting merely upon *ex parte* statement, might have been discredited, if not utterly disbelieved."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Sinclair, we are informed by the Register of the Privy Seal, filled the situation of deputy of that Seal from the year 1555 to the year 1574, when he was succeeded by Henry Sinclair, probably the same who figures as one of the witnesses to the Protest.

<sup>2</sup> See the present edition, p. 167, for the whole of the documents here quoted. <sup>3</sup> Mr Riddell appends this farther notice:—"The order of the proclamatioune of the marriage between Darnley and Queen Mary is still extant in the "Buik of the Kirk of the Canagait," one of the oldest and most curious Registers of the kind that is extant. 'The 21 of Julij, *anno domini* 1565. The quhilk day Johne Brand, Mynister, presentit to þe Kirk ane writing, writine be þe Justice Clark hand, desyrine þe Kirk of þe Cannogait and Mynister þaerof to proclame *HARIE DUK of ALBAYNYE*, erle of Roise, on þe one parte, and *MARIE*, be þe grace of God *QUENE of SCOTTIS*, soverane of this realme, one þe vþair part. The quhilk ordainis þe Mynister so to do, wy<sup>1</sup> inwocatioune of þe name of God.'" —The above has been taken from the *Minutes of the Kirk Session*. In the *Register of Proclamations* of the same parish, the Editor finds the following entry, under date July

It is only necessary to advert briefly to the conclusion of Bannatyne's career. Some time after the death of John Knox, and most probably about the year 1575, after he had completed the task assigned to him by the General Assembly, Richard Bannatyne transferred his services to Mr Samuel Cockburn of Tempill or Tempillhall, who, it is believed, was an advocate, in extensive practice. It is probable that Cockburn also held some lucrative office connected with the Courts of Law, or under the Crown; for his relatives, Sir Robert Cockburn of Clerkington, held the high dignity of Lord Privy Seal, and Sir John Cockburn of Ormistoun, that of Lord Justice Clerk. The fidelity and attachment of Bannatyne to his new patron and friend appear to have been almost as conspicuous as that which he bore to John Knox, and he evinced his gratitude by the most unequivocal and substantial proofs, having appointed Mr Samuel Cockburn joint executor of his Last Will and Testament along with his only brother, James Bannatyne, a burges and merchant of the town of Ayr,<sup>1</sup> and left the liberal legacy of two hundred merks to his master's daughter, Alice, besides smaller gifts by way of remembrance to his domestics. The Editor has not deemed it necessary to investigate very carefully into circum-

29, 1565:—"HENRY DUK OF ALBANY, Erl of Rois, MARIE, be the grace of God QUENE, souerane of pis realme, 1, 2, 3. Ma(rried) in þe CHAPELL" (of Halyruid.) The figures denote the first and second times of asking; the *third* being deleted. And in the *Register of Marriages* of the Canongate, under the same date, there is likewise entered—"HENRY and MARIE KYNG AND QWEINE OF SCOTIS." See *Pitcairn's Ancient Criminal Trials*, i.\*489.

<sup>1</sup> In another Record of Bonds and Acts, &c. belonging to the Commissariat of Edinburgh, the following entries occur:—"March 4, 1606. Comperit Mr SAMUEL COCKBURNE, ane of the twa Executouris nominat to vmquhill *Richert Bannatyne*, and produceit Inuentar of the defunctis guidis and geir, maid fayth," &c.—"June 20, 1606. JAMES BANNATYNE, burges of Air, ane of the twa Executouris Testamentaris nominat be vmquhill *Richard Bannatyne*, servitour to Mr Samuell Cokburne of Tempill, repoirted ane Act of the Baillies of Air, 30 May 1606, berand that he produceit ane Inuentar of the defunctis goods and geir."

stances connected with Mr Samuel Cockburn; but it may be here remarked, that he was undoubtedly a cadet of the family of Ormistoun. From the circumstance of his name appearing in the list of the Special Jury or Assize summoned at the remarkable trial of Mr Archibald Douglas, parson of Glasgow, and one of the extraordinary Lords of Session, for the murder of King Henry (Darnley), May 26, 1586,<sup>1</sup> and also from the distinguished rank and quality of these jurors, he must have been reputed as a gentleman of good family, and, at that period, possessed of considerable *status* in society.

From the terms of his Testament, the Editor infers that Richard Bannatyne's last illness had been equally sudden and severe. His Will is dated the 27th day of August, and his death took place on the 4th day of September, 1605; and Mr James Haistie, the minister of the parish of Tempill,<sup>2</sup> was the only witness who was called upon, in the emergency, to attest the execution of this important document. At the period of Bannatyne's death, it is probable that he had been nearly thirty years in the employment of Mr Samuel Cockburn; and it is agreeable to find that he had not omitted to preserve habits of the most friendly intercourse with the family and connexions of John Knox for the long period during which his residence was so far removed from them. He mentions "Mr John Welsche, minister of Air," one of Knox's sons-in-law,<sup>3</sup> and Mr John

<sup>1</sup> *Pitcairn's Ancient Criminal Trials*, i. 148.      <sup>2</sup> William Hudsoun was the minister of that parish about the year 1570, and had a stipend assigned to him of "iiij" merkis, with the thryd of the vicarage, extending to iij l. vj s. viij d.—*Register of Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers*, after the Reformation, 4to, Edin. 1830, p. 8; presented to the Maitland Club by Alexander Macdonald, esquire.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of the arbitrary and cruel proceedings against "Mr Johne Welsche, Mr Johne Forbes, minister of Airfurd, Mr Robert Durie, minister of Anstruther, Mr Andro Duncane, minister at Carrail, Mr Alexander Strauchane, minister at Creiche, and Mr Johne Scharpe, minister at Kilmany,"

Porterfield, also a minister, as umpires to arrange, in an amicable manner, the amount of the equivalent to be paid to his estate, in consideration of his having renounced a certain annual-rent of ten merks.

In conclusion, the Editor acknowledges the kindness of the President of the Bannatyne Club, THOMAS THOMSON, esquire, Deputy Clerk Register, who has supplied an improved reading of the very remarkable and clever *jeu d'esprit* attributed to Mr Thomas Maitland, "a younger brother of the house of Lethingtoun," which extends from the fifth to the thirteenth pages of this volume. Many versions of this alleged Conference appear to have been privately handed about in MS. at the time; but the reading adopted in the text is the result of a careful collation of several transcripts procured by Mr Thomson from various sources.

As the Confession of James Earl of Mortoun, "the Maner of the Erle of Huntlie's Death," and Secretary Maitland's letter, with the Regent's reply to it, form a prominent portion of the materials transcribed by Richard Bannatyne, and are contained in each of the MSS. from which this volume has been prepared, the Editor has deemed it proper to insert them also, in a correct form. There are likewise various other materials incorporated in Bannatyne's MSS., which, however curious they are in themselves, have no reference to the period of history embraced by

January 10, and October 23, 1606—see *Pitcairn's Ancient Criminal Trials*, ii. 494; *Wodrow's Church History*, pp. 506–516; *Hailes' Memorials and Letters*, James I. pp. 1–4; *Cook's Hist. of Church of Scotland*, ii. 160, &c.; *M'Crie's Knox*, ii. 269; and *M'Crie's Melville*, ii. 201, &c. Mr Welsh and his wife remained in banishment for *sixteen years*, and could not obtain leave to return during the life of King James VI., who obstinately refused the royal permission, unless Welsh would submit to certain compliances, with which he could not conscientiously yield.

the "Memoriales," and they have therefore been omitted in this edition. Mr Dalyell having appended to his edition, in 1806, two papers illustrative of the mutual aggressions alleged to have been committed by the contending factions, but without indicating the sources from which they were derived, the Editor examined various historical MSS. in the Advocates' Library. Owing to the mass of other important and unpublished State Papers connected with this subject, then discovered by him, he has extended the APPENDIX farther than he at first contemplated, and a selection of valuable papers are inserted. This Appendix of illustrative historical documents is concluded with the Last Wills and Testaments of John Knox and Richard Bannatyne, which, as the Editor has previously observed, are printed from the originals, now deposited among the Public Records.

In order to convey to the reader a more correct impression of the two transcripts, namely, the University MSS., and that belonging to the Faculty of Advocates, from a collation of which this edition has been prepared, a Table of the Order and Contents of each of these transcripts is appended.

The most important of the VARIOUS READINGS have likewise been added to the present volume. The Editor has deemed it expedient to provide a minute and perhaps elaborate INDEX, in the preparation of which he devoted considerable time and attention; but, which, it is hoped, will greatly facilitate any future reference to this work.

ROBERT PITCAIRN.



## VARIOUS READINGS.

In preparing this work for the press, the Editor has adopted the orthography of the MS. preserved in the University of Edinburgh. The Various Readings here preserved are those which are evidently the most remarkable. It has not been deemed necessary or useful to mark all the immaterial discrepancies, which would improperly have extended this Table to several sheets farther. The reading first noted is that of the above mentioned MS.; and that which immediately follows is from the text of the Advocates' MS. The numbers noted on the margins indicate the pages and lines of the present edition, for the convenience of future reference.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>32 l. 13. The grit Secretar wold nocht pas by the castell of Edinburgh, &amp;c.—All that precedes this paragraph in the Advocates' MS. was unfortunately destroyed, long before it came into possession of the Faculty.</p> <p>... l. 20. 3 of Aprile—13 of Aprile.</p> <p>.. l. 30. saturday—setterday</p> <p>34 l. 9. persecute—prosecute</p> <p>... l. 23. the lait regent—the last regent</p> <p>36 l. 24. euerie sortis—sindrie sortes</p> <p>37 l. 23. vnderstand—dascant</p> <p>... l. 28. to be impledgit for him—to be in pledge for him</p> <p>39 l. 32. grant—grund</p> <p>40 l. 26. swaged the furrat of men—suaged the furie of men</p> | <p>41 l. 31. passed vnder battell—passed vnder batton</p> <p>42 l. 5. proponed—propoundit</p> <p>... l. 16. sall thinke expedient—shall find expedient</p> <p>... l. 27. as thai sal think—as shalbe thoct</p> <p>44 l. 44. decerning—determing</p> <p>45 l. 32. Coll. MS. omits “foras we have alredie aduertised thame that thought we have yeildit to heir.”</p> <p>50 l. 4. procurance—procureare</p> <p>... l. 8. ane cheife execuiter—the cheif executor</p> <p>... l. 22. Coll. MS. omits all the words of stile between “as 3e will ansuer” to “Gevin.”</p> |
|---|---|

- 50 *l.* 31. threttie other suddartis—30 of thair suddartis
- 51 *l.* 4. bot thai were hanging—but they were hanged
- ... *l.* 12. castell of Donoun—castle of Doune
- 52 *l.* 12. a Scottis cukcald and ane Inglishe weshmunger—a Scottis cuckold and ane Inglis messmonger
- ... *l.* 18. diverse packealdis—dyverse pacquettis
- ... *l.* 30. some dayis efter—fourd dayis efter
- 55 *l.* 20. veritie—vertue
- 56 *l.* 20. I sie—I persave
- ... *l.* 33. I had anis—I had first
- 58 *l.* 18. this wicked lyfe—this wicked flesch
- ... *l.* 28. grit seiknes—seicknes
- 59 *l.* 19. accepted nocht death—accepted the death
- ... *l.* 26. among men—befoir men
- 60 *l.* 32. was desyreid—was requyred
- 63 *l.* 21. certane dayis varespectit—certane dayis were spent
- 66 *l.* 31. foirsaid chairtoure—samyn chartcour
- 69 *l.* 1. erle—larde
- ... *l.* 8. the frankest—the frackast
- 71 *l.* 13. nicht be assembled—mycht have assembled
- 72 *l.* 16. That same day—That same sonday
- 78 *l.* 7. nor to ony of sic sort that offendis—nor yit to ony that in sic sort offendis
- 79 *l.* 5. and so to the consideratioune of his feirfull offences, and to vnfeaned repentance, be—and so to vnfeaned repentance, be
- 80 *l.* 15. desyre—requyre
- 83 *l.* 3. hath prescrvit—hath persved
- 84 *l.* 25. abstinence from hostilitie—abstinence of hostilitie
- ... *l.* 26. Coll. MS. omits “or tuo monethis, for your partie have agreed but for sex weikis”
- ... *l.* 28. so as nether partie do varie thairin—Omitted in Advocates' MS.
- 85 *l.* 3. to exceed—to extend
- ... *l.* 7. had send heir—had sene heir
- 85 *l.* 10. vnder your—vnder thare
- 87 *l.* 5. These dispaired birdis—Thea dispard byrdis
- 88 *l.* 9. thow sall or Pasche—thou sall or peace
- 92 *l.* 20. the hail church—the whole kirk
- ... *l.* 29. reiected—deiected
- 94 *l.* 10. the cheif care—the cheif chaire
- ... *l.* 24. na malice to ony persoun—no malice against ony persone
- ... *l.* 31. in the kirke of God, by the—in the kirk of God, as he is reported to be, by the
- 96 *l.* 7. at Montley—at Monthe
- 97 *l.* 10. the 24 verse and 1 cap.—the 24 cap. 1 verse
- 98 *l.* 2. I speik not for hir; I answer—I speik of thingis certane and bypast. Now to the rest of my accusatioune, I pray not for hir; I ansuer
- ... *l.* 9. thair soverane nobilitie—thair soverane and them selvis the nobilitie
- 100 *l.* 7. ansuerit (Actis 25, 16) that—ansuerit that
- 106 *l.* 33. last pairt, called the Beike—the east part called the Beik
- 110 *l.* 32. to be at that tyme at the height—for that tyme to be at the height
- 112 *l.* 20. vpoun the stiple—in the stiple
- 113 *l.* 21. The Regentis men persaveing thame come furth, stayed; and efter come bake—The Regentis men persewing thame come furth and efter come bake
- 115 *l.* 13. deprehendit—apprehendit
- 119 *l.* 3. get harme—suffer harme
- 120 *l.* 7. no small rusing—no small reosing
- ... *l.* 17. make ony agreement and concord—mak some agrement or concord
- 121 *l.* 30. realme—commone wealth
- 122 *l.* 22. The cheif men of work—The cheif workmen
- 124 *l.* 31. not passing 33 or 34—not passing 33 or 24
- 125 *l.* 2. wha was thocht he died—wha was schot that he died

- 125 *l.* 14. Coll. MS. omits "so the captane desyred vs all instantlie to sit downe."  
 ... *l.* 30. Mr Johne (viz. Mr John Wynname, superintendent of Fife) 3e ar over wyse—Mr Jhone ye are ower vyse
- 126 *l.* 23. mycht be dissolued—myght have bene dissolved
- 127 *l.* 19. Coll. MS. omits "Then said sir James, In deid, my lord, I was privie of thir things and knew them weill."
- 136 *l.* 24. pairtis—places
- 137 *l.* 31. ane oratione—ane orisone
- 142 *l.* 2. profes thaim self—profess him self
- 143 *l.* 23. antecessoris—ancestouris
- 145 *l.* 20. discharged from weiring of armes—discharged of bering of armes
- 146 *l.* 15. antecessouris—ancestouris
- 150 *l.* 13. gif thow darrest persew—gif thou durst pursew
- ... *l.* 13. in place of the field vnsuspect—in place vnsuspect
- ... *l.* 29. be nyne houris efter noune—afore none
- 154 *l.* 16. to ressaue the frutes of thy reward and deserving—receave the reward and fructes of thy deserving
- ... *l.* 24. to abyde my querral—to abyde my chalange
- ... *l.* 30. our medle—our mellie
- 160 *l.* 7. mony benefites—grit benefites
- ... *l.* 9. labouris and painis—labouris and travels
- 162 *l.* 6. vndefamed and degrie—vndefamed of my qualitie and degrie
- 165 *l.* 9. of nane avail—of none effect
- 168 *l.* 29. the law of nature, or man—the law of nature, God, or man
- 169 *l.* 4. procuratioune—procuraturie
- 171 *l.* 3. as efter followes—which are as followes
- 174 *l.* 7. the 3 of Julij *anno* foirsaid—the 3 of Julij, 1571
- 176 *l.* 1. cryed at the wallis to opin (to) a boy—cryed at the wallis vpon a boy
- 178 *l.* 1. Monsieur Viracke—Monsieur Viret
- 190 *l.* 29. sustentatioune—sustenance
- 194 *l.* 11. With this Mr Caise—With this ansuer Mr Caise
- ... *l.* 31. wer slaine 22—were slane about 22
- 197 *l.* 24. the erle of Mortone—the lord of Mortoune
- 198 *l.* 32. conditiones of some men—conditiones of all men
- 201 *l.* 21. (Zachar. the 11 cap. vj.)—ij cap. vj
- 203 *l.* 32. I wisse at God—I wis of God
- 204 *l.* 10. be a guid writting—with ane guid wryting
- 205 *l.* 13. all occasiounes of ground—all occasiounes of grudge
- 208 *l.* 6. Coll. MS. omits "whilkis hes taken mony of the buscheis and thair wachteris, and that thir shippis of the Prince of Oreinge"
- ... *l.* 11. the cardinall is returnet—the admiral is returned
- 211 *l.* 2. the sending out of ane armie—the sending in of ane armie
- 212 *l.* 12. the hous of Touy—the hous of Towie
- ... *l.* 23. Coll. MS. omits "bot vpon wednesday the 9 of November the maister of Merschell and the lard of Drvm"
- 215 *l.* 13. refused to respect—refused to grant
- 216 *l.* 1. about 11,000 lib. or thairby—about 11,000 lib.
- 219 *l.* 18. blood-rodd—bloodwed
- 220 *l.* 13. sachman—fischman
- ... *l.* 21. Jhone Reid—Jhone Rind
- 221 *l.* 3. Alexander Roger—Allane Rogger
- ... *l.* 21. baxter—barker
- 222 *l.* 15. the king and the realme—the king, the kirk, and realme
- 223 *l.* 3. Kinnoquhor—Kingour
- ... *l.* 14. thairfor sic—therafter sic
- 226 *l.* 2. chara—clara
- ... *l.* 6. Tartarus inque suo aluio [mundat] adesse sinu—Tartarus inque suas aluio . . . . adesse sinu

- 226 *l.* 27. put vp for thaim—put vp for thair cause
- 230 *l.* 11. Craighall—Reidhall
- 231 *l.* 25. some lichtit lountis—sum lycht lountis
- 236 *l.* 15. Ane Lettre, &c.—Not in Adv. MS.
- 241 *l.* 34. it is not understand—it is understand
- 242 *l.* 8. molestit or impedit—molested or impecheth
- ... *l.* 14. Coll. MS. omits “ Mairover, to mak the meanes of the peace”
- ... *l.* 29. of all aunciencie—of all auncietic
- 244 *l.* 18. disturberis of our commoune peace—disturberis of the publick peax
- 246 *l.* 14. The which to do we commit to you, &c.—Omitted in Adv. MS.
- ...*l.* 15. our letteris delyvering thame be you deulie excute and indorsat again to the berare—The words of style are omitted in Coll. MS.
- ... *l.* 26. as the suddartis, prepared—as the suddartis that took wages wer become gud suddartis, prepared
- 248 *l.* 30. assistaris to his grace—assistand to his grace
- 251 *l.* 33. ane act be maid in this assemble—ane act be made
- 256 *l.* 12. for another—vnto another
- ... *l.* 17. Godis trew word—Godis word
- 267 *l.* 20. is mislyked—is mislyked of all
- 268 *l.* 22. 50 on ane vther streit, and—50 in ane vther, and
- 268 *l.* 32. thei hard tell—they had intelligence
- 270 *l.* 28. for thei sought nothing—for thei seik nothing
- 271 *l.* 22. persecute—prosecute
- 273 *l.* 2. Words of style omitted in Coll. MS. “ The quhilk to doe,” &c.
- 275 *l.* 11. into this burgh—within this burgh
- 277 *l.* 19. commissioneris of countries the—commissioneris the
- 284 *l.* 24. the workaris thair of—the workeris whair of
- 286 *l.* 32. quhilk I am neuer able—quhilk I can neuer (be) able
- 300 *l.* 18. his father—his deir father
- ... *l.* 32. ane tytil of—a tutill of
- 304 *l.* 8. if a wicket man—or a wickit man
- 306 *l.* 9. of the abbot—of the abbay
- 311 *l.* 10. penult day of Julij—penult day of Junij
- 312 *l.* 20. advyse and consult—advise and counsell
- 313 *l.* 15. dangeris or skaithis—damnages or skaythis
- 314 *l.* 14. receavit and accepted as—receavit and . . . . . as
- 315 *l.* 1. levingis, possessiones, pcnsiounes—levingis, pensions
- 316 *l.* 5. to be excute be Johne Braid (Brand), minister in the Abbay kirke for the tyme—to be excute in the Abbay kirke be John Brand, minister thair for the tyme.

## ERRATA.

- 32, *l.* 13, for *Secratar read* Secretar.
- 38, *l.* 20, for *friday 29 read* fryday the 29.
- 41, *l.* 17, for *culd say to read* culd to stay.
- 64, *l.* 32, for *boteaned read* obteaned.
- 252, *l.* 4, *dele* very.
- 312, *l.* 12, for *taken read* vntaken.

## PAPERS

APPENDED TO THE MSS. OF BANNATYNE'S MEMORIALES, WITH THE ORDER  
OF THEIR ARRANGEMENT IN THE TWO TRANSCRIPTS.

	Folio of College MS.	Folio of Adv. MS.	Page of the pre- sent Edition.
I. The Confession of James Earl of Mortoun,	110, b.	86, b.	317
II. The Maner of the Erle of Huntlie's death,	116, a.	90, b.	333
III. The Legend of the Bischope of Sanct Androis lyfe, callit Mr Patricke Adamesone, <i>alias</i> Cous- teane, . . . . .	118, a.	92, a.	...
IV. The Recantatioune of Mr Patrike Adamesone, sometymes Archbischope off Sanct Androis in Scotland, . . . . .	123, b.	97, b.	...
V. Mr Patricke Adamesone's owin Ansuer and Re- futatioune of the buike falslie callit the Kingis Declaratioune, . . . . .	125, a.	99, a.	...
VI. A Declaratioune of the Kingis Maiesties Inten- tione and meaning towards the lait Actis of Parliament, <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	126, a.	...	...
VII. The Kingis Maiesties Intentiones, <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	129, b.	...	...
VIII. Letter sent out of the Castle, fra Lethingtoun to the Laird of Carmichale, that he sould schaw it to the Lord of Mortone, than Regent,	130, a.	101, a.	339
IX. Ane Ansuer to this Lettre foirsaid, gevin be the Lord of Mortone, Regent, &c. . . . .	131, a.	101, b.	342
X. Ane Lettre of Mr Knoxis send to the Laird of Drumlainrige, . . . . .	131, b.	102, b.	236

<sup>1</sup> A copy of the small quarto tract "Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Thomas Vautrollier, 1585, *Cum Privilegio Regali*," has been inserted at p. 100, a, by Mr R. Mylne, in the Advocates' MS. for the purpose of rendering that transcript more perfect.      <sup>2</sup> Signature C. ij of Vautrollier's edition.



# MEMORIALES

OF

## TRANSACTIONS IN SCOTLAND.

**T**HE October befor the conspiracie of the duke of Northfolk with the papistes and counterfit protestantes was discovered, Pembrock and Arundell were charged to ward, in feuerall places. Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, that great practifiane, was attempted, and put in the Fleit. The duke of Northfolk was put in the toure of Londone.

The marriage betwixt the said duke and the murthurer of her husband, falslie called the queine of Scotland, was devised, some think, be the Secretare of Scotland, Williame Maitland, young laird of Lethingtoun; who, in the moneth of September, was ceited befor the Regent and a pairt of the nobilitie, at Striveling, as participant of the kingis murther, by one Thomas Crawford; whiche heelie moved the laird of Grange, then capitane of the castell of Edinburgh.

Lethingtoun was broght to Edinburgh; and, vpoun the boast of the said capitane, was delyuerit to him in keiping, against the appoyntment of the nobilitie. The Regent was blamed, but causles; ffor the laird of Grange counterfooted a secreit charge, as fend (subscryuit be the Regent) to Alexander Home, capitane of certaine horsmen, to delyuer him to the said laird, capitane; whom, vpoun that false charge, he receaueth at ten hours at nycht.

The said Secretar, being in the castell foirsaid, required to be tryed be ane affyfe indifferent. Summondis were granted, day was apoyntit, the

secund of November. In this meane tyme, the Regent was vpon the Boarders for dantouming of the theives; whair God did prosper him better than the most pairt defyred. He was thair aduertised, that Argyle, Huntlie, Montgomrie, lord Boyd, the scherref of Ayre, Sir James Hammiltoun, with the whole factione of the rebelis to the kingis authoritie, fuld come to Edinburgh; and thair, with the advyse of the duccke, lord Hearsis and Secretarie, fuld conlstitute four regentis.

The laird of Grange was euill bruided, in that conspiracie; infameikle, that the Regent fent vnto him the copie of the aduertifementis that he had receved. He purged him felf in thir wordis: "Na man was able to schaw my hand writ, vpon ony sic mater." And so that purpose staid. To the day of law come, in feir of weare, not only all the Secretaris freindis, but also wer in redines to come, Huntlie, Argyle, the Hammiltounis, and finalie all that had schawin thaimselfis enemies to God, and vnto the kingis authoritie. And amangis that number, was the lord Home, who in ane maner, gaue plane defyance to the Regent: for vpon the Sunday at night, befor the day of law, he entered in Edinburgh with fownd of trumpet, without salutatione gevin to the Regent; commanding his company, which wes grit, to keip thaimselfis together, and to ludge into the meil market, neir vnto the castell, as he did. The Regent wiselie difapointed that day; and said, he wald nocht be bragged, quhen iustice was to be miniftrat. They departed, nocht weil contented, as efter apeired.

Schort efter this, the erles of Northumberland and Westermurland reafed commoutione in the north, fet vp mefs, erwellie intreated miniferis, defyled thair wyfes, and (as was reported) raid thame with spurres, brunt all godlie buikis, etc. But, at Godis pleifoure, thair counfallis wer difapointed: for vpon the arrywell of certane of the queines schipis, certane of thair factione wer fortefeing, at Hartifpoile, as abyding support fra the duck d'Alva, fled and left thair workes; whervpon the whole army disperfed. The two erles, with certane horsfemen, come first to Ekfame; and thairefter, the erle of Northumberland come to Harlawood, and randered himself to Eckie Armstrange; and thair was deprehendit, and delyuerit to the Regent of Scotland. Thea countriemen lost



nothing of this truble; for thai got his gold, his jewelis, and his wyfes jewelis, eftemed to a grit fowme. Bot heir is to be obferued the juft judgement of God, who difpofes at his guid pleifoure juft punefment to commone theivis: ffor that gold was fent from the pape, be one Jacqueftea, ane Englifhman (and fumtymes fecretarie to vmquhill Harie our king who was murdered), to fuppres Chrift Jefus in Scotland. But the fchip brack, Jacqueftea drowned, and the faid erle gripped the moft pairt of the gold, wherof he made compt to commone theivis. Let men thairfoir feir God in amaffing! Vpoun the 29 of December, lait, the faid erle come to Edinburgh. Vpoun Mononday the 2 of January, the Regent raid towardis Striviling, and fo towards Dumbartane; and convoyed the faid erle in ane pairt of the journey, towards Lochleawin.

Ferniherft and Balcleuche tooke the protectioun of the erle West-mourland, and rebelled againft the Regent. The lord Home was bruted with the fame cryme. The Secretarie, be mony, was fufpected to be the route of all fic enterpryffis; but tyme will try all thingis.

The Regent was aduerteifed, be diuerfe, that his deathe was devifed. Ferniherft and Balcleuche come fecreitlie to Edinburgh with a grit cumpanie; but whome thai brocht in thair cumpanie it is not knawin. The portes of Edinburgh war fteikit, that fearcher nicht haue bene made; wherat the captane of the caftell, then provoft of Edinburgh, was nocht alitill commoved. He refett Pherniherft, and fent him fourth at the pofterne yat. Lat men juige quhat this meanit! It was than obfcure; but now it is as patent as the fone is at nounge day.

In this meanetyme, wer defpitfull verfes, both in Latine and in Engliſhe, fet fourth againft the Regent. The fowme whair of was, that Scotland had banifhed thair native princes, and was ane flave to ane inceftuous monke. Thair conclufione was a tragicall exclamatioun, thus,

“ O furor, o dolor, o noſtræ infamia gentis,  
Donec quis miſeræ principis vltor erit.”

The Regent was fruſtrat of all his labouris at Dumbartane; for thair was neuer other thing intended in his dwelling thair, but his diffructioun,

as follows. About the 12 day of January, thair come from England Sir Harie Gaitis, knycht, with Mr Drewrie, merchell of Berwick, as ambafadouris. They fpake the Regent in Striveling, and returned to Edinburgh.

The Regent was of diuers warned that his diftructione was concluded, and the maner how it was pend, to wit, that he fhuld be shot, befoir he come to the croce of Linlythgow. The reveiller willed the Regent that he fould avoyd that freit; and he fhuld within twa dayis, lat the connfall cleirlye know the treuth, and the whole confpiracie. No aduertifment wald ferue, bot that fame freit wald he pas, and was shot fourth of the bifchope of St Androis hous, the 23 of Januarie, be James Hammiltoun, the guidman of Bothuelhauche; who efcapit vpoun the abbot of Arbrotches horfs, and was releiued within thrie myles be the bifchope of St Androis fervandis, and fo convoyed away to Hammiltoun, whair thair was no fmall joy.

His deathe vnderftand, diuers of the Hammiltounes factiounes wer in Edinburgh, attending vpoun the Duckis delyuerance, as was alledgit, to remove fufpitione, that the treflonabill murther was nocht done be common confent of the Hammiltounes, wer direct be the duck and his prefent counfall, firft, the laird of Langtoun, and eftir him the abbot of Kylwyning, to will the reft nocht to take the maintenance of the murther; but Caiaphas vifage and anfuers bewrayed thame, wherefoeuer thai wer! But tyme will try and declair the treuth; for God can nocht be blinded be manis policie! Ther ar mo than Hammiltounes fufpect of knowledge of that murther, and of confent to the fame.

The lairdis of Pherniherft and Balcleuche, the nicht eftir the Regentis flauchter, raifit fyre in England, drew the pray, and touke men; off whome, when one faid, "the Regent will put remeid to this;" "Tuthe!" faid one of the lairdis men, "the Regent is als cauld as the bitt in my horfe mouth." Thair being in the caftell of Edinburgh was not without fome purpofe, nor zit fullie reveilled. The Englifhe ambaffadour departit from Edinburgh towardis Berwicke, the 22 of Januar.

Betwixt the murther and the 8 day of Februar, which was apointed for the conventiounes of the nobilitie in Edinburgh, the Hammiltounes maid

for defence. They wrote letteris, the bastard bifchope, and the duckes fonnes, to all thair favorares, to affist and concure with thame, for defence of the commounewealth, and for thair securitie. In fume letteris thair termed the murther, "a fuddan alteratioune," and "the way-taking of thairemie." The ducke fauld land to the laird of Camnethame; and, with the filuer, caufit his bastard brother and his fonnes raife men of warre. Kylwynning furnished a pairt. Let the warld judge of fuche apeirances!

Immediatlie efter the murther, thair was a buik fet fourth, in forme of a letter, conteaning a counfall gevin be the lord Lindfay, the laird of Pittarrow, Johne Knox, Mr Johne Wood, the tutor of Pitcure, and Mr James M<sup>g</sup>ill. The wryter or wryteris (for it apeiris thair hes bene moe than ane) laboures wonderfullie to counterfoute the countenance, the knowlege, and the affectiounes of sic as ar broght in to give counfall to the Regent. Bot the wryteris, Hammiltounes, Maitlandis, or vtheris of thair factiounes, they ar impudent liaris, or fones of the dewill! Which followes:

*The copie of ane Aduerteifment, sent from the court to a freind of  
my lord [Argyllis.]*

Efter maist heartlie commendatiounis; as I promised to aduertife zou of the proceedingis heir in court, principalle as concernit my lord your coufing, fa will I let zou to vnderftand that at this tyme thair is no hope of ony guid wagis; and this I know nocht onlie by diuerse reportis of courteouris, and be fameikill as I can perceave myfelfe be my lord Regentis awin speaking, but alfo be ane difcourfe and counfall haldin verie fecreitie, whareto I traift no man of this realme is previe but thair that were called namelie thairto, and I quha was covered.

About foure dayis fyne, in this toun, my lord Regent went in ane previe chalmer, and with him thir fix personis; my lord Lindfay, the laird of Pittarrow, Mr Johne Wood, Johne Knox, Mr James M<sup>g</sup>ill, and the tutor of Pitcurre; quhilk ar the men in the warld he beleivis maist into: whom when thair war enterit, he defireit thame to place thaimfelues, for he wald retain thame the fpace of thrie or four houris. At that tyme it

chanced that I was sleipand into ane bed within the cabinate, fa weill hid that na man could perceave me; and efter I was walknit be the bruite they maid at thair entrie, I mycht easilie heir every word that thair spake.

Then first my lord Regent sayis to thame, "I haue convenit zou, at this tyme, as the men in the world whomeinto I maist put my grittest confidence, and whome, I beleiff, wald fainest haue my estaitte standing, to giue me zour faithfull advife, familiarlie, for my aduancement and standing. Ye sie quhow mony lysis out from me, and mony that wer with me in the beginning of this actioun ar miscontent of my proceedingis presentlie; quhairfoir I wald defyre zou to declare to me zour opinionones, quhow I may best stand, and fet furth the purpose ze wot of." And after he had thus spokin, he commandit my lord Lindfay to speike first.

Quha sayis "My lord, ze knaw of the ald, that I was ever mair rashe nor wyfe. I can nocht giue zow a verie witty counfall, but I luiff zow weill aneuche. To be schort, quhat shuld zou do bot use counfall, quhilk ze did neuer zet; thairfor I think mony tyme, the devill gart men mak zou to be ane Regent. Yett, my lord, nicht ze be quitt of thir Matchiavellistis and thir buftard lordis, that will circumvein zou with thair policie, and wracke zou with thair force, I wald haue ane guid hope of all mateires; and when ze fall to thame, bourd nocht with thame; for be Godis breid, give ze take thaim in mowes, I will pafs to the Byeris and haike, as I did the last tyme at zour being in Striveling. Giff ze do weill, gar thame daunce heidles, and than ilke guidfallow may get a lumpe of thair landis, quhilk will gar thame fight like savages, and uthir men willbe fuire of the spange of thair taill. And giff there be ony stout carle that will fight, fet me till him, and I fall giue him ane culbado, with an stochado; and gif he be an het man, I fall let him play him ane quhile, and syne fall giue him behind the hand ane coup de jarret, and let him lay thair. And when the principallis are thus dispatched, ze may doe with the gogy lairdis what ze list. And we had the auld Craig in our handis, I wald lyke matteris the better. But ze knaw I will nocht speake against Grainge; but git I think to be even with him, and geiff him ane heill waige for takin the erle of Rothefs pairt against me."

Ye will nocht beleive, quhen he patt on his bonat quhow grit a lauchter was in the haill house. And fyne my lord Regent fayis, "Ye weill feis, for all his rattling and railling, he kens weill ynoughe quhairat he wald be!" And than thai swore all with ane voice, "The deil speid thame, but my lord had spoken weill!"

Nixt, my lord Regent caufit Johne Knox to speike, who luikit vp to the heaven, as he had bene begyndand ane prayer befor the preiching; (for be ane hole, I micht behold thair countenances, and so fie what thai did) and efter he had kepit filence a guid space, he begynis with a stuir and krocken voice, and fayis:—

"I praise my God grittumlie, that hes hard my prayer; which aften tymes I powrit furth befor the throne of his maiestie, in anguifh of my sorrowfull hart; and that he hes made his evangell to be preached with fa notabill succes, vndir fo waike instrumentis; quhilke indeed culd neuer bene done, except your grace had bene constitute ruler over this kirk, especiallie endewit with sic ane singular and ardent affectione to obey the will of God, and voice of his ministeris; in respect wherof, I, as ane of the fervandis of God, embraces your graces guid will and zeall to the promotione of Godis glorie. And as Johne Knox favoris your grace better then ony man vpoun the face of the earth, accordingly fall explane to your grace my judgment concerning your awin standing, quhilk is fa conjoint with the standing and establisshing of the kirk, zea, the weillfair of Godis kirke fa dependis vpoun your grace, that gif ze succomb, it is not abill to endure ony long tyme. Whairfoir it seimes to me maist necessar, bayth for the honour of God, the comfort of the poure bretherin, and vtilitie of this commone weill, that first your graces life, nixt your estait, be preservit in equalitie of tyme; and not to prescryve ane certane date, of xvj or xvij yeiris, leuing more to the constitutioun of politick lawis, then to the fouer operatione of eternal God. And I could neuer away with thir jolie wittis and polytick braines, which my lord Lindfay callis Matchvellis discipilis, swa wald I that thai war furth of the way, gif it wer possibill; and I traift fuirly, give first your grace, and fyne the nobilitie of that confederatioune, had passit to work with als grit magnanimitie as I vttered my judgment simplie and affuiredlie in my sermonis, made expreslie

for that purpose, that mater had bene farder awanced nor it is, or false this long tyme, gif God send nocht hastier successe nor my sorrowful hart promises. Sicklike, thame of the nobilitie that wold hinder your graces pretences, though thai ferd nocht sa in the eyes of the blind world, I have preached opinlie, and git dailie craves of God, that thai may be confoundit with that wicked woman whomto thai cleave so obstinatie; and that thair posteritie may drinke of the cupe prepared for the judgment and punishment of thair forefatheris. Heirin I agrie with my lord Lindsay, that spake imediatlie befor; bott, me think, to establishe the true religione, to obtaine this, I say, we man haue a farder respect and consideratioune then this, that the gouernement be established in your persone sa lang as ge live; ffor when this bairne, whome we call now king, shal come to age, dois ony man think that he will leive off all royall insolence, and suffer himselfe to be rewled according to the simplicitie of the evangell? What guid hope can we haue of the child borne of sic parentis? I will not speike of the suspitione may be concerning the man that was killed; bot thocht he be his whois he is called, what can we luik for but as it were the heritage of the slaines lychtnes, and the motheris iniquitie? Gif Johne Knox counfall be followed, the estaite of the evangell and professouris thair of shall neuer be gevin ouer to sick an hafarde. Better it is, to content our selues with him of whaife modestie we haue right guid experience, both in weall and truble, then to change fra the gravitie of ane aged rewler to the intemperancie of ane vnbridled childe. Your grace hes persavit how my Blast of my Trumpet against the regiment of Weimen is approved of all the godlie. I haue writtin, in lyk maner, and hes it reddie for the printing, a buik, whairin I preif be sufficient reasones, that all kingis, princes and rewleris goes not be successeioure; and that birth hes no power to promote, nor yet bastardy to feclinde men frae gouernement. This will waukin vtheris to pance moir deiple vpoun the matter. Befydis this, we shall set fourth ane act in the Generall Assemblies, and bayth I and the rest of the bretherin shall ratifie the samyn, in our daylie sermons, till that it be moir than sufficientlie persuadit to the peopill. This beand solempnedlie done, the buik of God opened and laid befor the nobilitie, who will say the contrare, ex-

cept he that will nocht feir the wechtie hand of the magiftrat ftryking with the fword, and the cenfure of the church rejecting him as the feab-bit fcheip from the reft of the floke, be excommunicatioune? This fhall alfo ferue, in aventure the king depairtit this lyfe, as we ar all mortall, to keip us furth of the houfis of Lennox and Hammiltoun, whois imperfectiones ar to us notorious. Then your grace being thus advanced be God, we doubt nothing but you fall be thankfull in punifhing, but pitie, all that difpleafes the church; and provyde that the fervandis of God be honorable entreated with ane portione of this common wealth, according to thair calling." And fo he held his peace.

Then my lord Regent faid, "You know I was neuer ambitious, and yet I will nocht oppone myfelf to the will of God revealit be you, quhilk ar his trew minifter; but, Johnne, heir you, for furtherance of that, tell your opinionone in the pulpet." Which, when he had promifed fo to do, the laird of Pittarrow was defyred to fpeike; who faid—

"Sir, an it pleife your grace, that which our brother Mr Knox hes fpoken, hes euer bene my opinionone; for, to be plane, unles you be fo weil heaft in the authoritie that you can nocht be taken fourth of it, I can nocht fie how this commoune wealth can ftand. But for bringing this matter to pas, befydis that furtherance quhilk ftandis in the minifteris handis, you man haue some vther refpect; that is, that you haue the ftrenghthis in your hands. Striviling is weil, fo long as you and my lord of Mar agries fo weil together as you doe; bot I wald wis the king wer in your awin handis; for your grace knowis quhat guying my ladie hes of your vnle; and you know whais fifter fhoe is. Edinburgh," fayis he, (Hyme! Hyme! fhakand his heid)—"it wer better, that both the houfis wer in your brotheris handis, with the plenifhing thair of, or some vther that loues you weil as your brother dois. To get Dumbartan, I wald nocht ftik for geir, and albeit I fhuld give alfmeikill as Sir James Balfour gat. Ane kyng feikand treafone, may find land! An you lift, you may ay get your hand beyond my Lord Flemyng. I heir fay my lord of Mortone is traficquen to get the houfe of the Bafs, which gif he dois, he will ftowe some devyfes your grace knowis; and thairfoir, wer I in your grace ftoid, I fould gang betwixt the kow and the corne! I tell you, that auld craig is

ane guid starting hole : at the leift, it will ferve to keip thaim that ge wald be fuir of. And gif thair be ony vthir grit ftrenthis within this realme, I wald haue that, be fome moyen, in my handis. Bot befydcs the ftrenthis, ge mon haue refpect to fome grit houffes that will neuer lat yow come to honour nor quietnes, fua far as thai may; fie as Hammiltoun, Lennox, Argyle, Huntlie, that pretendis to the crowne; and als to other men, that hes over grit power in this cuntrie, as Morton, Athole, Hereife, Home, Pherniherft, Lethingtoun, Sir James Balfour, Tulibarden, and diuerfe vtheris whome your grace hes in ticket; thir I wald ge handled, as it hes oftymes bene devyfed."

Nixt him, fpake the Tutore of Pitcurre, in this maner :—

"My lord, when Hannibald paff to conqueife Italie, he made him felf ftarke with men of warre, whairvnto he gave wages. Scipio, when he paff to Africa, and to deftroy Carthage, did the lyke. Even fo, my lord, giue your lordfchip will do weill, make yourfelf ftarke with waged men, both on horfe and foute; and fo, I thinke, with fome ftangeris ge may eaffie conqueis this cuntrie."

When he had fhortlie fpoken to this effect, Mr Johne Woode began, and faid :—

"My lord, I truft my vprightnes in your feruice hes fufficientlie perfwadit your grace that I am no flatterer; and in the vther pairt, addicted to no factione; whairthrow both, I will and may give your grace ane faithfull counfall for your behoufe, quhom I loue inteirly in my hart, both for your graces awin guid nature, and profeit of the commounwealthe; ffor, in guid faith, as I haue faid oftymes, gif I knew that thair wer ony vice into you, I fhould neuer ferue you. I wraite, lang time fyne, a long difcourfe how ge fhould behaife yourfelfe; off the which I will remember you at this prefent of a few heidis, in ftead of my counfall. Senephone, in ane litill prettie buike, intitulat Gripadia (Cypædia), writes, that ane capitane that defyris to vinqueife his enemies fhuld vie ftrenth, moyen, fubtilitie, craft, deceit, leafingis, fuithfayingis, oathes, liberalitie and crweltie. This precept I wald your grace fhould note. Secondlie, I haue euer faid, that this natione cannot be dantoned be babifnes, or meik behaviour, but with rigour; as the Italeans faid, *Con tu*



*Curia di la Spada*; and defyrit zow, and zet desires to propone to zourself the duik of Alvais example; that is, to cut fra the sholders up for the first fault; and that will gar thair hartis trumbill, and thair hair stand widdir-thynes. Thridlie, an prince can neuer do na notabill enterprife without riches. Fourthlie, he man be right polyticke, and haue ane factiōne bothe within the cuntrie and without to repose on. And now to speik how to put thir thingis in executiōne. To speike of the last heid, the men ze ought to repose on, in Scotland, are the preceife protestantes and ministeris; for the nobilitie and thir new startand men ar ane pack of fals greidie tra ytoris. Without the countrie, the queine of England and Lady Catenis factiōne ze man lippen to; ffor quhat reckis yow who bruike the croun of England, sua thai be your frendis? I wold nocht ze shuld cast away zour self, for conqueffing of kingdomes to the queines sone. It is meit also, to be confederat with the princes of Almany that ar of the religione, and the king of Denmarke; and or ze fail, lat some of Shetland or Orkney slip with him, for ze get not meikle profeit of it. The best way to get siluer, is to caus the kingis rentis be lifted be a faithfull man to your be-huife. I cannot tell quhair ze will get one better nor my fathir, the laird of Pittarow. Nixt, gar tak all the benefices to the croun, ffor why shuld these idle belleis bruike these rowmes in the kirkes name? And give the ministeris the thrid, and hald the twa part to zourself. The kirklandis that ar fewit, make zow to reduce thame all; for that way ze fall haue the whole fewis in your owin handis; or get grit fowmes of money in compositiōne. And syne of thir noblemen that hes offendit, and riche burges carles, lat none pas without debursing of siluer. And I traift an ze behaife yourself wyfelie, ze may gett, everie zeir, some litill pot of wyne out of England, to pay zour men of weir. Feid France with fair words, and luike alfmeikill to the admirallis factiōne as ze may. As for the nobilitie, ze sie they are divydit in tuo parties; some ar grit men and puiffant; some ar feble and gogeis. Off the one fort ar thay that my father the laird of Pittarow hes reckned; and the rest that your grace hes in bill. Lat thea childer want the heidis; which fall both make yow quite of thair cummer (*quia mortui non mordent*), and fall caus vtheris stand in awe. Make the simpill band a cunziehous, and gar thame pay

euerie zeir an guid tribute. Moirover, ye moft change all the offices, both of court and feffioune, and vtheris in the cuntrey. Imputt men of zour awin creatioun. Feid the fimpill with fair wordis; boaft the faint harted; difpatche the men of fpreit, and make ane new forme in this cuntrie. As for the frenthis, my fathir hes fpoken weill ellis. But I man fpeike this ane word, concerning the laird of Grange. To trap him, caus Alexander Clerke, Mr Knox, Dauid Murray, and vtheris of his acquaintance, both wryte and fay he is evill fpoken of throw the cuntrie, for lying out from zour grace, and that can nocht stand with his honour; and able he will give credite; which give he doe, and get him anes in your hands, ze know what is devyfed! I neid to fpeik no farder. Gif ye will know vtheris thingis in fpeciall, tak the paine to reid my difcourfe once agayne; and I fall come the morrow, to your ryfing, and explane it, poynt by poynt, that ze may be the better refolvit thairwith."

And after he had done, my lord Regent fayis: "Now Clerk of Regifter, lat me heir yow; becaus ze ar ane wylie child, we keipit zow to fpeike hindmest, to fpeake plainelie; for forrow a body heiris us but our felues, nor git fall heir."—Bot I thocht, forrow fall yow, and God faue me that lysis heir, and heiris weill aneughe all that is fpoken!

Then, the Clerk Regifter faid—"My lord, I am ane ewill difcourfare, but I wald fpeir ane queftioun, give ze wold faue zour awin lyfe and ftait?" "Yis," quod my lord Regent. "Then, my lord, ze man put thame out of the way that may or hes defyre to hinder zow! The tyme hes bene, quhen I wald my lord of Mortoune had bene weill; bot now, fene he traiftis vther men or his awin fantasie better then me, and rinnis nocht zour courfe, let him pas amonges the leave; fyne wyte the nifferaris. As to the frenthis, in guid faith, ze man haue men of your awin impositioun. I grant, all thame that are of Matchvelis doctrine will fay, that thai haue done your grace guid feruice; but the clerk Blair faid, 'Nay, Matcheivell is ane ewill buike, and I wold it had bene brunt fewin zeir fyne, that be thair and heir be guid zeir!' Remember ze what the old bifchope of Dumblane faid in the zeir of God lvj., quhen I was commiffioner at the Bordours? 'Princes fould nocht be [windie],' quod Mr Henry.—Alace! in guid faith, he was a guid companione, could

haue tauld zow my mynd. Thay fay thai haue mony against zow: Weill, I am als auld as thir folkis, and hes feine the faschione of Scotlande alweill as ane vther. Thocht thai hald thair tounge, I can tell the taill. Ze will get als mony to take your pairt, as the contrair wilbe against zow, and ane mae. Tak thair ane anfuere, in a word!"

When thai had all done, my Lord Regent faid, it was ane heaueie burding that lay vpoun him, and that he wald vnderly the fame allfang as he mycht, and depend vpoun thair counfallis allanerlie; prayand thame to aduerteis him quhen he keipit nocht all his kewis, for the thing they spake, he judged all to be trew.

Be this dayis talking, ze may judge what is meanit. I cann not write all that was spocken—bot this was the effect, fa far as I remember. Suirlie materis are euill guydit heir; and I can perceave nothing but grit crueltie, difceat, and diffolutioun. Suppose I beir a fair countenance, and hes ane ressonabaill dres in court, I mislyke very fair the thingis I saw, and wald wische all the nobilitie knew quhat I know concerning thair awin wracke. I traift thay fuld nocht be fo archit to put remedie to thir inconvenientis. Aduerteis my lord zour cowfing of this, and defyre him to provyde for himself; for heir thair is na grace but geld him!—Thus fair weill."

Who was the devyfer and inventare of this most fals, sclandrous, and dewilish lie against the Regent, it was not at that tyme publictly knawin: zit it was suspected to be some of the brether of the house of Lethingtoun; which was not far by; ffor afterwardis, it was plainlie affirmed, that it wes inventit be Mr Thomas Maitland, the zounger brother of that house, who after depairtit this lyfe, gangand to Rome.

Dauid Forester, called the generall, gaue the copie heirof to Alice Sandilandis, ladie Ormiston, a litill efter the cuming abroad therof, or with the first of thame, which he affirmed to be trew. But the gude and vertuous lady (quha wald beleive na sic thing) brocht the copie. Sho gave

it to Mr Knox; which quhen he fawe, and after shoe had requyred the treuth thairof at him, he said, "Ȝe fall knaw my anfuer afterwardis!" And fo the nixt day, when he preached, he schew the effect thairof in pulpet; and declairit, that the devile, the father of leyis, wes the cheif inventer of that letter, quha cuir was the penner thairof. And this was his anfuer to the said guid ladie; quha was not a litill reiofed, quhen shoe hard the same reproved oppinly in the pulpet, which was invented to bring the guid Regent in hatred with the nobilitie and vtheris guid men. Thairfoir, for anfuer, it is said be the said Johne Knox, that "The thingis be thame affirmed, and be vtheris beleived, ar als fals as God is true!" And ȝit the ducke eschames not to fay that he will gar men avow everie word in our faces. Quhair that buike was forged we can nocht tell affuiredlie; but the abbot of Kilwynning was, during the tyme of the Regentis absence, and also the tyme of his slauchter, in Edinburgh.—He made him to be buffie, to make addrese for his freinds, and eirneftlie travelled with Johne Knox to move the Regent in that poynt; quho, befoir God, promifeth his faithfull labouris; adding this, "Abuse nocht my labouris (my lord); althocht I be a puire man, ȝit I am the servant of God, and wold be laith to be spotted with ony difhoneftie. Gif ȝour freindis intend ony mischeif, what greif shall it be to me to be noted a traveller for men in whome thair is no treuth! Bot be as it will, I fall nocht ceafe to meane weill to all honest men of that furname. As for ȝour bifchope, I will haue nothing to do with him, so long as he remaines enemie to Christ Jesus, and to the true preaching of his holy evangell. But for all vtheris that will acknowledge the kingis autoritie, and truelie ferve the Regent, I will do what lyeth in me, that thei falbe vfed so as thai and ȝe, my lord, may reffonnable stand content. But this will I protest befoir God, who is the only witnes now betwixt us, that gif thair be ony thing attempted in that furname against the persone of that man, that in that caice, I discharge myself to ȝow and thame for euer. For I am als affuired as that I am that my God liveth, that gif ȝe be nocht quyet, the distrustioun of that house approaches!" This was spoken 8 or 10 dayis befoir the murther. The abbotis promifes war fair aneughe; but fra that day he repaired no moir to Johne Knox, till the Regent was murthered; then desyred the speik-

ing of the said Johne; who refusiffing, fend him word—"I haue not the Regent to make suite vnto for the Hammiltounes!"

To returne.—Quhairfoeuer the buik was forged, the abbot of Kilwynning fend it to my lord Argyle, and he fend it back to the erle of Mar, who delyuered it to his brother Alexander Erkeine; who, after the reiding thairof said, "Heir ar the maift malitious lies that ever man invented!" And git the man is a knawin Papift.

The Lordis affembled the day appoynted, bot thei proceideth flowlie, for they abaid vpoun sic as never profited the caus of God; we meane Athole, ane idolater and dependar vpoun witches, and Home, ane gredie godles man, to quhom the Secretar is the faule, and without quhom and whose counfall, they can do no moir than the wheillis can do without the extrie.

Athole cam the 12 day, at nicht. The day following, he visited his guidbrother the Secretar in the castell, and thair received his instructiounes; and efter went to falute the counfall. Sic proceedingis displeasid the godlie; for thair perceaueth all thingis to go wrong, and to be hindered, be that traytor the Secretar; ffor he spairit not to speik, whair he list, that he wald never studie to revenge the bloud of him who hath fought his lyfe, his fame, and inheritance. Gif he had addit, "vnjustlie," he had said sumquhat. Bot thingis confiderit as thair ar indeid, wife men may say, that Canis anfuere to God declared him to be the murtherer. Lat the world efter me iudge gif the end be guid; and gif the ould bloud, innocentlie shed, wilbe so covered with new bloud, traytourouslie spilt, that God fall nocht sie it.

The baronis and gentlemen scorned at the drift and delay of tyme. They formed a bill to the Lordis, craving thir headis: ffirft, that the traytous murther of the Regent fuld be publictlye through the realme deploired, and by thair letteres in the kingis name condemned, not only in the persone of the traytour, the murtherer, but also in all those that ware of counfall or knowledge, commanderis, or affistaris. Secondly, that none, vnder paine of tressone, fould take vpoun thame to make ony novatioune in religioune, or in the authoritie receaved and be law established.

Thridlie, that all men shuld abhorre the societie of Hammiltounes, vnto sic tyme as the head, and sic as wald be reputed cleane of that murther, had gevin sufficient purgatorie thair of. Fridlie, that the mainteaneris of the murtherer, sic as receit him and receavit him in cumpanie, shuld be persewit with all hostilitie; seing that he and thay wair alreddie denuncit traytoris, be fencment (of) parliament, and be the dome of foirfaltrie pronounced. Last, that thai wald neuer suffer thamefelves to be led away, be ony perswasione, to consent that ony infideale shuld haue power to chaarge or command in the kingis name; assuiring thame, that gif so they did, the faithfull wald nather acknowledge him nor thame.—Note heir, the laird of Grange to be a defendar to the Hammiltounes.

The Lordis concluded the buriel to be vpon thuirfday the fourt of Februar, as that it was a pairt of the nobilitie being present, quha befor that same day had concluded that secretare Lethingtoun should be fred of warde; and be thair votes was purged, alweill fra the kingis murther as fra the suspitione was tane of him that he was a practifare, in England, to change the kingis majesties estait: Cleane as gold befor men; but, alace! sic shiftis will nocht serue quhen God arises to judge with equitie. The lord Ochiltre defyred the purgatioune of the Secretar be his own oathe, which he gaue. Now we fall find the realme rewled as wife men will.

And so I end; randerung my trubled and forrowfull spirit in the handis of the eternall God; earnestlie thrusting, at his guid pleisoure, to be fred fra the caires of this miserabil lyfe, and to rest with Christ Jesus, my only hope and lyfe.

JOHNE KNOX.

Lord saue and blis the small flocke within this realme! Amen. The 15 of Februar, 1569 (70.)

All debtis knawin to me ar payet, death only excepted, which I defy; ffor the sting of it is destroyed be Jesus Christ, who is my life now and euer!

So long as I live, lat me live, O Lord, to thy glorie!

The Secretare being abfolued, as faid is, the counfall convenit daylie. Mr Randolphe, as ambaffadore fra the queine of England, gat prefence; his commiffione was redd, his credite hard, and a part thairof gevin in Articles, the tenor quhairof followis :—

“Trew religione, whereby we ar brocht to the trew knowledge of our dewtie both to God and man, ought to be preferued and defendit.

“For that no commoun wealthe can ftand that is divydit in itfelf, the cheif ought to mak vnitie and peace amonges your felues.

“For that God, the creatore of the world, hes apoynted kingis to be our governoris, we ought with all our power to obey thame, honor, and ferue thame.

“Amitie and peace with all men is gratefull to God. It extinguiſheth bloodſhed, which is terible in the ſicht of God. It increffeth wealth to the ſubjectis, and makis thame dreidfull to thair enemies.

“Juſtice, the preferver of all commoun wealthis, ought to be fuffeined; whairof the cheife part is, to haue offences puniſhed.

“For that treſſone to all princes, ſteatis, and pepill, is maift odious; no mercie or favore is to be ſchewed to ony, in ony realme or cuntrie, wher ony ſic ar.”

The laird of Lochlewin, brother to the Regent, by his bill, requyred ſummer executioun of juſtice againſt the murthereris; conſidering that, beſoir the murther, the maift part of that ſurname wer denounced tray-touris, as faid is. The barones and gentlemen earneſtly craved the ſamyn, but the Secretar, faull to the erle of Atholl, wrocht ſo in that obſtinate dolt, and witles man, that nothing could procead vntil all the nobilitie ſhuld convene.

The day apoynted was the 4 day of Marche nixt; and ſo that aſſemblye diſſolued, no certane concluſioun taken. The nixt will ſchaw the ſelf; bot I luike that the man of God fall not change his hew. To keip materis in ſome ordore, wer left counfallors, the erles of Mortoun, Athole, and Caſſilis, the lordis Ruthwen, Meffane, and Vchiltre; with the commoun officiaris. But Caſſilis and Athole left the reſt in the myre.

The Hammiltounes, murtheraris, with thair band, Argyle, Boyd, James Hammiltoun, Phernihert, Baleleuche, Lochinwere, and vtheris of thair factiōne, convened in Glasgou the 17 of Februar, and from thence was a letter directed to the erle of Mortoun, and to the Secretare, subferyvit be Argyle and Boyd, beiring in effect, that thai knew nocht who were guiltie of the Regentis murther; that thai wold glaidlie concurre with the rest of the nobilitie of the realme, to consult and advyse how all thingis fould be ordered; but thai culd not come to Edinburgh, but defyred thame to come to Lynlithgow, Falkirk, or Striviling. This letter was presented be the laird Arkyles, ane hieland man in the fynest fort. He had brocht a letter befor fra them and fra the Hammiltounes, murtheraris; whairintill thai ftyled the queine ane murtherer of her awin husband, thair fouerane, without ony mentiōne of the king. Vpoun this last lettre, the erle of Mortoun past to the castell of Edinburgh, to consult with the Secretare, what anfuer fould be gevin thairto. Tak heid to the end! Fleying wrait to the Secretar, that "he was the queines, and wold obey her!" Phernihert wrote to his guidfather, the capitane of the castell, that "Gif the queine of England wald ouerfie and forget thingis bypast, they wald enter in commouning, for guid ordore in tyme to come: gif sho wold nocht, thay wald follow furth the thing begune; for thai wer assuired of the queinis maiesties true subjeētis to assist thame; and to haue the assistance of the French shuldieris."

The 21 of Februar, the Secretar left his ludgeing of the castell, and was conveyed as a prince, be the Lord Seatoun, first to the place of Seatoun, and thairafter to Lethintoun. And sua, the gritteft enimie to the king, and to his autoritie, gea to God and to his word, takis the protectiōne of him that wald be fene grit freind to both.

Luike to the end! Hypocrisie will git schaw hir self!

Schaw thy mercie, Lord, vpoun thy poure kirke, and vpoune me (that fobbes) for resolutiōne, at thy guid pleafoure!

The 3 of Marche 1569 (1570), the Hammiltounes, bishope and vtheris, together with Argyle and Boyd, assembled at Linlythgow; and thair a murther was committed against thaimselues, be a fervant and freind of the Lord Boydis, vpoune one Gibbie. Quhairvpoun rose no small tumult



amongis the Hammiltounes fuldearis against the said Boyd, ffor he that was slaine was a suddart. And so the nixt day the Hammiltounes, with thair bifchope, returned to thair dwelling places in Cliddefdaill. Some alledge that a claufe contained in the said conduct grantit to all men to repair to Edinburgh, was the caus of thair returning. The claus was this: "That no man being vnder the dome of foirfaltrie, shuld bruke that benefite." This claus so feareth thaim, as some suppose, that nather thair durst marche foreward, nor git remaine.

To Edinburgh repaired Huntlie, Ogilvie, Crawford, and thair factiõne; Athole and his affistid and convoyed thame. Lordis Home, Seatoun, and the Secretar, soule to all the godles band, and now favoraris of the queine, murtharare of hir husband. Mortoune was in the toun befoir, accompanied but sklenderlie. Followed the erle of Mare, and Glencairne, with thair freindis. Argyle and Boyde wer nocht present. The 8 of Marche, Capitane Mores houfe and corne were brint in Linlythgow. The counfall began and proceadeth flowlie, be reasone that Argyle was absent. The Secretar said opinlie at his table (and after confessed the same) that "Sic as wer fled from England had als honest and just a caus as euer had ony banisheth men!" When it was objected, that thair had brunt the boukes of ministeris; they had ridden some of thair awin bodies with spurres; thair wyfes thair had defyled; and that thair had erected that odious idole the Mefs—"Tufhe!" said the Secretare, "they did that, in the begynning, to make thame the mae freinds! But confider," said he, "the tennour of thair secund proclamatioune." Lat the queine of England tak heid to the proclamatioune, and to the inventare thairof; for he that compaffed the mariage betwixt the duke of Northfolk and the queine, murtharer of her husband, formed that.

Lord difelofe treasonabill hypocrisie!

In the conventiõne at Edinburgh, begynning the 4 of Marche, and continowand to the 15 thairof, was nothing worthie of memorie done, except that the treasonabill dealing of the Secretar Lethingtoun did moir manifestlie apper then it did befoir; ffor as he enterit in the toun, with all these that war knawin enemies to the kingis authoritie, so keipit he and thair ane counfall apart, and joyned nocht with the kingis trew frein-

dis. His excufe was, the inhabilitie of his bodie; and git at his table none; and evin he was moir luftie than Johne Knox, who ordinarlie keipit his courfe of preaching at that tyme, one day excepted.

The erle of Argyle and Boyd refufed to joyne with the reft (of the kingis lordis), be reafone of the fyre raifed in Linlythgow. The erle of Huntlie, partaker of the firft murther, touk franklie on hand to perfwade the erle of Argyle to joyne with the other lordis. And fo, be the counfall of the Secretar, he departed from Edinburgh, about the 12 of Marche, with licence of the other lordis, with fure promeis he fhuld bring Argyle with him. But he returned without him, flor fo his counfallour the Secretar thocht beft; for his mynd was only to dryve tyme till he could find oportunitie to cowpe the court, as he had done mony befoir.

The nycht after that, the erle of Huntlie returned, *re infecta*; thair did aryfe fuch ane feir amonges the vnfreindis of the king, that the moft part of the nycht thay lay in thair jackis. Huntlie, Athole, Ogilvie, Crawford, Lochinvar, with the reft of that factiōne, who vpoun the morne, without farther confultatiōne, departit Edinburgh, and fir James Balfour in thair cumpanie. And fua all murtheraris, firft and laft, shooke handis together!

In this conventiōne, it was reffoned vpoun what ground, and be quhat autoritie, mycht thai appoynt Regent or Regents. The judgment of men did not uniformelie agrie. Some vrgit the commiffiōne grantit befoir be the queine. Vtheris objected, that that commiffiōn was expyred, be reffone that it was anes full; and thairfoir, now, the Regent beand deid, it culd haue no further ftrenth: and thairfoir defyred the full matter to be refered to a lauchfull and full parliament. And this was the thift of the Secretarie, ftoutlie mainteand be Mr Robert Maitland, as was weill aneughe perceaved. Vtheris wer of judgment fra contrarious to both, to wit, that the prefent electiōne of Regent, ane or mae, fhuld nather depend vpoun the queines commiffiōne (which, in all godly myndis, was inualed from the begining), nather git vpoun the cenfment of parliament, which brocht with it drift of tyme and eminent danger; bot as fic that from the begyning had acknowledged the kingis autoritie, and constantlie had remained vnder the obedience of the fame, fhould, without all

farder delay, put ordore to all materis. This counfall was neglected, becaus it procedeth from a puir man.

In this meane tyme, raife thair a whifpering, that the erle of Lennox shuld returne to Scotland; which wonderfullie travelleth and trubled the Secretaries braine; ffor the devil wold he prefer to bear regiment in this realme, to ony Stewart that favouris the standing of the king.

In the tyme of that conventioun, Johne Knox received diuerse letteris, from fundrie godlie men in England. Lawrence Humfrie, doctore of divinitie of England, defyred the said Johne to put in memorie the death and lyfe of the Regent, laitlie and flamefullie murdered.

John Willock, preacher, writis as followes, word be word:

*Johne Willox against the murther.*

“It greiueth me so to write, that I can not write ony thing as I think, twiching the crueltie of these bloudie beastes (the Hammiltounes, he meanes), that deuided and practised that abhominable and bloudie fact. The Lord revenge it! And I put no doubt but that filthie fact hes so fillet thair coupe of the jugmentis of the eternall God, that thair restis nothing for thame but the drinking up of the fame, to thair everlasting schame and confusioun; for the whole church of God called and cryed, befydis the voce of the bloud itself, ‘*Vindica Domine Deus sanguinem innocentis!*’ And lykas, by the just judgment of God, the Benjamins wer in ane maner routed out, so hath this erwell fact craved (not only in my judgment, but in the judgment of all vpricht myndit men heir) the lyke judgment. God work in thame trew repentance, gif it be possible, when the fervantis of God doe so agrie in threatning of the wicked! The wicked, be thair neuer so proude, thair haue cause to feir!”

Christopher Gudman, whose lyfe and learning the verie wicked can not bot praise, after his dolorous complaint, writteth thus:—

*Cristopher Guidman, his Lettre anent the Regentis deathe.*

“The floure of Scotland, the crowne of nobilitie, the pillar of peace, the patrone of a godlie government, and sing of Godis favour, hes taken

his leave, and gone (I doubt not) to our mercifull God, whom he ferued; and woe to thofe devilifh heidis which this foul devilifh murther haue devyfit! Woe to that vnnaturall monfter, enemie to God and his countrey, and fullie poffeffit with Sathan, that hes beine the inftrument! And woe to the whole nobilitie, and all that profes the name of Godis peopill, gif this be nocht extremlie foght fourth, and reuenged; as was the abufed wife of the Levite amongis the Benjameitis! Lat igit the devyfaris of the murther take heid, for God fleeth thame, and his fervantis fmellis thame fourth!"

The conventiounne diffoluing without refolutiounne, the erle of Mortone, bewitched alfo be the Secretar, left Edinburgh and pafst to Abirdeine, of purpofe (as fome alledgit) to confult with the Secretaris band; and fpake with Huntlie and Athole in Drymmen; whair of the faithfull conceived no fmall jelofie.

The Secretare and the capitane of the caftell, named Sir William Karcaldie of Grange, knyght, a man fometymes of moft honeft fame and credite within this realme among the faithful, but now wrapped in factiounne and treafone, with that moft treafonabill traytour, whome the Lord fall confound, and all that in his impietie mainteanis him! Theife two, I fay, as thair raifet the trouble vpoun the Bordoure, be thefe tuo fyrebrandis, Pherniherft and Balcleuche, fo thair travellit with all diligence to alienat the hartis of all Scottifmen fra the queine of England; and fpaired nocht to fpeike, that gif we feik England for maintenance of the king and punishment of the murther, they fall feik France and Spaine for the reftoiring of the queine, murtherer.

Lord, igit oppone thy power to thair pryde! And thus I end this geir, with a dolorus hart, the 24 of Marche 1569 (70). Lord give thy fpreit, in abundanee, to fic as it fall pleis thé to appoynte, to write efter me thefe thingis which I but ruidlie twiche!

*The Copie of a Letter send to the Queine of England be the Queenis Lordis, about the end of Marche, 1570.*

“ It may pleis your maiestie, the present dangerous estaite of this our native countrie, joyned with the consideratioune of the future, which threateningis to bathe the realmes feirfull accidentis, gif the loue of our cuntrie moue us not, on both the pairties, to forsicht it, to avoyd the perall afoirhand, compellis us to haue recourse to your maiestie as the princes in Christiandome wha hes best meanes, and as we think of guid ressonne shuld haue the best will, to quenche this heat begone amongis us, beforit it brufft fourth into a flambe, which is abill, or it be long, to set both the countries on fyre. We confes the first lyke to be oures, seing the fyre alreddie kindled in our houle; git the consequent thairof is lyke to draw your maiesties estaite in the fellowship of the same danger, be ressonne of the nychtbourheid, and vther respectis, which the situatioune of the tua kingdoms, as ane isle, has maid commone to both. It is not now tyme to us to hyde the burning, whairof the smucke is alreddie begone to discouer itself; nather can we be perfwadit that your maiestie will refuis us that comfort, which by your concurrance will suffice to remoue our inconvenient, and consequentlie your awin, quhais realme is nixt nightbore to this. Christiane charitie will allow, nather policie permit, that quhairas we requyre water at your handis to repres the rage of the flamb, yow will bring oyle, timber, and vther materiales to increas and increas it; for so doing, with our lose of the lest, ge fall procure to your self the subuersiounne of moir. Your maiestie is nocht ignorant how this estate is dividit in factiounes, not only the persones of the nobilitie, but, discending from them, the gentlemen and commones vniuersallie, in the whole leiges; and not so inequallie diuidit that the ane so over far to overmatche the other, but the victorie most be doubtful, gif materis be brocht ones to that pairt, that force most trie whois querrell is best. The factiounes ar groundit vpon the diversitie of two tytles pretendit to the crowne, be the mother and the sone—a pitiful caus, God knowis!—And yit led by the forwardnes of tyme and other vnhappe, which nochttheles most end betymes, or ellis within ane schort time it is lyke to bring mony of us to ane end. We find in our selues small conformitie to appease the differ-

ence, for that the most pairt ar particularly inclined, for privat or publick respectis, to the parteis. And we see no towardnes to any amendement; be the contrare it doeth appeir, evidentlie, that so long as thair ar tuo clames, so long fall the tuo factiōnes indure; and it is probable that fa lang as thair is tuo factiōnes at home, nather factiōne laike mentenance abroad, but shall find some prince or foren potentate, who be his countenance will feid the meamore; whairupon most follow, of necessitie, that by a meane or vther, a number of strangeris shall be drawin in this realme. How dangerous that shall be for us, we know; and quhat preiudice may thairon ensue to your heines, we remit to your wyfe consideratiōne: whairin we will not vther wayis appeir to curious discourfaris. This fare only we will tuiche. The foirsicht of the commoune danger shuld induce us, in all fydes, to ane commoune consent, to provyde the remedie against the fame; which, in our opinion, can be no vther but be removing the causes of divisiōne, to make the effect of divisiōne to ceis; to wit, be the reducing of the tuo clames to one, put away the whole fundament of the factiōnes. Thair is nather prince, potentate, nor peopill in Christendome, that hes the lyke entres to defyre it; nather git the lyke meanes to performe. It is profitable for your maiestie that strangeris haue no pretenfit culloure whairfoir to enter in this yle, or to fet force on dry land fo neir your maiesties cuntrie. It is honorable for your maiestie to fet at ane accord, the tuo persones which ar maid the parteis, being your nixt coufingis, and most tender to you be bloud. It is easie to your maiestie to bring it to pas, allweill for your credite and auctoritie with all the parteis, as that the principall partie is in your realme. We think it not convenient to preseryve to your maiestie ony certane rewle to follow in this cause; for we consider what your maiestie is to whom we write, and what persones we ar that do write: Yit, for our opinione, we see no more convenient meanes to reduce this realme to uniformitie, and consequentlie to procure the quyetnes of the whole yle, then that your maiestie will enter with the quenis heines of Scotland in sic conditiones as may be honourable for all parteis; suire for your maiestie, safe for the nobilitie of this realme, and apeirand to continow the godlie amitie betwixt the tuo realmes, which is most commodious for both. We are moir bauld to enter with your maiestie in this head, for that a guid part of us saw the last yeir, a

certane plat, vnder the forme of Articles projected, tending to this end, and fend hither from your maieftie to the lait Regent, be his fervand Mr Johne Woud; whairof, albeit at that tyme thair was not fo grit confideratioune had, in ane assemblie of ane pairt of this nobilitie convenit at St Johnstoun to that effect, as the weght of the fame, and your maiefties perfone, being the directare, did requyre; zit find we in the fame mater fo great moment, worthy to be entreated of, and most humbly prayand your maieftie to take the fame anes againe in your hand, and follow furth the fame traile; to which we thinke the neirest, zea the only meane, to divert us from the desperate courfe whairin we are ather already or lyke fchortlie to enter, for laike of a guid vnione amonges ourselues. We trust no faithfull counfallore yow haue will advyse your maieftie to enter the turneover of ane dividit steat; to bestow your forces, men, or money, in ane vnnecessar and vnprofitable explote; and vnprofitable it will prove in the end, if your maieftie shall joyne your fortoun with ane small portione of this realme, whair we may haue the whole at your devotione, gif ye will; to wit, gif ye goe about to vnite us, as ane flocke vnder the obedience of ane heid, be entering in conditiones with the queine of Scotland; whairby the differing clames betuix her heines and her sone may cease from hence fourth. In doing whairof, your maieftie shall obleis us, and fo we protest to doe vnto your heines what service we shalbe able, standing with our obedience dew to our fouerane. And sua, after our humble commendatiounes to your maieftie, we committ yow to the protectione of God. Writtin towardis the end of Marche, 1570,

Be your maiefties humble to commande,

*Erles.*

HUNTLIE. MARSHELL.  
 ARGYLE. CAITNESS.  
 ATHOLE. CASSILIS.  
 ARREL. SUDDERLAND.  
 CRAWFURD. EGLINTOUN.

WM. MAITLAND, Comptroller.

J. BALFOURE.

*Lordis.*

HOME. FLEMING.  
 SEATOUN. HEREIS.  
 OGILVIE. BOYDE.  
 ROS. SOMERWELL.  
 BORTHUIKE. INNERMEATH.  
 OLIPHANT. FORBES.  
 YEASTER. GRAY.

This bill, being dyted be the Secretare, was fend be the queinis lordis to the queine of England, as said is, which was subfcrvyit be thame, but not be all thir whofe names thai haue here vnderwrittin; but becaus that thai wold make the queine of England beleive that the kingis partie is nothing in respect of the nobility and number thair of, as thai most deceitfullie alledgit, that thai haue on thair fyde. Thairfoir thai haue put in fundrie menis names who neuer had to doe with thame, nor git made thame euer ony promeis; and fpeciallie, the erle Mersehell, and the lord Forbes. But this is not Lethingtoun's first deceitful inventioun; whom God shall confound, according to his defertis.

Thair come about this tyme from France, a vallet of the kingis chamber, named Monsieur Wiracke, who was receued in Dumbartane as ane honourabill ambaffadour; and was convoyed be the lord Flemying to Nuthrie, whair the lord Seatoun, maifter of the place, and a Frenelman from his hart, together with the Secretar Lethingtoun, nochtwithftanding the inhabilitie of his body, for he was convoyed in ane chariote, met and refoned with that famous ambaffadore. What was concludit amonges thame it is not git publietlie knowin; bot men fufpect that lytill guid was meanit to England, ffor within foure or fyve dayis after, the fyre-brandis of hell, Pherniherft and Balcleuche, raid in England, raifed fyre, and brint Carrham. The brute was, that he had lettres to all the lordis of Scotland. What the contentis ar is git fecreit. The northland lordis meanteaners of the queine, murtherer of her hufband, wrote to the lordis of feffione in Edinburgh, that thai fhuld fuperceid all miniftratioun of iuftice, vnto fic time as thai nicht waite vpon thair freindis actioun, and haue ane eftablished authoritie. Lat wife men judge whither that be not the readie way to impunge the kingis authoritie! Gif the feffione fit, Lathingtoun devyfed nocht the letter; gif it rife, he wilbe fufpectet.

In returning from Nuthrie, he talketh with the captane of the caftell, at St Cuthbertis kirke, and thaireftir, to wit, vpon mononday the fecond of April 1570, the capitanes freindis, with the factioun that dependis vpon the Secretar, enemies to the king, and vtheris, come to Edinburgh to punifhe the deacones of the craftifmen, for a ryote that was maid for flay-



ing of victuallis. Madie said, that the capitane was the principall man that fent away victuallis, and fo the prouerbe is true,

“*Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achiui.*”

The kingis enemies, be the Secretares devyfe, apoynted ane conventionne to meit at Linlythgow, the tent of Aprile; whair the proclamatioune was made, declaring the caufes of thair present convening of the nobilite, first at Linlythgow, and thairefter at Edinburgh.

“Although the formare proceedingis of the erles and lordis, noblemen and barones, counfalloris of this realme, presentlie convenit in this burcht of Edinburgh, may sufficientlie perswade all men how willing thair haue bene to menteane the commoune-weill and libertie of thair native cuntrie; zit, to the end that the malicious calumneis of the particular perfonis which still studie to enterpret to the worst, and misconstrie the nobilities sinceir and honourabill intentiones, shall not tak place, the saidis erles and lordis of the nobilitie hes thought meit and expedient to manifest to the world, speciallie to the guid and peaceable subjectis of this realme, that feares God, or hes affectiounne to thair fouerane, or commoune wealth, both the caus of thair present conventionne, and also what ordore they intend to proceed heir-efter, in all thair actiounes, tending to Godis glorie, and defence of the realme, the observatioune of peace, with all considerate freindis and allyis, commoune wealth and tranquillitie of the realme; which now, of lait time, hes bene and is fwa troubled, confused and discorded, that without Godis help and delyuerance, and that the noblemen as his ministeris, according to the place thair occupie, put to thair handis, in tyme, for susteaning of this estate, whair of thair ar the cheife memberis; nather can it releiue the owin dignitie, libertie, and estimatioune amonges vther realmes and frie cuntries; nor zit can the nobilitie and vtheris guid subjectis quietlie enjoy thair landis, lyves, and substances; the ground of which troubles and discordis neidis nocht now, at ony lenth, to be spoken of, the samyn being fo weill knowin to all perfonis of all estaitis, off whome the most part hes felt, at on tyme or vther, some part and portione of the harme and danger, that this intestine divisione and vnnaturall contraverfie, sa lang continowing amongis the noblemen and guid subjectis, hes wrocht;

and without men will profes thamefelfis blind, infenfible, and wanting all judgment and experience, they man in hartis thinke, and befor the world grant, that the end of all behuiffis to be miferable and vnhappie, gif God be nocht mercifull (as is befor faid); and without all noblemen, and all vther guid Scottifmen, be content to yeild to reafone, and to confider the ftait of the realme in generall, and euerie privie man his own particular conditione. Trew it is the noblemen now convenit acknowledge and will that all men now esteame and judge of thame, that thai weill and dois allow of the firft honorabill cauf interpryfed be fome vther noblemen, in the perfuite of the erle Bothuell; quha haveing prefumptuouffie put handis on the queines maieftie, our foueranes perfone, and deteaned hir as captive, invironed hir with a grit guard of men of weir, and vtheris of his devotion; and thairby, be juft feir, conftreyned her againft her will and commoditie, to enter fuddanlie with him in due pretendit marriage; which nathir of Godis law nor manis law was tolerable, nor git could the ifchew that mycht haue bene procreat betwixt thame be lawfull; to releive hir hienes from the bondage and tyrannie of that godles and vnworthy man, gea, and to fequeftrat her perfone fra his focietie quhill he might be punifhit or expulfit, was ane aëtion in the felf, worthie, allowable, and deferving praife. This was the only ftop of thair cauf, as of the beginning, thai gaue the world to vnderftand; for, as in thair proclamaçionnes is mentionat, they maid thair only pretence and quarrell againft the authoris of that murtherer (of) the king, hir maiefties husband, and that thair cheif intent was to put hir to libertie; which indeid war godlie and honorable intentis. And the mentione of thame made men, at that tyme, to beir with quhatfumeuer thing was attempted to the furtherance of the purpofe. The noblmen now conveanit, wald haue bene participant thair of, and haue concurrut with thair forces to the fame, in caice thai had beine thairto lauchfullie requyred. Bot lat the ordour of thingis fenfyne be paff over with filence; feing the noblmen conveanit ar not willing, be reporting of bypaff materis, to irritate ony vther noblmen or guid fubjectis; which per aduenture, in the particuar declaratioune, wold judge thamefelfis particularlie tuiched; bot rather is content that git the ground and originall cauffis, alfwieill of the principall contraverfie of the particu-

lar and inferiour difcentiounes, may be cauldly refoned, and wifelic and naturally confiderit of in a peeceable and familiar conference, whair will, without guid reafone, have no place to impyre nor bragging, fhall not let noblmen to fpeik their myndis and judgmentis, and to open the groundis of materis and circumftances, in fic fort, as the neceffities in all refpectis being dewlie regardit the beft, or the leift of evillis may be embraced and excepted.

“Heir withall is thoct expedient to anfuer to the whifperings and calumnies of fome that doe defeace the finceritie of the godlie intentiones of the noblmen convenit, who efcheames nocht to ding in the peoples eares, that this affemblic, and materis thairin to be created, tendis to the fubuerfionne and alteratioune of the ftait of trew religioune, and danger of the profefforis thairof;—a plaufible argument, mony that delytis in vnquietnes, and ar weill content of truble and difcord, fa lang as by it thai may haue gaynes, albeit nothing is les trew; ffor as the noblmen prefentlie convenit, for the maift pairt, hes profellit and dois profes the fame trew religione, and thinkis to liue and die thairin, with Godis grace, fa may thai challenge to thaimfelues that honour, that, vnder God, they war of the firft and cheifft instrumentis of the promotiounne, continowance, and eftablifhing thairof. How then fall thai, be autoritie of the diftrictiounne of that in the building whereof thai war laboureris, preferring the advancement of the fame to thair landis and lyvis; is this a thing lykelic that they wald do, againft thair awin confciences, and of new hafard that which is moir deir to thame than thair landis? But as the calumniatiounne is malitioufflie fpred, and laid out indirectlie, to make the noblmen now convenit, and thair actiounne, odious to the peopill; fwa it is not to be doubtit but God fhall confound this faith, and caus it to apeir vaine amongft all vther feditious practifes, and fore caftis, fteired vp to interteanie vproare, and civile difcentiounne. Zea, to condifcend farther (as the iniquitie of the tyme craves), gif the noblmen now convenit, which ar of the firft places, and gritteft number, fhuld pretend (as thai meane not) to feike alteratiounne of the ftaitte of religione, as is feditioufflie bruided and reported; alace! in whose power beydis fhuld it confift to withftand it?

“Always the noblmen heir convenit, leving the wicked and feditious ca-

lumniatoris, quhill it fall pleis God to difelofe thame and thair practifes, and puneis thame according to thair malice; and willing to extend thair cair, as thai haue done, to the prefervatioun of the flait of religione, being alfo defyrus of the vnione of the realme, that all noblmen, and vther guid fubjectis, may enjoy thair owin ranckis, calling, and places, in peace and quietnes; which man be the end of all contraverfies, to Godis glorie, and commoun wealth. For this hes offered to convene with vtheris of the nobilitie as differ from thame in judgment, prefently, at convenient tyme and place. Lykeas the nobilitie now afsembled will tarce thair conjunctioun, fa lang as poffible or convenientlie thai may, gif they fhall fehaw ony hoip of reafone, meafour, or conformitie: whairthrow be familiar conference, in peceable maner, as is befoir expreffit, the ground and occafionnes of the late controverfies being difelofed and dilated, and the neceffitie of the flait, and euery noblman particularly intereft weyed and regardet, ane vniforme refolutioun may be taken, be commone consent, of the furthfetting of Godis glory, flor the queines maiefties eftait, that thoe remaine not as (ane) barren floke, bot that fruite may be procreat of her bodie: That the fuceffione of the crown may be the moir ftarke, and he whom God of his mercie hes grantit to us for our comfort alreddie, may be honourable provydit, alswell for the faiftie of his perfone as continuatioun of his eftait: That the godly peace ftanding betwix this realme and all vther commoun wealthis may be interteaned and obfervit: That mutuall concord and amitie may be amongis noblmen and vtheris the leiges: That iuftice may proceid and (be) execute, as God hes commandit, according to the lawes: And that enerie nobleman, and vther, in furetie poffes thair lyves, landis, rentis, and guidis, with the place and flait wherevnto God hes provydit thame, in this commoun wealth. Whairanent, or perrell fhuld fall to any of the vther partie, prefentlie feparate from the noblemen now convenit, they will rather not only yeild to les than reffonabill conditiounnes, but evin wilbe content to be partackeris of all fie hafardis and dangeris that the vtheris can think thame felues fubject vnto.

“ That as concord and reconciliatiounne fhall be profitable to the whole realme, fa will the lordis now convenit refaue a portion vpoun thame of ony difficultrie or inconvenient poffible may fall, leading to the furetie of

the vther, and the repose of the whole estait: Protesting, befor God and the world, gif this godly and honest overtore shalbe contemned, and fo proper meanes of the revnion of the nobilitie and quieting of the state refused and left, and thairvpoun the noblemen now convenit confrayned to provyde both for the realme and thair awin furetie, be which occasioun frangeris may be brocht in on all fydes, and to the overthrow and vndoing, and vtter wraike, not only of the cuntrey, bot of the religione and all; that then the just blame of all the evillis apeirand to follow, throw the obstinate rejecting of equitable and ressonabill conditiones, be impute to the world, feing thai haue focht meafoure, peace, and vnitie.

“And to the end that none pretend ignorance heirof, the erles, lordis of the nobilitie, and borne counfalloris abouewritten, presentlie convenit, Ordaines ane herald, measer, or vther officiar of armes, to pafs to the mercate crofe of the burcht of Edinburgh, and all vther borrowes and places neidfull, within this realme; and thair, be oppin proclamatioun, mak publicatioun, requyring and monishing all the leiges and subiectis of this realme, richteoufflie to judge heirof; and that thai and everie ane of thame, according to the equitie of the mater, concure, fortifie, promote, and fet forward, the godly and profitable intentioun and deliberatioun of the noblemen now convenit, and nawayis tak vpoun hand to joyne, assist, or tak pairt with quhatfumeuer vtheris that shall attempt ony thing in the contrair, vnder ony kynd of pretence, cloike, or authoritie, or vtherways: certefeing thame that dois in the contrair, the noblemen convenit presentlie will esteime them seditious, and enemies to the publict peace and commoune weill of this realme. And als, that the saidis officiaris of armes command and chaarge all the leiges of this realme, that nane of thame tak vpoun hand to alter or innovat the forme of the trew christiane religioun, publictliche preachit and receavit within this realme, and attempt ony thing againt the lawis, ordinances, and constitutiounes made in that behalf; with certificatioun to thame that dois in the contrair, they shalbe puneisht according to these same lawis, and the paines contentit thairin execute vpoun thame, with all rigour.”

This conventioun and dyet was keipit be Huntlie, Argyle, Athole,

Ogilbie, Crawford, and thair factiõne. Thair met thame from the eist, Home, Seatoun, ane heid of wit, the grit Secretare; who carried with thame in cympanie, the tratouris and rebellis of England, Edouard Dakeris, and the erle of Suffex bastard brother. The lord Flemyng brocht from Dumbartane the lord Westmureland; and fo wer asssembled together, in Linlythgow (the place of murther), the cheif murtheraris of this realme, together with the traytouris of the north partis of England!

Lat the queine of England take heid, for her destruictiõne is in the irones, or ellis the head of wit wilbe distempered.

The Lord Hereife was fet at fredome a litill befor; a man subtile, dowle, and wholie bent to the queinis factiõne, gif credite may be given to his freindis wordis.

The grit Secratar wold nocht pas by the castell of Edinburgh without sryking of faille, in sing of obedience; and thairfoir stayed he and his whole cumpany at St Cuthbertis kirke, till that he spake with the capitaine. What was concluded it is not knawin, but men coniecture that labouris wer maid that the Linlythgow lordis mycht be receaved in Edinburgh. What will succed tyme will try.

Menis coniectouris were nocht altogether vaine, for vpon the thurifday the 3 of Aprile, come to Edinburgh that lawles band, Secretar and vther, together with that graceless garifone, 300 Erifmen. Lordis Home and Seatoune convoyed the rebellis of England to Leith, becaus it was agried betweine the toun and the lordis, that in thair cumpany shuld be nane that mycht justlie be suspec̄ted of the Regentis murther, that they shuld nocht presume to alter the kingis autoritie: that they shuld attempt nothing against the religione, nor zit against the persone of ony inhabitant: and last, that ther toun shuld not be defiled with the queine of Englandis rebellis, who were knowin idolateris, and enemies to Jesus Christ.

The acceptatiõne of thir heidis nochtwithstanding, the faidis lordis, vpon faturneday the second day efter thair aryvell, called the baillies and counfall of the toun befor thame, and in stormie wordis demandit of thame, How durst thai take vpon them to preseryve ane ordore to the nobilitie of the realme? They asked forther, Gif thai wald stand be thair wryting? The counfall anfuert, that thai wrait nocht without the adyfe of their

proveit; and thairfor thai wold heir his judgment befor thai wold directlie anfuere.

The lordis, and cheiffie Hereis, boldened be the cauld anfuere of the counfall, vsurped farther; and first, defyred that they might haue the keyis of thair portis in keiping; seconddie, that thai might haue power for streking the drum for gathering of men of warre; and thridlie, that friedome might be granted to the Englishmen peceable to remane, and spend thair monie in Edinburgh; and last, that the toune might be patent to all Scottifmen.

The baillies and counfall anfuereit as befor, to wit, that they wald speike and consult with thair proveit; as thai did the most pairt of fetterday. Off the conclusioun I haue nocht hard, except that the baillies wer suffered to keip the keyis of thair owin portis, and that the drume was not striken. But in recomp nce of that, the proveit, being capitane of the castell, promised to be thair saiguard, so long as it pleasit thame to remaine in the toune: and this was a guid aneuch obligatioun that the castle shuld be thair friend aganist the king and his subiectis.

This was the Secretaries practife with sir James Balfoure, when he betrayed the queine; first, to be suire of the castle, and fyne to schaw themselves vpoun the feildis. Alas! sir Williame Kircadie (some tyme stout and true laird of Grange), miserable is thy fall, who now drawis in yocke with knowin and manifest traytoris, that sumtyme had place amonges honest hartis, 3ea amongis the sanctis of God, and now ar reputed as one of (the) most treafonabill traytouris 3at euer liued; who for the pleafoure of that fathir of traytouris, the Secretare, left (3ea, betrayed) the Regent that promoted thé; and now is bruite to fell the castle for tuo thousand crownes and for the pryorie of Sanct Androis, to be gevin to thé and thynne in few! Judas joyed nocht long the pryce of innocent blood!

The English rebellis were secreitlie receaued in Edinburgh, nochtwithstanding the complement and admonitioun of the precharis.

The declaratioun of the queine of Englandis mynd, concerning the sending of men of warre towardis the Borderis of Scottisland, was published and prented in Edinburgh; the copie whairof is this:—

“The queines Maieftie dowed not bot it is notorious to all perfones of vnderftanding, both in England and Scottifland, in what fort certane of hir rebellious fubjectis that laitlie fled into Scotland, are thair not only menteaned and keipit, but fo wickedlie, to the difhonour of God, favoured in the continowance of thair rebellious interpryfes, as fince thair entrie into that realme, by the fuccourfe of the outlawes, theivis, and difordered rebellious perfones living vpon the fronteris of Scotland (with whome and fome vtheris of that realme it is kuawin that they had former intelligence to begin and perfecute there rebellione), they haue boldened to enter, and, rebelliouslie againft the law of nature, to invaid fyndrie partes of England, being thair natiue cuntrie; and that fo cruellie with fyre and fworde, as no conjured and mortall enemeis culd haue done more. Since which tyme alfo, hir maieftie moir plainelic vnderftandit, that althocht a grit pairt of the ancient nobilitie and ftates of Scotland, who haue of lang tyme, lyk naturall goudfatheris and memberis of thair native cuntrie, nurifed peace and concord betuixt both the realmes; and at this prefent feme defyrous, with all there poweris, to conferve the fame, there natiue cuntrie, in commone peace amonges thaimfeluis; zit thair are nocht able presentlie, according to iuftice and the guid ordore of the treatife, fpeidilie to repres and ftay the faid outlawes and difordered perfones vpon the Bordouris from open menteanence of the faidis Englis rebellis, and from the invafionne of England. For that fince the lamentable death and horrible murther of the lait Regent (during whofe lyfe that realme of Scotland was frie from a multitud of calamiteis now incident thairto, fpeciallic from the brecking of commone peace), it is feine that certane vther perfones within the body of the faid realme, of no meane calling, taking thair commoditie be the murther of the faid Regent, and, as it feameth, vnnaturally inuying the continowance of commone peace betuixt the tuo nationes, and being infected with privat ambitionis and vnquyet humouris, doe flirre vp, with all thair induftreis, certane factionis of grit troubles in the bowelis of thair countreis, and thairby do give comfort, not onlie to Englis rebellis, but alfo the Scottis outlawes, theivis, and difordered perfones, which are no fmall number, to continow in thair wickednes and diforderis, alfwell againft thair awin natiue cuntry as againft the fubjectis of England.



“Heirvpoun, hir maieftie hes some dowbt that those authoris, menteaneris, and fteireris of these wicked interpryfes, being fo manifest aganis the law of God and nature, will nocht fpair, by thair feditious, forged, and colorable engyne of craft and malice, to fclander and falſlie repoirt hir maieſties intent at this tyme, in leaving and ſending of certane hir forces to hir Borderis, for defence of the ſame from ony further invaſioun; and thairwith to perſew, according to juſtice, hir rebellious ſubjectis, and, according to the laws of armes, the invaders of hir realme. And thairfoir, thocht hir maieftie can weill imagine, but ſuch of the ſteat of that realme as be wife, noble, and godlie, and haue ane earneſt deſyre to conferue commoun peace, both amonges thaimſelfis and with her maieftie, will not vtherways judge heir of then in former tyme, ſcho hath gevin juſt cauſe to be thanked and praifed immortalie, when with hir armie, certane zeiris paſt, being entered into the hart and principall townes, portis, and ſtreth of that realme, it is manifeſt to the world that ſcho never focht nor coveted ony particular intereſt in that realme for hir ſelf, as ſhoe eaſilie might; but, to hir grit charges, delyuered and made frie that realme and natione from the yocke of forane forces, whairwith the ſame was than oppreſſed, as the whole natione than did lament; a princelie act, worthis of a faithfull memorie of all and guid naturall people of that realme to be left to thair poſteritie to behold. ¶ It becauſe the ſimpill multitude, which are commounlie eaſilie ſeduced by the craftier ſort, having pretence of ſome rule, ſhuld nocht ony wayis feare ewill or harme to follow to the goud people of the cuntrie, or to the publiſt ſtate of that crowne, by the armie of hir maieftie now to be conducted towardis that realme, hir maieftie hath thocht meit to publiſhe to all maner of perſounes hir intentione and plaine meaning heirin. And thairfoir hir maieftie, being by dewtie, which ſhoe beireth to almychtie God, charged to ſupreſ all rebelliones reaſed vp againſt God and hir realme, and to perſew the ſame rebellis, and alſo to defend hir awin guid ſubjectis againſt invaſiounes of theives, outlawes, enemeis, and peace brekaris, doeth and in the word of a prince aſſuire all maner of perſounes, that hir intentione and certane meaning is to vſe and treate all the ſubjectis of Scotland als louinglie and peaceable as hir awin, excepting onlie ſuch notorious outlawes, theivis,

enemeis, and peace brekaris, as haue laitlie with her rebellis invadit and spoilet hir realme, and such vtheris of that natioune as haue and shall support hir rebellis, contrarie to the treatise betuix both the realmes; against which sort of disordered persones, according to the lawes of armes (except sufficient and reasonable amends shall be made), hir maiestie intendeth to use hir forces now levied, and such farther poweris as shoue shall haue occasion newlie to leuie; and thairfor, hir maiestie had gevin frait order and charge to hir rycht trustie and weilbeloued counsellor the erle of Suffex, hir lieutenant of the north parties of hir realme, and captaine general to hir said armie, that he schaw (shall), be all meanis possible, use all and euerie one the good subiectis of Scotland, of euerie degree, that haue or shall keip peace with hir maiestie and her subiectis, in lyk favorable sort to all purposes, and thaim, als need shall require, shall also defend as he fall or may doe hir awin naturall good subiectis; for so is hir maiesties resolute intentione and good meaning to keip peace with that crowne and realme of Scotland, and rather to nureise and preferue inward concord amongis all the states thairof, then to giue caus or nourishing to ony inward diuision, how so euer the malice of some feditious and disorderd corrupt memberis of that realme shall vtherways misjudge and misreport, or craftily shall procure by vtheris to be misreported; who indeid, in this their slanderous inventiones, are to be iustlie suspected to the whole natione, that for thair onlie privat ambitione of rule and gaine, they will, vpon pretences without caus, labour to bring vnto the same such strangeris, with forces of euerie fortis, as may schortlie hafard the whole flait there, and mak thairof a pray, and reduce that auncient crowne and natione into a subiectioun, and perpetuall, miserable, and tributarie seruitude.

“Whair of hir maiestie can nocht but gif this maner of admonitione to that whole natione, for the naturall loue shoue beireth to that realme, being to hir crowne and dominions so neir a nychtbore, by situatione, blood, naturall language, and vther conjunctiones mete for amitie, as none is so lyke againe in Christendome, nor no vther kingdome to that realme more mete and necessarie to be reteined in loue, concord, and amitie, then ar hir maiesties realmes and dominions; as is most notoriousslie knowin to the whole world. Gewin at hir maiesties Honour of Hamptoun Court, the 10 day

of Apryle 1570, in the twelfth zeir of her heines reigne. God faue the Queine!"

The generalitie of this difpleafed fome faythfull; and zit the delara-tioune was nothing pleafing to the Linlythgow lordis, nor zit to the captane; for Lethingtoun and he were the cauferis that Balcleuch and Pher-niherft raid in England, and brake the Borderis, and fo raifed the firft troubles, clocke it now as thai pleafe.

Vpon twyfday the 18 of Aprile there was parliamenting (Frenche ma-neris requyre Frenche termes!) or conference appointedt, betwix the Lyn-lythgow lordis, and fic as than ftoud be the kingis authoritie at Dalkethe; the end whair of is feared to be, that all fhall goe to the devill together. Tyme will try, bot the fingis are evill: ffor the captane, fetting at nocht the force of fic as pretendit to fubuert the kingis authoritie, faid, "I fall byde with him as long as ony a man;" which imported that in a publiēt defectiōne, it was na fchame to him to follow the reft. And zit heirin he is prouen a manifft liare; for men byde be the kingis authoritie, al-thought he declare him felf a manifft traytore againft the king, and a murtherer of his Regent, be joyning with the Hammiltone. The lyke fentence he pronounced of befor; and thairfoir it is the more fufpitiōus. Being admonifhed that he fould fchaw him felf more comfortable to the Regent then he did, he anfuerit, "I man be a freind to my freindis, and zit I falbe true to him fo lang as he levis." This claus (fa lang as he levis) hes caufed men to vnderftand that he knew moir than commone fimple men vnderftoude; as, alace! fchortlie followed after, which was his murther. After which tyme all men hes feine in him oblivione of benefites received; concurrance with the kingis enemeis. For approba-tiōne whair of, he firft fet at libertie the lord Seatoun, at devotiōne of the Secretare; nixt the lord Hereife, vnder cullour of his fone to be impled-git for him; who with the fones of the fcherefe of Aire, and fir James Hammiltoune, were delyuered vpoun weddinsday, the 19 of Aprile: and the thurifday thairafter was the duck broght furth of the caftle, and made his harrange to the great god, the Secretare, befor whome he powred

furthe ather his complent, or els his prayeris, from thrie efter noune till sex; and after supper went and lay in Mr Dauid Borthuickis.

That nycht departed the erle Athole, with Tillibairne; vpon the nixt day followed the erle Argyle, lord Hereis, and Boyd; and so remained Huntlie, and his factiõne, not weill accompaniet, but in esperance of men of weir to be raifed.

In this meane tyme, the Englis armie (few in number) entered in Scotland, and invadit Pherniherst and Balcleuche, with thair affittaris; the particuler doings will efter be knawin.

Vpon fattirday, the 22 of Aprile, the lord Seatoune affembled all his forces at the place of Halyrudhoufe; and made no small brage, that he wold enter in the towne of Edinburgh and fryke his drume, in despote of all the cairles. He had in his cumpanie the ladie Northumberland. Whither he convoyed hir, when we know we shall write. That same nycht the Hammiltounes traytoris, and vtheris, joynd with him, whome the captane, then proveift of the toune, caufed to be receaued, nochtwithstanding his former vowes; whair thai remaine, this mononday, with bragis that all is thairis. Lat men now judge whither the captane of the castle be chaunged or nocht!

Vpoun fryday, 29 (28) of Aprile, the Hammiltoune lordis departed from Edinburgh to Linlythgow, to befett the way to Marre and Glencairne, as thai did; bot zit the matter efcaped without bloud.

Vpon fettirday, the 30 (29) of Aprile, 1570, the castell of Home was taken be the Englis armie, after a schort, bot a sharpe batterie.

The kingis freindis returned to Edinburgh. The lord Home, as a man desperat, come to feike comfort of his grit god the Secretar, and was receaved in the castle, whair they both remaine presentlie. The castell denyed comfort to the lordis affembled in the kingis name. Lat men iudge quhat fidelitie restis behind! Be the Secretareis practeis, conference was craved of the lordis that acknawledged the kingis authoritie, be the vther partie. Travelleris for that purpose were the Superintendent of Lowthiane, and Maister Dauid Lindfay: What effect it fall take, tyme will

declare. The judgment of the wryter is, that thair is no treuth meant, but onlie drift of tyme till that the quenis factiōne may assemble new forces: gea, the best that euer the Secretar and his factiōne merit or meinis is, to call the kingis authoritie in doubt, gea to call thingis in doubt that euer haue bene done during his rigne; ffor a Stewart of the hous of Lennox, Argyle, Huntlie, Lethingtoun, and vtheris, can not abyde, for caufes weill aneughe knowing, althocht smored by unjuft power for a tyme. Arife, O Lord, and be a rychteous judge! Amen.

The quenis factiōne, to wit, the Hammiltounes, Argyle, Huntlie, Boyd, Crawford, Ogilvie, and fir James Balfour, remained at Linlythgow; and thair, efter diverse confultatiōnes, vnderstanding that the Englis armie was retired furth of Scottis boundis, tuik baldnes vpon thaim, be oppin proclamatiōne, to fet vp the authoritie of that murtherer and knawin adulteres called the queine; and fo all farther conference betwixt the tua parteis ceafed: ffor the lordis that susteined the kingis querrell anfuerit, in few wordis, that thai could haue no farther commouning with oppin and periured traytouris, as thai wer everie ane, the ducke only excepted, who had nocht sworne obedience to the king. [Tak in heir the Proclamatiōne made be the quenis lordis, which I can nocht get.]

Efter the publicatiōne of thair treasonabill proclamatiōne, the quenis factiōne cravit of the capitane of the castle (who as said is was than proceift of Edinburgh), that the toun mycht be patent vnto thame, according to his promeis befoir thair departing. The mater come in questiōne befoir the counfall. The alleged promeis was red, the tenour whairof followes:—" We, bailies, counfall, and deacones, prayes your lordschip, ffor eschewing of inconveniētis appeiring, to trawell with the lordis of the nobilitie presentlie beand in this toun, to remoue thame felues for some certane space; and when it fall pleis thame to returne againe, the toun falbe patent to thame and the whole nobilitie of this realme; to whom our service falbe reddie, in commone, and be partie to neather of thame, but be newtrale, according to our dewtie."

Befoir we trawel forder in this head, we man vnderstand that the grant of this promeis was fyne falsset, ffor the quenis lordis perceiving thair companies to grow thin, and heiring a brute that the lordis of the kingis

partie were assembled, wald gladlie haue bene honestly off the toune; and while mony schiftis wer deuyfed, this last was found out, to wit, that bailies, counfall, and communitie, shuld requeist the proveist, and that the proveist shuld requeist the lordis to depart for quyettes of the toune. The fatheris of this inventioun wer the Secretar, the proveist him self, and fir James Balfour. The toun being vrged and burdened with the foirfaid promise, mony denyed that ony sic promise, or git requeist, was maid be thame, and thairfoir affirmed that they were nocht bound to ony sic condition. Otheris, that wer moir secreit in that matter, grantit that sic talking was (and that to faue the lordis honestie, who durst not byde in the toun for feir), but na sic promise as they alleged. The thrid fort, who wer the stoutest and the wisest, plainelie said, that albeit sic promise had bene made, yit was nocht the toune bownd to the observatioune thairof; becaus that quhan it was maid they understoud thame to be faithfull subjectes to the kingis maiestie; but now it is evidentlie knowen, be thair oppin proclamatiounes, that they haue maid a tresonabill revolt, erecting the quenis authoritie, which in publict, lawfull, and solemnpned parliament, was annulled, and yit to this tyme was neuer by ony lauchfull ordour repaired nor restored; and thairfoir, feing that be all just lawes they haue committed treason, in revolting from that authoritie which be thair solemnpned oathis anes thai avowed, it is against all reasoné that thai should receive thame in thair toune, which professes the kingis authoritie. This answer gewin, the capten stormed.

But schort after, to wit, vpon fettirday the 13 of Maij 1570, the English armie arryved at Edinburgh, and the erle of Lennox in thair companie; which swaged the furrat of men for a tyme, albeit thair hartis were nothing content.

The Hammiltounes and thair complices, in this meine tyme, be the tresonabill commoning of the lord Fleming, made a suddan and secreit assault to tak the castle of Glasgow. They wan the close, entered in the grit hall and fet fyre in it, and were repulsd be verie strokes. The certane number of the slaine and woundit was nocht certainelie knowin to the wrytar, and thairfoir wald affirme nothing vncertaine. The first word

that come to Edinburgh was that all Myntois men, within the castle, and his sonnes, were flaine; whairat a man (of whome sometimes better hope was had) in grit disdaine proclaimed, "Let thame fast now!" (at this tyme the fast was in Edinburgh); "Lat thame fast now! for they haue gottin a bloudie sacrifice!" But yit the treuth declaired that he was but a dispitfull lyer. Gif ony inquiry for the man, he is called Mr Dauid Borthuike, a Hammiltoun fra the hart.

Vpon twyfday the 16 of Maij, the Englis armie, foutmen, with thair troupes of horsmen, departed from Edinburgh towardis Glasgaw; but vpoun aduerteisment of thair cuming, the Hammiltounes dissolued the seige and left thair fowe, prepared for vndermynding, eating draff behind thame. So spake a merie man that saw the sport. What farder enswes, tyme will try: But the wrytar fearsis that Mr Wroth, secretar to the erle of Suffex, be ouer familiar with Secretare Lethingtoun; and alsomuch of Mr Dreurie, leuetennent to his armie.

Befoir the Englis armie touke journey towardis Glasgaw, the Secretar practifed what he culd say to thame. And first he spargd a brute, that the Englis armie was onlie come to searche the queine of Englandis rebellis, and wold haue nothing to doe with ony vther actioun in Scotland. When that inuentione wold not ferue, he travelled with sir William Drewrie (then leuetennent of the armie), that he should stay all farder journey, affirming that all the lordis of the kingis factioun (so pleased his wisdome to terme honest men then him self) war nocht abill to comfort him with tuo hundreth horse (little less wrote the captane of the castell to Mr Randoph to Berwicke). This lycht estimatioun of thair forces moved the hartis of the kingis lordis, and made thame eirnest to crave that thair forces might be sene. The tyme wes verie schort, and zit befor thair passed Linlithgow, the erle Mortone, alane, excedit that number dowble. While that they tareit certane dayis at Glasgaw, the erles of Lennox, Glencairne, and Semple, maid moister of thair folkis, in presence of the lieuetennent of the Englis armie; and wer fund that passed vnder battell foure thousand able men, foute and horse, who offered to remaine with thame, and be at commande so long as it pleased thaim to remaine; and so was the Secretar ones declaired a liare and a detractar of noble men. God confound his malitious and polyticke heid!

While that consultatioune was had with what order punishment shuld proceed againt the kingis maiesties rebellis, and againt such as wer suspected guiltie of the first and last murther, it was concluded that no executioun of ony rigore shuld be vsed befor that the offenderis fould reffuis meafoure; and so wer these heidis proponed and published to all men, as follows:—

“In the first, that thai vnderly the law for murther, airt and pairte thairof, alswell committed againt Henrie, king of Scottis, vpoun the tent day of Februar, anno 1566, as vpoun vmquhile my lord Regentis grace, vpoun the 23 of Januare, 1569 yeiris, at sic tyme and place as thai shalbe called to.

“Secondlie, that sic perfones as hath beine from our fouerane lordis obediencie, and tane armes againt his maiestie and his auētoritie, in tymes bygane, submit thamefelues to vnderly sic ordour thairfor as the lordis of the kingis maiesties fecereit counfall fall appoint. And for thair obediencie in tyme cuming, and furthfetting of his hienes auētoritie and service, shall give sic securitie as the saidis lordis fall thinke expedient.

“Thridlie, that thei observe the peace betuixt the realmes of England and Scotland in tyme cuming; and gif ony of thame hes alreddie brocken the samyn, be refetting, fortefeing, or menteaning ony of the queenis maiesties of Englandis rebellis, contrair to the treatise, that the pledges to be enterit be thame shalbe anffuerable for fulfilling of sic ordour as shalbe agried vpoun be the queines maiestie, her counfall and officiaris, on that ane pairt, and Robert, commendatour of Dunfermeling, ambassadoure for the kingis maiestie of Scotland, now in England, on that vther pairt.

“Last, for observatioune of all and fundrie the premisses aboue writtin, thay fall ather enter thaim felues presentlie, or sic vtheris as the saidis lordis fall thinke goude, as pledges, to be put in sic places as thai fall thinke necessar. And in the meanetyme, thai fall subscriyve a band to the kingis maiestie, renunceand all vther bandis and subscripiounes maid to quhatfoeuer persone or perfones, hurtfull or prejudiciall to the king our fouerane lord, his estait and nobilitie.”

*The Names of them that hes subscriyved the Band:*

Thomas Inglis of Mordochiston	Mr James Hammiltoun of Peill
Robert Hammiltoun of Muirhoufe	Johne Stevinfoun of that ilk



Robert Dazell of that ilk	Thomas Fowles of Brownfyde
Mungo Lokhart of Gleghorne	James Baillie, zounger of Carfin
Gavin Lokhart of Kirkwood	James Weir of Blakwoud
Andro Hammiltoun of Letham	Ernocke
Williame Levingftoun of Jerrefwood	Williame Kneland of that ilk
The Laird of Belftane	Alexander Dalzell of Kippie.

Space granted to sic as wold offer obedience. It was concludet that the obstinate Hammiltounes, traytouris to the king, and suspected guiltie of both murtheris, shuld be punisht in thair substane, and be demolishing of thair places, becaus thair perones could nocht be apprehendit; which wes put in executioun, as the water of Clyde will witnes, moa zeiris than one. Hamiltoun castle wes kept stoutlie in the begining, with mony bragging wordis, be Arthuire of Myrrhetoun; but how sone he felt the strength of the culuering battred, without ony vther peices of batterie, he randered the hous, vpon sic conditiones as was grantit to him, by sir William Drewrie, knycht, lievetennent of the armie; which conditiones the said sir William complains that he performed not. The castle and the palace of Hammiltoun spoiled and brunt, the armie repared towardis Glasgow, and so to Edinburgh.

The same day of thair returning, the lord Semple was taken in a hous of his awin dochteris; whither be negligence, practife, or trefone, I suffer vtheris to dispute; but he was carried to Draffan, whair he remained certane dayes, and after was convoyed to Argyle be the lord Boyde, whom God fall recompence according to his wicked mynd and workis!

Befoir the armie returned to Edinburgh, the bird in the caige touke his flight from the castell of Edinburgh, and lyched at lenth in the Blair of Athole, whair he remayneth, practeifing his owld craft, till the moneth of August. Confound him, Lord, and his malicious mynd!

Efter that the Englis armie had repofeth the self certane dayes at Edinburgh, they returned to Berwicke, without ony grit lose.

Conclusioun was after taken of the electioun of a Regent. But first it was thocht expedient to know the queine of Englandis pleafoure and mynd. The erle of Lennox and the kingis lordis past to Stirling, and

from thence directed thair letteris to England, and appoynted a new conventiome to begin in Edinburgh the 10 of Julij nixt, for finale electiounes of a Regent. In the midd tyme, the queine of Englandis lettres were directed to the erle Suffex to be fend to Scotland, the trew copie whairof follows:—

“ELIZABETH R.—Rycht trustie and ryght weilbeloued cofigne, we greit 3ou weil. This day we haue refauct your lettres of the 28 of the last moneth, with all vther lettres sent from Scotland, and mentionat in 3our lettres; whairvnto anfuere is defyred to be givin befor the tent of this moneth, which is a verie short tyme, the wechtines of the materis and the distances of the places considered. Neuertheles we haue, as the sehortnes of tyme could fuffer it, resolued to give this anfuere following, which we will that 3ow, by warrant heirof, shall caus to be geuin in our name to the erle of Lennox, and the rest of the noble men conuened with him.

“Whair it is by thame in thair lettres and wrytingis alledged, that for laike of our resolute anfuere concerning the establisshing of the regiment of the realme vnder thair 3oung king, grit inconvenientis haue hapened, and thairfoir thai haue deferrit now, at thair last conventiounes, to decerning of the same, who fall haue the place of governour vntill the 21 [10?] of this moneth, befor which tyme thai requyre to haue our advyse in quhat persone or persones the government of that realme shalbe establisshed. We accept verie thankfullie the guidwill and reputatiounes thai haue of us, in 3eilding so franklie to requyre and follow our aduise, in ane matter that tuiche the staite of the king, thair felues, and realme, so neir; whairin, as we perceave, that by our former forbearing to intermidle thairin, they haue taken some difecomfort, as thocht we wold nocht haue regarde to thair state and suretie; so, on the other part, they of their wifdomes ought to thinke that it myght be by the whole world ewill interpreite in us to appoynt them a forme of government, or a governour, by name; for that howsoeuer we wold meane weil, gif we should do so, git it culd nocht be without some jelosie or scrupill in the headis of the estaitis, nobilitie, and communitie of that realme, that the government thairof shuld be by me specialie named and ordained. So as finding difficultie on both partis, and git mislyking most that thai should take ony difecomfort by our forebearing to sehaw our mynd thairin, we haue thocht in this fort for to pro-

ceid. Considdering with our selues, now, how that realme had beine a gude space of tyme reuled in the name of thair king, and by reffone of the bafe aige governed heirtofoir be a verie cairfull and honorabill perfone, the erle of Murray, vntil that, be a mischeivous perfone and pernicious exmple, he was murdered; whairby grit disorder and confusioone of necessitie had and will more follow, gif determinatioune be not made of some other speciall perfone or perfones to take the chaarge, as governour or superiour reuler, speciallie for administratioun of the law and justice. We can not bot verie weill allow the defyre that these lordis haue, to haue some speciall governour to be chofen. And thairfore, being weill affiured that thair own vnderstanding of all vther is best to consider of the fstate of that realme, and to decerne of the habilities and qualiteis of that realme, and everie perfone meit and capable for such a charge, we shall better satisfie our selues till allow of ony whome thai, be thair commoun consent, shall first chouse and appoynt to that purpose, then of ony to be by us afore hand vncertanelie named: And that becaus thai fall perceave that we haue cair of the perfone of thair king, who, be neirnes of bloud and in respect of his so young geiris, aucht to be verie tender and deir to us, we fall nocht hyde our opinione from thame; but gif thai shall all accord to name his grandfather, our cowfigne, the erle of Lennox, to be the governour alone, or joyntlie with vtheris, whome we heir to be in the meanetyne, be thair commoun consent, appointed leivetennent generall, reafone moveth us to think, that nane can be chofen in that whole realme, that fall more defyre the preservatioune of the king, and be moir meit to haue the gouvernement, for his safetie, being nixt to him in bloud of ony noblman of that realme, or elis whaire. And zit, heirby we doe nocht meine to prescryve to thame this chose, except thai fall of thaim selues full and frielie allow thairof. Furthermoir, we wald haue thame weill affiured, that whofoeuer (whatfoever?) reportis or devyfis are or falbe spred or invented, that we haue alreddie yeildit, or mynd to yeild, to altar the fstate of the king or gouvernement of that realme, the same are without just cause or grant (grund) by us giving; for as we have alreddie aduertifed thame, that thought we have yeildit to heir (which in honour we could nocht refus) what the queine of Scottis, or hir pairt, fall fay and offer,

nocht only for hir awin affurance, but for the wealth of that realme; zit not knowing quhat the fame wilbe that shall so be offered, we meane not to brack the order of law and justice, by aduanceing her cause or prejudgene hir contrarie, befor we fall deliberatlie and affuiredlie sie, vpon the heiring of the whole, some place necessarlie and just cause so to doe. And thairfoir, finding that realme rewleth by a kyng, and the fame affirmed be lawis of that realme, and thairfoir investit be coronatioune, and other solemniteis vsit and requisite, and generalie so receavit be the whole estaites, we meane not, be yeilding to heir the complentis or informatiounes of the queine against her sone, to doe ony act whairby to make conclusioun of gouernementis; but as we haue fund it, so to suffer the fame to continow; zea, not to suffer it to be altered be ony meanes that we may impesche, as to our honour it doeth belong, and as by our laite actiounes hath manifestlie apeired, vntill by some justice and cleir caus we shall be directlie induced vtherways to declair our opinioun. And this we wold haue thame to know to be our determinatioune and courteousie that we meane to hold, whairin we trust thai, for thair king, may sie how plainlie and honorablie we meane to proceed, and how litill caus thai haue to doubt of us, whatsoeuer to the contrarie thai haue or fall heare. And on the vther pairt, we pray thame of thair wisdomes to thinke how vn-honorabill and contrair to all humane order it wer for us, when the quein of Scotland dois so monie ways requyre to heire hir caus, and doeth offer to be ordered be us in the fame, alfwieill for materis betwixt our selues and hir, as betwixt hir self and hir sone, and his partie of that realme; against which offeris, no reffone could move us to refuse to give eare that we shuld afoir hand opinly and derectlie, before hir causes be hard and considered, as it wer gif a judgment or sentence, ather for our selues, or for thame whome shoe maketh to be hir contrareis. Finallie, ze fal admoneis thame that thai doe not, by misconceiving of our guid meaning towardis thame, or by indirect assertions of thair aduersareis, groundit vpon vntreuthis, hinder or waiken thair owin cause, in such fort as our guid meaning towardis thame fall not tak such effect towardis thame as thai fall desyre, or thame selues haue neid off.

“All this our ansuer ze fall caus to be geuin thame, and let thame know,

that for the shortnes of tyme, this beand the end of the secund day of this moneth, we nather could mak ony longer declaratioun of our mynd, nor zit write ony feuerall letteris to thame, as, give tyme mycht haue ferued, we wold haue done. The 2 of Julij 1570."

This letter, publiētlie redde, was dyverfelie interpreted. The kingis freindis thocht the letter freindlie and plaine aneugh; vtheris compleaneth vpoun some conditionall speaking, tending to this end, that that cruel murtherer of her owin husband and most vile adulteres mycht be hard, and, vpoun conditiones, receaved in this realme agane. In end it wes concluded, that no suspitione fould be taken of the quenis maiestie of England, nor zit of hir wryting, vnto such tyme as farder danger apeired.

And so, with commoune suffrage, the erle of Lennox was elected Regent. And becaus that the quenis factiōne, with the murthereris of king Harie, and of the kingis regent, James Stewart, had erectit hir vsurpeth and tyrannicall authoritie, and had appoyntit a parliament to be haldin at Linlythgow the 7 of August nixt, the Regent and his counfall made strait proclamatiōne that all faithfull subjeētis to the king fould keip the said day and place, for gainestanding of sic enormiteis. The provisiōne was commandit to be 20 dayis victuall. Mony noble and gentle men prevented the day, and so was duck Hammiltoun, Huntlie, lievetennent, and all thair confederatis, difappointed of that parliament: The peremptore day whair of being expyred, conclusiōne was taken to visite the north, becaus in Brichen had beine ther conventiōne; and thair wer left some fuddartis with thair captanes, Mvre, Couttis and Weymis. The erle Huntlie, with his valiant warriouris, Crawford, Ogilvie, and fir James Balfoure, made faythfull promeis (gif faithles men can promeis ony thing faithfully), that within certane dayis they shuld relcive thair captanes and shuldeartis. The pure men and thair captanes keipit the dayis apoyntit and beyonde; but thair gat no comfort, except ane bill, invented be fir James Balfour, and convoyed as fra the erle of Huntlie to the duccke, the tennour whair of follows:—

*Huntlies bill to the Duce.*

“ Pleis your lordschip, be aduerteifed, according as was convenit

amonges us, that gif it wer possible I shuld draw the aduerfare partie in thir bowndis, to the effect the purpofe ze know mycht be performed with gritter ease, in thair absence from these pairtis. Now it is succedit fo that thai ar come in thir bowndis, swa that easlie the purpofe may be performed, which your lordschip knowis is peremptour, and sic as thair-efir we fall neuer haue pingill in this caus (*gif the bill be trew, this could be nothing but the apprehensione and destructioun of the kingis persone*). Your lordschip knowis your moyen is fuire aneughe, and will nocht fail you; and in absence of thair forces, althoucht at the first it shuld nocht succed, zit thair can be no releive against you. I fall nocht fail to hald thame doand in this cuntrie, ze a gif it wer to giv thame battell; which howfoeuer it fall, ze a neid nocht to take cair, fo the peremptore be weill handled. Your lordschip is wyse aneughe, and can take tyme. I feir no thing but thair suddaine retreat. Gif thai pas Dundie or Perth, I fall haue some moyen in thair tailles, that thai fall nocht find so suddane a passage but thai salbe taried a seafone. Diligence and celeritie is most requisite thairin; for thairin consistes all enterpryse, and it will stand our aduerfareis on the heid of thair play. My lord Hereis and Lochinvar haue written to me thai fall nocht fail the tyme appoynted; howfoeuer, they haue given out to the cuntrey that thai wilbe slaw, leif our enemies suspect. Be circumspect and ware that the enterpryse be nocht disclofed; and give it be taken in thair absence, ze will haue small difficultie. The man in the craig will keipe his promeis; and thai be-fouth will doe thair pairt (Pharnihersit and Balcleughe). Swa wishing you to haue guid succes, I committ your lordschip to the protectioun of God. Off Aberdeine the 7 of August, 1570.

(*Sic subscribitur*) "HUNTLIE."

"*Postscriptum*.—Your lordship wilbe foirseine be ane vther way that I haue. This with my awin hand."

*Ane Answer to the slanderous misreport of thame that be seditious, craftie, and falsje narratioun, laboris to deface the Kingis authoritie, and the establisng of his Regent.*

JAMES, be the grace of God king of Scottis, to our lounis, Johne Calder,

Bute, persevante, messengers, our schereffis in that pairt, coniunctly and feuerallie, speciallie constitute, greating. Forasmuche as our darrest guidfchire, Mathow, erle of Lennox, lord Darnelie, our lauchfull tutor and regent to us, our realme and leiges, with the lordis of our secreit counfall, vnderstanding that amonges mony vther craftie, subtil, and indirect practises vsed be George, erle of Huntlie, and his adherentis and complices, to cover thair lait tresonabill rebellious and shamefull defectione fra our obedience and autoritie, which, be othe and subscriptione, the said erle avowed and promised to profes during his lyfe, he hes at last, by diverse his missive lettres, and vtheris wayis, spoken, written, and manifested to the world, that the present regiment is established in the persone of sic a ane as hes sworn and professit his obedience to a forane prince; and that be his conduct, the true subjectis (as the said erle calles thaim) could be troubled, without remedie be put thairto. And because the same feditious, craftie, and fals narratioun, being suffered and nocht ansuerit, could peradventure obtene place and credeite in the hartis of monie: Thairfoir, our derrest guidfchire, with aduise of our lordis of secreit counfall, haue thocht expedient, tymously, to declair and schaw to the world how vaine and feingzeit or such forged lies and vntreuthis, to the end that, in the default of the sinceir and naiked veritie, men fall not be led in erre. For as it is certane that our said darrest guidfchire and regent is a Scottisman, borne of ane ancient and noble hous, and of the royall bloud and surname, lyk as his said hous hes continowit langer and of greiter antiquitie at the state of ane erldome nor the spotted houses of thame that spreidis thir shameful lies and slanderis aganis him; swa was he neuer sworne subject to ony prince in the earth, nor neuer was preafet nor burdened to make faith nor promis, prejudiciall to his alledgance ought to the king and crowne of Scotland; bot euer stoud in assured hope and esperance, with Godis help, to recouer his owin rowme, and to come againe to his natiue cuntrie, as he did indeid, how sounne God had put end to the furie and crueltie of thame that rewled in the minoritie of the quein, our darrest mother, and than obtinet a lawfull and honorabill restitutione of the pretendit and partiall proces of foirfaltour led aganis him be his ancient vnfreindis, the tyme of thair rule: To the which the said erle of

Huntlie voted, whais juft foirfaltour can nocht be fo honeftlie vpyit away in the confciences of men, confiddering the wicked and deteftable conditione be the which he obteineth his reftitutioune, as to be a pertinere of the horrible murther of the king our darreft father, a procureare of the pretendit devorce of the faid erles owin fifter, and a confenter to the vnlauchfull mariage of the quein, our mother, with Bothuell, the hufband of ane vther, and ane cheife executer of the murther of the king, her owin hufband, then recentlie perpetrated. Ineid, it is nocht to be mervellit that sic as ar in danger of the law for the murther of the king, our darreft father, delyte nather to fie vs ring and leive to punis and reveng the faid murther, nor git our faid guidfchire and lawfull tutour to have the regimment of our realme during our minoritie; and fwa the les count is to be taken quhatfoeuer thair fall malitiouflic and vntreulie fpeike and write in this behalf heirefter, fen the fame can not make our rycheous quarrell odious or contemptable to ony chriftiane men nor guid Scottifmen, nor defaue nor difhonoure our faid darreft guidfchire and regent, in ony fort. Oure will is heirfoir, and we ftraitlie charge you, and commandis that, incontinent, thir our letteris fene, ge pas to the mercate croces of all our borrowes of our realme, and vtheris places neidfull, and thair, be oppin proclamatioune, in our name and auctoritie, make publicatioune of the premisses to all and fundrie our leiges, fa that nane pretend ignorance of the fame; as ge will anfuer therevpon: The which to doe we commit to you, coniunctlie and feurallie, our full power, be thir our lettres, delyvering thame to you dewlie execute and endorfate agane to the berare. Gevin vnder our fignet, at Linlythgow, the fyft day of Auguft, and of our reigne the feird yeir, 1570.—God fave the king.

Emprinted at Edinburgh be Robert Lecprivicke, 1570.

Albeit that this former bill was craftelie devyfed (was it be the heid of wit, or be fir James Balfoure?) to terrifie the Regent that he fould not remaine to trouble thairis at Bricheine; git it ferued not, ffor fill lay the campe, quhill captane Couttis and Mvre, and threttie other fuddartis, daunced thair fill in cordis, and thairin endit thair miferable lyses. Captane Weymis (becaus his fault was alledgit to be the firft) efcaped for



money. He blotted the captane of the castle, as the principall perfwader of him to that rebellious, quhair of thair laikis no probability: for the said captane set at friedom shuldieris that were apprehendit as suspect going to that enterpryse, bot thair were hanging for thair full wages: And sa fair all the company!

In Brichein, at that tyme, wer made tuo proclamatiounes; the one forbidding all men to resson of the kingis authoritie, vnder the paine of death; the vther answering to Huntlie and his calumneis, who had accused the Regent to haue bene ane sworne Englishman, which he denyed: and so gave to Huntlie not a whisped lie, but a lie proclaimed be fownd of trumpet.

The Regent past to the castell of Donoun, which was randered with-out slaughter. That fals and feble traitore, St Colme, was that tyme in the castell of Edinburgh. He is the shame of all Stewartis, and vn-worthie to be reckned amongis men, for that dowbill treason that he committed againt that pure man, the Regent James Stewart.

In this meane tyme thair come from Flanderis a litill pincke, and in it tuo gentlemen, with Mr Johne Hammiltoun, called the skirmeisher, fra duck de Alva. The heidis of thair commissioun are not zit notifiit; but the bruite is that the lord Seatoun and some vtheris fould pas to Flanderis, and that duke de Alva shuld assist thame in rebellious againt the king. Lord confound thair maliceous myndis!

The erle of Suffex entered in Scottis bowndis at the West Border, the 22 of August; and remained in the contrie till the 28 of the same. And in that journey, he caiste downe the castellis of Annand, Howdome, Drum-freis, Carlaurocke, and the touris of Kowhill, Tinnell, and some vtheris that had mainteined the queine of Englandis rebellis. The great damage and wracke fell vpoun my lord Maxwell and his freindis. Madie, in our fisch mercate, fays the Lord Herreis, Mitchell Wyleis (Machia-vel's) lauchful succeffoure, did craftlie convoy the young lord in the myre; so that by England he and his bowndis myght be destroyed; bot the owld wylie foxe maid a way for him self. Bot hell abydis, a just pvnishment for all sic practifaris!

The great embassadouris foirfaidis, efter thai had remained certaine dayis, and be the meanes of the laird Adame, brother to the lord Huntlie, thay had tryed the deip of Muntrois heavine, and of certane vther places, thai returned to Flanderis. All the comfort that thai brocht to Hammiltoun, Huntlie, Argyle, and thair factiōne, wes, that gif thai wold erect the mefs, and publictlie menteane the Romane religione, thai fould nather laike men nor money, and that in the popes expensfis. This that famous knycht, sir James Balfour, wrote to his guid-father, the laird of Burlie.

To bring better tydingis, wes direct ane ambassadour of the feminine gener, the lady Northumberland, who had nocht feine hir husband all the tyme he remained in Lochlewin. With her wer joyned, to give her comfort in the shipe, the vice lord Seatoune; a meit matche, a Scottis cukcald and ane Inglish the messmunger! Who knaweth her better, judge quhat I fpair to speike.

About the same tyme that grit counfall of Athole held two or thrie dayes, wher heid of wit, called Michell Wylie, with his fore feit, was. Thair conclusiōne was nocht yit detected; this only excepted, that Mr Johne Movne, servand to the Regent, was apprehendit carying diverse packealdis to that murtherer of her husband, whome thai style queine, from the erle Athole, from Mitchell Wylie, Secretar Lethingtoun, from the auld lady Seatoun, and diverse vtheris. Thair is nothing hyd bot it falbe reveiled!

At this famous counfall of Balake wer the ducke, his two fones, the bischope of Sanct Androis, Mr Gavin Hammiltoun, abbot of Kylwynning, with that band for the Hammiltounes, Argyle, Huntlie, Athole, the Secretar, and sir James Balfour. The factiōnes wer not of ane mynd, for euerie man accuseth vther: which perceauet of the great god, the Secretar, he laid sic ane plecter to that wound of variance as he could for the tyme; exhorting thame to continwe constant in thair opinione till the last of September, and some dayis efter; and he, vpoun his credeit, promeisit to haue support of strangeris. At this assemble hardlie escaped the Hammiltounis, and thair factiōne; but the purpose was stayet by the erle of Athole. And so thai departed, vncertaine quhan thay fall meit againe.

About the end of August, come from France ane pynnafe first, and after ane shipe with [that] famous ambaffador Monsieur Viracke (of whome we hard befor), a notabill pyrate. With him he brocht some oranges, some reafins, sum bisqueat bread, some powder, some bullet; and so, of omnigaddarum, he brocht a maledictioun to furneis Dumbartoun.

About the middis of September, the erle of Suffex fend wrytingis to the quenis factioun, with mony protestatiounes of vpright dealing, bearing, in effect, that ther matteris stude in guid case. Whither these letteris wer begged, or frielie fend, tyme will declair: bot the godlie haue always suspected the dealing of that man. Efter this come letteris from Mr Randolphe, willing him to assure the kingis lordis from the quein, his maistres, that it behoved her, for the preservatioun of her awin estate, to enter in commoning with the Scottis queine, but promeisit to provyde sufficientlie for the preservatioun of the litill king. Lat thy prouidence, O Lord, watch ouer that innocent! ffor England we feare to be to us as Egypt was to Irael, a brocken reid in tyme of grittest neid; bot that will turne to thair owin destruktioun.

*The Confessione of Mr Johne Kello, minister of Spott; together with his earnest repentence maid vpoun the scaffald befor his suffering, the fourt day of October, 1570; and imprinted, at Edinburgh, be Robert Leckprivicke.*

To the reader.

Efter the executioun of Mr Johne Kello, minister of Spot (weilbeloued reader), my purpose was nocht to haue put in write the confessione of his horrible offence, whiche he maid vpoun the scaffald not long befor his suffering; and wald rather haue wished (for my awin part) the memorie thair of to haue bene buried, then, be ony manis industrie and labouris, fa wicked exemple continowed to the posteritie: ffor I was most assured that his godlie and vnfeaned repentence had so blotted fourth the memorie of his offence from the hartis of all sic as feiris God, that my pen culd serue nothing towardis thame but to ingraffe greater dolour and lamentatioun in thair hertis: And as for the wicked, I did easilie perceauae thair hartis so obstinatlie indured against the iudgementis of God, that howfoeuer I

write, the treuth shuld be expone be thame in contempt and mockage. Which thing albeit I was affuired of, zit did I neuer suspect that ony of the vngodly, and enemeis of the treuth, fould so far abandone his owin corrupted conscience, as to misreport the whole proceedingis of this mater in vther nationes, and thairby to traduce the vndoubted treuth of Christis evangle: And thairfoir, when it come to my knowledge that fundrie of the poysonet sect of the Antechrist had not only writtin in vther cuntreis of this murther, keiping alwayes silence of his vnfeaned and earnest repentance, but lykwayes, be diuerse licentious and vngodlie picturis, labored to withdraw the simple from Godis obedience, and irreverantlie spake of the fervantis of God, I thocht it my duetie to oppone my self vnto thair most vngodlie and blasphemous calumneis, and to intreat the mater plainelie as it was, that thai to whois earis the rumor of this fact shuld come mycht be the better informed to withstand the wickitnes of thame whois principall care is that God, in his word, may be dishonored. Nather doe I so write to this intent, that albeit his lyfe had bene wicked, and continued so to the end, that the puritie of Godis trueth culd haue bene thairby defiled; na mair than the treasonable defectione of Judas culd make the word of lyfe vnfauorie to thame whia confessit Jesus to be the sone of the everlastig God; but that euerie ane may vnderstand that sic examples as thai abuse, to mainteine superstitione, fervis cheiflie to the advancement of Godis glorie: ffor this wold I learne at ony of them, gif thay be able to make thair proffeit farther of this tragedie than Sathan him self; whais counfallis be his godly repentance was confoundit, and the pray which he had in ane maner devored, be Godis providence, preservit from his tyrannie. Gif God disapointed the father of iniquitie, how can his childrene erect this baner to the mainteanance of his kyngdome? But that the treuth may the moir evidently appeir, I will shortly comprehend the confessione which he made befoir his suffering, in presence of the whole people then assemblit, after that he had made his prayer humblie to God.

*The Confessione of Mr Johne Kello upon the scaffald.*

“ I doe nocht marvell, in ony wayis, to sie sic ane multitude of people

affembled, at this present, to behold the infortunate tragedie of this my wretched lyfe; ffor the caice is rair, and, fauing the guid prouidence of God, to be admired and wonderit, that I, being the creature of God, shuld haue attempted to remoue the lyfe from thaim, in whom God hath planted his owin image; being ane husband, shuld vnmercifullie, and beydis the law of nature, put hand in my owin fleshe; but cheiflie, being ane minister of Godis word, fuld haue bene so farre caried captiue be the temptatioune of the wicked spreit as to dishonour Godis treuth be my horrible iniquitie, and procure that the enemies of the evangle, with oppin mouthis, fould blaffheme Godis eternall veritie! For I perceave at this tyme conuenit ane grit multitude, quhair of some, I doubt not from the bottome of thair hartis, dois lament and bewaile my estaite, and callis to God earnestlie to continow the gift of repentance with me: Vtheris ar assemblit to gest and mocke, not sa meikle at me as at the evangle, which I (alace!) ane vnworthie minister, hes befoir preiched vnto the people; and indeid, all praise aluayis apperteining to God, I was brocht vp from my youth in exercife of learning, and employed my mynd so diligentlie to the meditatioune of veritie, that I was not esteamed in the leif sort of thaim that did minister Godis word into this realme. And becaus my first ingres in the kirke of God was, vnfainedly and without hypocrisse, to set fourth his godly name, I haue that affurance in his mercie, that albeit he hes suffered me to fall, yit he fall not leive me destitute of comfort in the end. But this I wold recommend to everie ane, be my example, that yea meafoure nocht the treuth of Godis word altogether be the lyvis of sic as are appointed pastouris over yow; for thei beir the self same fleshe of corruptioun that ye doe; and the moir godly the charge is whairvnto thai are called, the readier is the enemie to draw thaime bak from Godis obedience: And the treuth is, that I my self had nocht only the testimonie of a trew preicher in the countreis whair I did travell, but lykways of ane sinceir and vncorrupted conversatioune. Nather was thair ony of my vocatioune within this realme of Scotland that detestit moir, from his hart, and publictly in the chayre of trueth, the abhominable murtheraris of Harie Stewart, king of this land, and my lord Regent, laitylly murdered; declaring out of the buike of God that the plages shuld neuer ceis quhill

the land wer purgit, and the inventaris, confpyraris, pertakeris, proponit, ane publict exemple of Godis feveir iudgmentis! Bot now (alace!) the committeris thair of will haue me in thair mouth, for ane patroun. What mervell is it, will thai say, that ane waike veshell, brocht vp in pleasouris, had not the feir of God befor hir eyes, when ane minister, nocht of smalleft reputatioune, hes fa trespaffed? Wold to God that as thai are prompt to speike of my fall, fo my repentance to God, and confessione of my offence, mycht fa livelie twiche thame, that the appearand vengeance of God, be humiliatioune of ther hertis, mycht be removit from this commoun wealthe. For I wald that ze shuld vnderstand that I come not heir compellit be na men, nather apprehendit be the Justice; but having perswasione of freindis to faue my life, in some vther cuntrie, was rather willing to glorifie God in my death, then that my lyfe should be ane opprobrie and slander to his trueth!

“ Bot now, becaus I sie (persave) my voce is not able to straicht the self vnto the earis of the multitude heir convenit, I wilbe content to leive ane short memoriall against my self of my owin offence. For as concerning the vther whairof I am slanderit, I take God and his angellis witneffis in the contrare, that nather had I any ingres in the wicked practifes of the magicienis, nather was farder curious to vnderstand then God had manifested in his word. Bot as concerning the cryme, I doe not deny, but most vnnaturallie I pat handis in her, wha at no tyme had gevin me ony iust caus of offence; flor, wer it possible that the course of my aige mycht be renewed, and the tyme spent brocht bak agane, thair is no fleshe I wold rather chouse to be affociat with, in mariage, then hir: nather did ony vther thing move me to this wicked interprife but the continwall suggestioun of the wicked spreit to advance my self farther and farther in the world. And that zou may perceave the ground of this mater, I had anis ane litle portione of money in my owin handis, which I bestowit in Linlythgow vpon proffeit, and did wickedlie refaue some gaines and ocker therby; ane thing (alace!) ower meikle vsed in this country. This maner of dealing kindled in me ane desyre of avarice, whiche the apostole Paull, nocht without caus, termit “ the route of all ewill.” And thairfoir, after a certane tyme that I had bestowed it in the toun of Spot, I

bocht ane portione of land thair; ffor the which I wodfett landis at Linlythgow, and contracted farder debt. Then being difappointed of the ordinar provifione for preaching of the word, and not weill entreated of thame whois dewtie was to haue taken cair for me, I enterit into ane mervellous perplexitie of mynd, and openede ane reddie window to the tentatiounes of the enemie. For I reffoned with my felf, that being fingle, without one partie, I mycht the moir eafilie fpend my tyme; and nixt, inace I wold marie thereafter, I mycht joyne my felf with sic ane as mycht haue freindis in the country to menteane me in my poffeffioun, and procure my farder advancement. Thir wer the gliftering promifes whairwith Sathan, after his accuftomed maner, eludit my fences; and prevailed fo farre in my corrupted mynd, that the fpace of fourtie dayis together I did awaite only vpoun the oportunitie of tyme to put my wicked defyre in executioun; yit, fometyms having the commoditie offered, God fraik sic terrouris in my hart that I was not able to perfurneis my intent. Immediatlie thairefter, I was vifited with feiknes and grit difeafes, which I am affuired was the meffingeris of God to moue my hart to his obedience. Bot that which fould haue feruit to abftraete my mynd from the conceaved impietie, I abufed, moft wickitle, to bring my purpofe to effect; ffor vnder pretence of feiknefs, I laboured fecreitlie to haue taken her away by poyfone; and when I perceaved that the cleannes of hir ftommoche did rejeet that violence, I was alwayes preiffed forward be the tentatioune of the enemie, till I had performed that crwell fact with my handis againft hir; wha in the verie death could not beleive I bure her ony evill will, bot was glaid, as fcho than faid, to depairt, gif her death could doe me ather vantage or pleafoure. Bot the farder that I doe remember of her, the moir intolerable is the burding of my difpleafoure; which, nochtwithftanding, I laboured by hypocrifie to haue culored.

“For ane certane fpace befoir her death, I did make my testament, and thairin appointed her to haue the whole cair of my geir and vpbringing of my childrene, that no man fould fufpect of me to be author of that wickitnes which I had confavit: And immediatlie befoir, did fpreid abroad ane rumore of her, that fho was tempted terrible in the night, that it

mycht thairefter appeir hir self to haue bene the author and murtherer of hir owin self: Lykwayis, efter I had strangled her, I left the keyis within, and escaipit by ane backe dure of my studie, which was not accustomed to be opened. And when the brute did aryse that shoe had murdered herself, for the gude opinione that everie ane had alswell of my doctrine and conversatioune, maid no man to suspect my innocencie: I did feingie my self only to be solift for her saluatioune, and to dispute with thaim that come to comfort me, whither that it wer possible that shoe, who had put handis on her self, could be vndir the protectioun of God; and whither ony man mycht suppois that, being vndir so terrible tentatioune, shoe could anes sob for Godis mercie? And that my affectione towardis her mycht appeir the greitter, I did so farre abuse the lycht of my owin conscience as to deny, in plaine termes, that there was a God who suffered fo innocent a creature give place to the tentatioune and rage of Sathan. Which thingis I passed about most craftelie to conceill; yit the guid providence of God did, by litill and litill, bring all thingis to licht, and me to my knowledge of my owin offence; that I desyre nathing mair, vndir God, then to be separate fra the contagione of this wicked lyfe, in the which I haue sa offendit God, and dishonoured his name. And indeid thair wes not small support in the mouth of some faithfull bretherene to bring me to this confessioun of my owin offence; bot aboue all, Mr Andro Symfone, minister of Dumbar, did so lyvlie rype furthe the inward cogitatiounes of my hart, and discouer my mynd so plainelie, that I perfwadet my self God spak in him; and beydis vtheris notable conjecturis whiche he trewlie deduced befoir my eyes, he rememberit me of ane dreame, which in my great feiknes did apeirandlie present the self. 'Brother,' said he, 'I doe remember quhan I visitate yow, in tyme of your grit feiknes, yea did open to me that visione; that ge war caried be ane grym man befoir the face of ane terrible judge, and to escaip his furie ye did precipitate your self in ane deip river, when his angelis and messingeris did follow you with two edged swordes; and euer quhan thai struikie at gou, ge did declyne and jowke in the water; while in the end, by ane way vnknewin to yow, yea did escape. This visione I do so interprete, that ge are the author your self of this erwell murther, then confaved in your hart;



and ze are careit befor the terrible judgementis of God, in your owin conscience, which now standis in Godis presence to accuse you; the messenger of God is the justice of the countrie, befor the whitche ze fall be presented; the water whairin ze stude is that vaine hypocrisie of your owin, and feanegad blaspheming of Godis name, whairby ze purpose to cullour your impietie: Your delyuerance falbe spirituall, ffor, albeit ze haue vtherways deseruit, yit God fall pull yow furth of the bandis of Sathan, and caus yow to confes your offense, to his glory and confusione of the enemye: Nather do ze in ony wayes mistrust in Godis promises, for you fall find no sinne, almost, committed be the reprobate, but ze fall find the childrene of God to haue fallin in the lyke: And yit the same mercies of God abydis yow, gif from your hart ze acknowledge your offence, and desyris at God pardon.'

"At this tyme did God move my hart to acknowledge the horroure of my owin offence, and how farre Sathan hath obtenit victorie over me. But as the fleshe is cairfull for the self, I discourfed within my owin hart what thing ratherest to doe for my owin releife; of the which tuo necessities occurrit, ather to abandoun this cuntrie, or to remaine. Gif I left the cuntrye, and accepted nocht death vpoun me, I fould live in perpetuall terrour, and haue the marke of Cain vpoun me, whair foeuer I went; befydis that, I fould leive a perpetuall infamie vpoun the kirk of God, whair-of befor I was compted ane member, albeit vnworthie: So did I conclude to remaine. Bot heir had I the battell moir strong with my self; ffor I thocht to have diffimulate my fact befor the world, and did enter in this argument, that sufficent it was to acknowledge myne offence before God, nather was it necessar to publishe my owin schame among men; and did so flatter my self with this reafone, quhill at last, 'What and I be presented befor ane Judge, whair confessioune of the treuth falbe required? Shall I not only leive in murther, but heip syn vpoun syn, and confirme my damnatioune with perjurie? Shall the loue of this wretched lyfe so sehut the duris of my hart, that I fall neuer returne unfainedlie towardis my God? Sall I, miserable creature, leive ane immortall sclander vpoun the kirke of God, for the which Christ the sone of God gave his lyfe? God forbid!' And swa did I conclude my self to make publiçt confes-

sione of my offence, and to present me to receive the punishment, which can not be sufficientlie imagined, for my deservingis. And indeid this farre I doe witnes, that I was evidentlie troubled and diseased, not onlie in mynd but in body also, euer quhill I resolued with my self to take this journey in hand; and sensyne I haue beine at sic rest of bathe, that I am at a quyetnes with God, in my conscience, and hes sic strenght of bodie as I had not this lang tyme agoe.

“Now bretherin, ge haue hard the confessione of myne offence, and I desyre enerie one of you that is Christianes, in Godis name to forgiue me of that selander which I haue raised, be my wicked exemple; especiallie you, brethren, who ar called to be preicheris of his word, whois doctrine and labouris Sathan had labored in me to evert. Bot praifit be God, he is taken in his owin craft; and so farre doe I trust in his mercies, that I falbe compted amongst his elect whois names ar writtin in the buike of lyfe. Defyring you all to incall earnestly vpon God to continow his favoure and grace with me to the end.”

This being endit, he prostrate himself vpon his face, and made so godly a prayer that made euery one to mourne: first, confessing that God was one iust God, who had revealed his offence to the world, defyring lykwayis that the innocent murtheris committed befor mycht be manifestit, and the land purgit frome blood: nixt, he confessit him to be one God of mercie, wha wold nocht suffer this blot to lye vpon his church, nather him self in the end to be overcome be Sathan; and therfor humbly defyred, for Christis sake, to be receaved in Godis favoure, that the deipnes of Godis gudnes mycht be knowin to pas the whole iniquitie of man. And so, efter constant confessione of Godis merceis, and incalling of his name, he yeildit the spreit in the handis of our Sauiore, the 4 day of October, 1570. *Finis.*

September endit, but the support of strangeris come nocht, as the Secretar promiseit.

Grit labouris wer maid to stay the parliament, which was appointed to begin the 10 of October. The captane of the castle was defyred to deliuer the honouris, to wit, the sword, the chepter, and the crown, which

of ancient custome haue bene borne in tyme of parliament. In the be-  
gynning he gaue doubtfull answeries; bot at the end he vterlie refused  
thame, thinking thairby to haue stayed the parliament. But he was de-  
ceaved; ffor the estaites thocht it no more finne to fence and hold ane  
parliament, without these ceremonies, then a guid bischope neidis to make  
feruple of conscience to mak a fermond without his rocket, myter, and  
ring. In that parliament was nothing done, except the approbatioune of  
the Regent in his regentrie, be the esteatis. Other thingis wer delayed  
at the queine of Englandis request. The assurance was granted to the  
queinis factione for tuo monethis. The parliament was prorogate to the  
14 of Januare.

The Hammiltounes, Hepburnes, Huntlie, and the rest of the murther-  
eris, louked most assuredlie for the comfort and pefrence of thair head,  
the queine, within a moneth. God may difapoynt thame, as iustlie he  
hes done befor!

In the middes of all thes thair mirrie conceates was revealed a myst-  
erie, which is not yit come to commone knowledge. A present was send,  
we suppone from the witches of Athole, to the queine murtherer of Scot-  
land. The present and the portratoure was this: A prettie hart horne,  
nocht exceiding in quantitie the palme of a manis hand, was artificiallie  
wrocht, and perfected at all poyntes with gold. In the head of it was  
curiousslie ingraven the armes of Scotland. In the neather part of it was  
a throne, and a gentlewoman fitting in the same, in her rob royall, with  
a croun vpon hir head: Vnder hir fitt was a rose, environed with a  
thiffell; and vnder that wer tuo lyones, the one biggare and the other  
les. The biggar lyone held his paw vpon the face of the vther, as his  
lord and commander. Vnder all this was written, "Fall what may fall,  
the lyon falbe lord of all!"

This mistierie, be verie fecriat moyen, come to the knowledge and sicht  
of Mr Randophe; who, perceaving (it) twiche his maistres so neir, fand  
the favore of the first revealer to haue the principall; which, with his let-  
tres, he send to the erle of Suffex, willing him to communicate it with the  
principall of the courte thair: which, give he haue nocht done, he iustly

may be suspected of treafone, bypast and present, now in the hartis and handis of mony.

In this meane tyme was this prophecie forged, whither in England or Scotland God knoweth:

*The Prophecie.*

The howlat sall leid the beir to his baine.  
 The court of England, that is so wantoun,  
 Shall shortlie be brocht to confusioone.  
 The queine of England sall die the 12 yeir of hir raigne.

THE WRITER.

Such prophecies smell of secreit treafone, as, alace! experience taught vs in the murther of James regent of Scotland. Lord, confound thow the devyses of the wicked bloud thristie!

The parliament dissolved, and the lordis returned to their awin dwelling places. The poure Regent was left in Edinburgh, almost alone. His men of warre war fend, some to Glasgou, some to Hammiltoun, and some to vther places, to take their wages of the kingis enemeis. Whairvpoun the dukes tennentis were poyndit, and their cattell driven to Edinburgh.

In this mean tyme Johne Knox was stricken with a kynd of apoplexia, called by the phisitiones resolutione, whairby the perfect vse of his toving was stopped. Heirof did the wicked not a litill rejoyse. The brute passed, not only throw Scotland, but also to England, that he was become the most deformed creature that euer was seine; that his face was turned into his necke; that he was dead; that he wold neuer preich nor git speike! Whairin God, within few dayes, declared thame liaris; for he conualeseit, and so returned to his exercise of preiching, at leist vpoun the sonday.

The brute of the apointment of the tuo queinis daylie augmentit, in fo much that the kingis enemies eschamed nocht to affirme, that the queine could be in Scotland, and peaceable in hir autoritie, befor Yule day! In esperance heirof all the kingis enemies rejoyed, and touke vnto thaim felues boldnes to do what thair list. But amonges vtheris, the erle of

Cassilis committed such crewelty, as seldom he bene hard done be ony mortall men.

*The Erle of Cassilis tyranny against a quicke man.*

Maister Allane Stewart, freind to captane James Stewart of Cardonall, be meanis of the queinis corrupted court, obtained the abbacie of Croce Raguall. The said erle, thinking him self gritter than ony king, in these quarteris, determined to haue the whole benefice (as that he hes dyvers vtheris) to pay at pleafoure; and becaus he could not find sic securitie as his insatiable appetite requyred, this shift was devyfit. The said Maister Allane, beand in cumpany with the laird of Bargany, was be the said erle and his freindis entyfet to leive the safegaird which he had with the said laird, and to come make gude cheir with the said erle. The simplicitie of the imprudent man was suddainlie abusid; and sua he passid his tyme with thame certane dayes, which he did in Maybolle, with Thomas Kennedie, father-brother to said erle. Efter the which, the said Maister Allane passid with quyet cumpany to visie the place and boundis of Croceragwall; whair of the said erle being furelie aduerteifed, determined to put in practeis the tyranny which long befor he had conceived. And so, as king of the cuntrie, apprehendit the said Mr Alane, and caried him to the hous of Dunvre; whair for a seafone he was honorable entreated (gif a presoner can thinke ony interteaniment pleasing): But after that certane dayis vurespectit, and that the erle culd not obtaine the fewis of Croceragwall according to his owin apeteite, he determined to prove gif a collatione could worke that, which nather denner nor supper could doe, of a long tyme. And so the said Maister [Allane] was careit to a secreit chalmer; with him passid the honorable erle, his worfchipfull brother, and sic as was apointed to be servandis, at that banquet. In the chalmer thair was a grit iron chimney; vnder it a fyre; other grit provisione was not sene. The first course was, "My lord abbot" (said the erle), "it will pleis yow confes heir, that with your owin consent ge remaine in my cumpany, becaus ge dare nocht comit yow to the handis of vtheris." The abbote answerit, "Wald ge, my lord, that I should make a manifest leasing, for your pleafoure? The treuth is, my lord, it is against my will that I am heir; nather yit haue I ony

pleasure in your company." "Bot ze fall remaine with me, at this tyme," said the erle. "I am not able to resist your will and pleifoure," said the abbote, "in this place." "Ze man than obey me," said the erle! And with that were presentit vnto him certane letteris to subferyue, amonges which thair was a five yeir tacke, and a 19 yerre tacke, and a charter of few of all the landis of Croceraguell, with all the clauffis needfar for the erle to haift him to hell! For gif adulterie, sacrededge, opprefsiõne, barbarous erweltie, and thift heaped vpoun thift, diferve hell, the great king of Carricke can no moir efcape hell, for euer, nor the imprudent abbote efcaped the fyre for a ceafone; as followes.

Eftir that the erle espyed repugnance, and that he could nocht come to his purpose be fair meanes, he commandit his coukes to prepare the banquet. And so, first, thair fled the scheip, that is, they touke of the abbotis cloathis, ewin to his skyn; and thair band him to the chymlay, his leges to the ane end and his armes to the vther: and so thair began to bait the fyre, sometymes to his buttokes, sometymes to his leiges, sometymes to his shoulderis and armes. And that the roft should nocht burne, but that it mycht roft in sope, they spared not flambing with oyle. (Lord, luik thou to sic erweltie!) And that the crying of the miserable man should nocht be hard, they closed his mouth, that the voice mycht be stopped. (It may be suspecit that fume practitiãne of the kingis murder was there!) In that torment thair held the poure man, whill that oftymes he cryed, for Godis faike to dispatche him, for he had alfmeikle gold in his owin purse as wald buy poulder aneughe, to shorten his paine!

The famous king of Carrike and his cukes, perceancing the roaft to be aneughe, commandit it to be tane fra the fyre; and the erle him self began the grace, in this maner: "*Benedicite, Jesus Maria!* ze ar the most obstinat man that euer I saw! Gif I had knowin that ze had beine so stubburne, I wold nocht for a thousand crownis handled yow fo! I neuer did so to man befor zeou." And yit he returned to the same practeis within tuo dayis; and ceiffed nocht till that he boteaned his formeft purpose; that is, that he had gottin all his peices subferyuit, alswell as ane half roffit hand euld doe it!

The erle, thinking him self fuire aneughe, so long as he had the half roffit abbot in his owin keiping, and zit being eschamed of his presence, be reasone of his former erweltie, left the place of Dunvre in the handis of certane of his servandis, and the half roffit abbot to be keipit thair as presoner. The laird of Bargany, out of whose cumpanie the said abbote was entyfed, vnderstanding, not the extremitie, but the reteaning of the man, fend to the court and raifed lettres of delyuerance of the perfon of the man, according to the ordour; which being disobeyed, the said erle for his contempt was denounced rebell and put to the horne. But yit hope wes thair none, nather to the afflicted to be delyvered, nather yit to the purcheffoure of the letteres to obtaine ony comfort thairby; for in that tyme God was despised, and all lawfull authoritie was contempned in Scotland, in hope of the suddane returne and regiment of that crwell murtherer of hir awin husband, of whose lordis the said erle was called one; and yit offer than once he was solemnedlie sworne to the king and to his regent.

The trew report and narratioune of this fact is to be sene in this Act made befor the Previe Counfall, vnder Alexander Hayis handwrite.

*Act of the Previe Counfall.*

“ At Striveling, the 27 of Aprile, 1571 yeiris. Anent the complante maid be Mr Allane Stewart, commendater of Croferaguall, against Gilbert erle of Cassilis, Thomas maister of Cassillis, his brother, and thair complices, conteinit in the said Mr Allanes Supplicatioune, whair of the tenour follows:—

[*The Abbot of Croferaguall, his Complante.*]

‘ Vnto your grace and lordis of secreit counfall, humblie meanis and schawis your fervitore, Mr Alane Stewart, commendater of Croferaguall; that whair, vpon the 29 day of August lastbypast, I beand within the woud of Croferaguall, doand my leafome errandis and busines, beleivand no harme nor invasione to have bene done to me be ony persone or persones: Nochttheles Gilbert erle of Cassilis, Thomas maister of Cassillis, with thair complices, to the number of 16 persones or thairby, come to me and perfwadit me, be thair flatterie and deceitfull wordis, to pas with thame to his castle and place of Dunvre; being alwayes myndit, gif I had made refusall to pas with thame, to haue taken me perforce. And he puttand me

within the fame, that I ſhuld be in fuire firmance, commandit fex of his fervandis to wait vpoun me, fa that I eſchewit not; wha tuike fra me my hors with all my weaponis, and than depairtit quhill the firſt day of September thaireſtir, that he come agane and requyrit me to ſubſcryue to him ane few chartore brocht with him, maid in parchement, of the whole landis perteing to the ſaid abbacie, togidder with 19 and 5 ʒeir takis of the fruitis, teyndis, and dewties thairof, as he alledgit, of the whole kirkis and perfonages perteing thairto; whairof I neuer having red a word of, anſuerit, 'It was a thing vnreaſonabill, and that I could na wayis doe, in reſpect the fame long of befoir was alreadie diſponit to the kyndlie tennentis and poſſeſſouris thairof, and to James Stewart of Cardonall; and thairfoir, the ſamen being furth of my handis, I could nawayis grant his vnreaſonabill deſyre.' Wha then, after long boaiſting and minaſſing of me, cauſed me to be caried be Johne Kennedie, his baxter, Johne M<sup>c</sup>cleire, his cuike, Alexander Richard, his pantryman, Alexander Eccles, and ſir William Tode, to ane hous callit the Blake Voute of Dumvre; whair the tormenteris denudit me of all my cloathis, perforce, except only my farke and doublate, and then band baith my handis at the ſhaklebones with ane corde, as he did baith my feit, and band my foilles betuix an irone chymlay and a fyre; and beand bound thairto, could nawayis ſteir nor move, but had almoſt inlaikit through my crwell burning. And ſeing na vther apeirance to me, but ather to condiscend to his deſyre, or ellis to continow in that torment quhill I died, tuke me to the longeſt life, and ſaid, I wald obey his deſyre, albeit it was fore againſt my will; and, for to be releivit of my ſaid paine, ſubſcryuit the foirnamet chairtore and takis, quhilk I neuer ʒit red, nor knew what thairin was conteaned. Which beand done, the ſaid erle cauſit the ſaid tormentaris of me ſweir, vpoun ane byble, never to reveill ane word of this my vnmercifull handling to ony perſone or perſones. Yit, he not beand fatiſſeid with thir procedings, come againe vpoun the 7 day of the foirſaid moneth, bringand with him the foirſaid chairtore and take, which he compellit me to ſubſcriue, and requyred me to ratifie and approve the ſame befoir notar and witneſſis; which alluterlie I refuſed. And therefore he, as of befoir, band me and pat me to the ſame maner of tormenting; and I ſaid, nochtwithſtanding, he ſould firſt get my life or euer I agreeit



to his defyre: And being in fo grit paine, as I truste neuer man was in, with his lyfe, whair I cryed, 'Fye vpoun yow! Will ge ding whingaris in me, and put me of this world! Or ellis put a barrell of powder vnder me, rather nor to be damaned in this vnmercifull maner!' The said erle hearing me cry, bad his seruant, Alexander Ritchart, put ane seruiat in my throat; which he obeyed. The same being performed at xj houris in the nicht. Wha than feing that I was in danger of my life, my fleshe consumed and brunt to the bones, and that I wald nocht condiscend to thair purpose, I was re-leiuit of that paine; whairthrow, I will neuer be so able nor weill in my lyfytyme.

'Sic ane crweltie neuer being hard of befoir, done to ony frie persone that had not committed offence. And gif your grace and lordschipis takis nocht guid order heiranent, for punishment of the same, it will giue occasiones to vtheris proud perfounes, contemners of the kingis grace authoritie, to brek guid ordour, and truble the commoun weill of the cuntrie. And for declaring of the said erles wicked mynd towardis me, hes wrangoullie, by all ordore of justice, intronettit with and tane vp my whole leving of Croferaguell, at his owin hand, without ony tytill or richt, thir thrie yeiris bypast; lyk as he yit continowis thairto, taking no feare of our fouerane lordis lettres or charges vsed in his name; ewin as he wer ane exemit persone nocht subiect to lawes, bot mycht do all thingis at his pleafoure. As it is not vnknawin vnto your grace and lordschipis of my deteaning captive, that I obteinat both lettres of horning, and lettres charging him, vnder paine of trefone, to put me at libertie; zit he continowallie disobeyit the same, and both past to the horne, and also incurrit the said paine of tressone; as the saidis lettres of horning and trefone, executiones and indorfationes thairof, heir present to schaw, beiris.

'Heirfoir, in maist humble maner, I besek your grace and lordschipis to haue consideratioune of the premisses, and that it will pleis your grace to command and charge the said erle to bring and present, befoire your grace and lordschipis, the foirnamet few chairtoire and tackis, at sic day as your grace pleissis to assigne, and vnder sic paines as your grace thinkis expedient; and thair beand productit, to be decernit of none auaille, for the caussis aboue written. And als, to cause and compel him

to find me cawtioune and fouertie, or he depart thairfra, that he, nor nane in his name, in all tymes cuming, fall intromet or midle with ony pairt of the said leving of Crofraguell, but to suffer me to vse the fame and intromet thairwith at my pleafoure, conforme to my provifione. And in lyk maner, I befeike your grace, nocht to overfie the vsurped authoritie taken vpoun him in the wrongous tormenting of me, be reafone the fame onlie apertenis to your grace: And ge thuld fie the famyn punishit, in exemple of vtheris. And your grace and lordschipis anfuer, &c.

“And anent the wairning to the said Gilbert erle of Caffilis to compeir befoir my lord Regentis grace, and lordis of secreit counfall, at ane certane day, to anfuer to this complante, the said erle compeirand perfonally, alledgit the poyntis of the said complement to be ather civile or criminall; and that he aught nocht to anfuer thairto, bot befor the judges competent.

“My lord Regent, with the advife of his said counfall, no wayes willing to prejudge the ordiner jurifdictione and judgment, or hinder ony parteis rychtis or defensis, but only to provyde for the quyetnes of the realme, and to forbid violent force; therfoir ordanes and commandis the said Gilbert erle Caffilis, being perfonallie present, to find cautioun and fouertie actit in the buikis of secreit counfall, that he, nor nane that he may lat, fall invalid, moleft, nor perfew the said Mr Alane Stewart, in his bodie; nor yit medle nor intromett with his place and leving of Crofraguell, or vp take the fruitis, rentis, profeitis, or dueteis thairof, vtherwayes nor be order of law and justice; under the paine of tuo thousand pundis. And als ordaines the said erle to find the lyke cautioune and fouertie, and vnder the fame paine, to Mr George Buchwannan, penfioner of Crofraguell, being perfonallie present; and cravit the fame alswell for his owin perfone as his penfionne. And incais the said fouerties be nocht fund befoir the said erle depairt furth of Striveling, that alwayes the fame be found befoir he be releivet of his wairde, whair he is apoyntet to remayne; althocht the vther occafionnes that he is wardit for wer accomplished and fulfillit be him.

“*Extractum de libro actorum Secreti Consilii supremi domini nostri Regis, per me Alexandrum Hay, deputatum.*

(Subferyvit)

ALEXANDER HAY.”

To the rest, now, whair we left.—The said erle (laird) of Bargany, perceiving that the ordiner justice (the oppressed, as said is) could nather help him nor git the afflicted, applyed his mynd to the nixt remeidie; and in the end, be his servandis tuke the hous of Dvnyre, whair the puire abbot was kept prisoner. The bruit flew fra Carrike to Galloway; and so suddainlie assembled hird and hyreman that pertinet to the band of the Kennedies; and so, within few houris, was the hous of Dumvre environed agane. The Maister of Cassilis was the frankest, and wald nocht stay, but in his heat wald lay fyre to the dungeon, with no small boasting that all enemeis within the hous should die. He was requyred and admonished be these that wer within to be more moderat, and nocht to hazard him self so foulisly. But no admonitioun wald help, till that the wind of an hacquebute blasted his shulder; and then ceased he fra furder perfuite, in furie.

The laird of Bargany had befor purchest of the autoritie, lettres, chargene all faythfull subjectis to the kingis maiestie to assist him against that cruell tyrant and menfworne traytore, the erle of Cassillis; which lettres (with his privie wrytingis) he publishit, and schortlie fand sic concurrence of Kyle and Cunynghame, with his vther freindis, that the Carrike company drew bake fra the hous. And so the vther approached, furniht the hous with mea men, delyuered the said Mr Alane, and caried him to Ayre; whair publictly, at the mercate croce of the said towne, he declared how crwellie he was entreated, and how the murdered king sufferit not sic torment as he did; that onlie excepted, he escaped the death. And thairefter publictly did revoike all thingis that wer done in that extremetie, and speciallie, he revoiked the subseriptione of the thrie wrytingis, to wit, of a fyve geir tak and 19 geir tak, and of a charter of few.

And so the hous remained, and till this day, the 7 of Februare 1571, remanis, in the custodie of the said laird of Bargany and of his servantis. And so crweltie was difapoyntit of profreit present, and falbe eternallie, vnles he earnestly repent! And this far for the crweltie committed, to give occasion vnto vtheris, and to such as heat sic monstrous dealing of degenerate nobilitie, to luik moir diligentlie vpoun thair behaviouris, and to paint thame furth vnto the world, that thair thame selues may be efchamed of

thair owin beaftlines; and that the world may be aduerteifed, and alfo admonifhed to abhorre, deteaft, and avoide the company of all fic tyrantis, who are nocht worthie of the focietie of men, but ought to be fend fuddainelie to the devill, thair father, with whom they moft burne without end, for thair contempt of God, and erweltie committed againft his creatouris! Lat Caffilis and his brother be the firft to be the exemple vnto vtheris! Amen. Amen.

The queinis fuddan hamecuming trotted in the mouthis of all the kyngis enemeis. Yule was apointed for the laft day. The poftis gat no reft betwix the caftle of Edinburgh and the north, whair the Secretar, that grit god to the captane, called fir William Kirkcaldie of Grange, knycht, whose confederacie with the kingis enemeis was long befoir fene and fufpected of mony. But yit the former honeftie of the man ftayed the hartis of all the faithfull in thair former gude opinione of him, vnto fuch tyme as his rebellione fo brufed furth as none culd excufe it. The mater fell out as followes:—

Johne Kirkcaldie, fone to vmquhill Patrike Kirkcaldie, father-brother to the faid fir Williame, now laird of Grange, receaveth fome injurie in the toun of Dumfermeling, be one George Durie, as efter wilbe declaired, in whose cumpany was one Henrie Seatoun, who fchort thairefter repairing to the toun of Edinburgh, his bufines being endit, was to return to his mafter; and being fordwart in his jorney with his horfe, which was boted at Leith, and he himfelf in reddines to haue entered, the larde of Grang, captane, had gevin charge to fex of his principall fervantis to ftryke the faid Henrie with a batton, in recompense of the injurie done to his kinsman, who attending vpon the faid Henrie presentit the batton to him vpon the fchoir of Leithe. The faid Henrie, beinge vnpatient to be dunge as a doge, maid him for defence, and hurt ane of the fex; who, being vnyndfull of thair chairge receavit, left the batton and fell to the fcharpeft waponis thai had, and fo fet vpon and fchortly and erwellie murthured him, after that the cable of ane anker had taken his feit from him; and focht to win thair ftrenth, the caftle, be fpeid of fute. One of the number, named Fleyming, was apprehendit, and put in the tolbuie of Edinburgh.

The captane stormed, and bad intreat his man weill, for he wald not suffer his man to die for obeying his commandement.

That day, which was thurisdai the 21 of December, he made his preparatiounes without and within. Without, he had the deaconis of the craftis, and be thair menis the rable of the craftifinen (reddie aneughe to vproare and tumult) wer easilie perfwadit to fortifie his enterpryse. Within the castle, wer the cannones monted, and a ram was made to make oppin doures. And swa betwix sex and sewin at nycht, the most part of men being at supper, his men of weir and servandis ishued out of the castle, and without ony noyse or clamour come to the tolbuithe. The number was not grit that made the first assault; bot the preparatioune made for thair savegarde was not little; for all the passages be the which men might be assembled, to haue stayed thair enterpryse, were stoped be men armed with culveringis, pickis, and vther long weapones. The darkness of the nicht hid thair faces; but God will reveale thame, at his guid pleifoure, and a vigilant magistrat mycht easilie smell thaim out! The captane himself, accompanied with the lord Home, keipit the vpper waird aboue the Over trone to be thair saivegard, that none shuld come betwixt thame and the castle. Farder provisiounes were made that none shuld haue acces to the commone bell; and swa, all thingis put in order, the laird of Drylay, cheif leader of that band, began to requyre open doures. The jeaveler denying, the ram was put to the worke, and quicklie prevailed aganis all doures; and so was the houfe of justice violated, the recent murtherer rest fra the handis of the magistrates, and libertie proclaimed to all malefactoris that wald take the captanes parte. In the end, to give defyance to the Regent in his face, the grit ordinance of the castell began to be discharged; and so cannone followed cannone until nyne wer shot. The towne was in grit feire; but smalle, yea na, danger was done, except John Wallace hous was shot through, and a corne stak and a barne in the Cannongait. And so God sent rest for that nycht.

Sonday following, which was the 24 of December, Johne Knox preiched; and omittit not to reprove, as he mycht, sic disorder; and affirmed that in his dayes he never sawe so slanderous, so malepairte, so fearfull, and so tyrannous a fact; "for," said he, "gif the committar had bene a man

without God, a throat-cutter, and sic ane as had neuer knowin the workis of God, it had movit me no moir then vther ryotis and enormiteis that my eyes haue seine the prince of this world, Sathan, be his instrumentis, wicked men, raife vpon against Iesus Christ now preiched! Bot to sie flarris fall from heavin, and a man of knowledge to comit so manifest treafone, what godlie hart can not but lament, trimble, and feare? God be mercifull, for the exemple is terrible; and we have neid all earnestlie to call to God, 'lead vs not into tentatioune,' and speciallie to delyuer us from the cumpny of the wicked; flor within these few yeiris men wald have luiked for vther fruitis of that man then now buddeth furth!" As the subsequeutis will declair. At this sermonde and particular reprehensioune, the captane of the castle was so offendit, that both God and worldlie honestie were forgot in that rage; for in what furie he burst furth, diverse men of sufficient credite can testifie. But against him will we produce nothing which his awin hand write and plaine factis shuld nocht veresie. That same day, at estimoune, he wrote a ticket to Mr Johne Craig, minister, in this sentence; and fend it downe with a servant, wha delyuerit it to Mr Craig, being in the pulpet. The letter is this, writtin with his awin hand:—  
 [*Ticket, for Williame Kirkealdie of Grange, knyght, to Mr John Craig.*]

“ This day Johne Knox, in his sermond, openlie called me a murtherer and a throtcutter! Whairin he hes spoken farther than he is able to justifie; flor I take God to be my dampnatioune, gif it was my mynd that that manis bloud schould haue beine shed, whair of he hes callit me the murtherer. And the same God I desyre, from the bottome of my hart, to powre out his vengeance suddainlie vpon him or me, whither of us twae hes bene most desyrous of innocent bloud! This I desyre yow, oppinlic, in Godis name, to declaire to the people. At Edinburgh Castle, the 24 of December, 1570.”

This ticket was presentit be the captanes awin seruant to the said Mr Johne Craig, being in pulpet. But he wisely anfuert, that he durst reid nathing, in that place, without the knowledge and consent of his church. And so that dart being shot, the strenth of it vanisbit. And yit the brute and veritie of it, posted from Edinburgh castell to maie cuntries then one. To schaw his greife and his offence farther against Johne

Knox, he directed his complement to the sessione of Edinburgh; in forme as followes:—

*The laird of Grange, Captane of the Castle of Edinburghe, his Complement vpon Johne Knox, givin in to the Sessione of the Church of Edinburgh, the 28 of December.*

“Vnto your wisdomes humblie meanis and schawis I your fervitore, and ane of your bretheren, William Kirkcaldie of Grange, nycht: That whair Johne Kirkcaldie, my cowfing germane, being laitlie charged to compeir in ane justice-court halden within the towne of Dumfermeling, vpon the xj day of December instant, to pas vpon the affise of certane perfownes called for the slaughter of vnuquhill Johne White in Kirkealdie, my cowfigne; at command of the charge, as ane obedient subjeēt, repaired to Dumfermeling in quyēt and sober maner, his alone, without armore, luiking for no trubler, harme, injurie, or displeasoure to haue bene done to him; bot to haue lived vnder Godis peace and the kingis. Nochtthel George Dury and Lowry Dury, brether to the laird of Dury, and unquhill Henry Seatoun, his seruant, with thair complices, come to the said Johne, as he was passand to the kirke of Dumfermeling, and efter few wordis speiking, the said George tuike him with his steikit neive vpon the face, as he had bene altogether vyle and ignoble, and not in rancke, place, or number of gentle or honest men, without ony offence, provocatioune, or occasioun gevin be the said Johne, in word, deed, or countenance, to be so contemptuouslie and shamefullie vsed. And, in the meine tyme, the said Henry and remanent perfownes, being with the said George Dury in cumpany, drew thair swordis, and had slaine the said Johne Kirkcaldie, my cowfing, wer not the proveist of Dumfermeling come and put thame fra him; vpon awld feid, forthocht felony, fett purpose and provisioun. Efter the which the said Henry Seatoun, not satisfiet with thir injurys, but still malignand and perseverand in his wicked mynd and conceavit malice against me and myne, shortly come to this burcht of Edinburgh, purposelie, as apeired, to put his hatred farther in executioun against some of my freindis, as indeid sundrie innocent men hes of befoir had over grit proufe of his vnmercifull dealing, whair he mycht sie advantage or be

maister, which I delyte not farder to reherse nor may serue to manifest the ground and occasioun of the lait trouble. And the said Henry, being thus in Edinburgh, most disdainfully passeth vp and down the town, and most prouddie crossed my seruants gaitis, with sic jeasting and mocking meanes and countenance, as wold haue irritate and comouet the most patient fleshe leving; throw whose contemptuous provocatioun I was moved, and send certaine of my seruandis to Leith to haue dwng him with ane bat-tone, in femnable maner as he and his complices of befor dung the said Johne Kirkcaldie, my cousing, with thair neives: Which my seruandis neuer drew sword while he had hurt ane of thame, thay nor nane of thame having vther counfall or command of me to shed that manis blood, as I man ansuer in Godis presence, but onlie, as I haue said, to haue recompensd the schamefull cuffing and misvng of my kindfman, quhilk I take to be done for my cause, as your wisdomes may easilie credite it was. For it is notoriousslie knowin, that the principallis of the saidis Henreis blood (I mean the hous of Dury) hes done to me and myne mony grit offences, grievous injuries, and exorbitant displeasoures; the principall of that hous being the chief author of the deathie and destruccion of my guidfchire, the laird of Raithie, with the rwyne of his hous; and sensyne, haue they not daylie and continwallie molestit and trubled us, his posteritie and freindis, in our richteous tytles, native rowmes, and auld possessiounes; and yit, praised be God, we neuer made us to take revenge thair-of, be way of deid or bludshed, but patientlie haue suffered and susteined the same, as Christians. Nochttheles, how ignomineousslie I haue bene spoken of, in pulpet and publict sermond, vpoun fonday last the 24 of December instant, be Johne Knox, our minister, your wisdomes felues that were auditoris thairto, can beir record. For not allanerlie hes he fet me furth, in his said sermond, for a erwell homiceid or manslayer, bot als for ane oppin tratoure, vnmereifull murtherer, and plane throatcutter, designand me be my name, in speciall, geving the auditore to vnderstand that he had certane knowledge, proufe, and experience of my nature and inclinatione to be bent to murther and bludshed; saying also, that when he sawe me in miserie, as vther puir men was, I devyfed to haue socht my delyuerance be bludshed, bot was slayed thairfra be the counfall of



vtheris, and nocht be my owin inclinatioune; which I take God to witness is nocht of veritie. Which particular accusatioune was expres contrare the actis, ordinances, and practises of our kirke, observit in sic cafes; namelie, at the first admonitioune, and aganis the rewle of Christiane charitie. And sua, in effect, hes accused, iniuried, and sclanderit me, in most opprobrious and particulere maner, befor ony admonitioune, citatioune, or declaratioune; and, swa far as in him lyes, condempned me, befor tryall of my caus or declaratioune preceeding; whilk, probablie, he hes done of private grudge, to alienat the hartis of all honest men fra me, and to make me odious and contemptible, rather than for correctiounes cause. In that he hes past the bowndis of discretione, and left the order and custome of ane cairfull pastore in his rigorous and particulere threatningis, without admonitioune or tryall preceeding, which myeht rather haue cassin me in dispair (as God forbid), then haue reducit me in the way of repentence, incaice I had bene culpable and guyltie of sic horrible crymes as he particularlie rehearsed, to my sclander and ignominie; whairof (praised be God) my conscience is no farder burdenit, then I haue declaired to Mr Johne Craige and Mr Clement Litle. Heirfoir, I beseeke your wisdomes gravely to weay and consider the premissis; and how far our minister hes transcendit his bowndis, in his speciall accusatioune and sclandering of me, chargene me wrangouslie and partiallie with sic greivous offences as are befor expremitt: And, thairfoir, your wisdomes, be your judgment and auctoritie, will caus me to be repaired to my honour, and restored to my guid name and fame, in the self same place quhair I was so sclanderouslie calumniat, befor admonitioune gevin, and cognitioune tane in my caus: And thairin regard, indifferentlie, the offence of the minister, being bot fleshe and bloud, and cled with manlie passiones, as vther in the flocke are. And in sa far as I, in ony wayis, haue bene offensive to the kirke, I am content, with all humilitie, at tyme and place convenient, to submit my self to your Godly willis and correctiounes. And your wisdomes anfuere humblie I beseeke."

This lettre offerit to the sessioun, and red in the same, it was thocht most reasonabill that the copie thairof should be send to the partie accused;

who long befor had bene feike, and neuer come out in publiēt, except ypoun the foday befor noune to make the fermonde. And fo the lybell and accufatioune presentit to the said Johne, (he) gaue ane verball anſwer, that the nixt thurſday he ſould anſwer, in write, to the principall accufatioune; bot becaus that in it thair was monie thingis impertinent, and ſome ſo manifēt and deteaſtable leyis, that with faife conſcience, in his nixt fermond, he could nocht pas by thame with ſilence, he prayed the bretherin that presentit the ſaid complement vnto him, humblie to deſire the feſſioun not to be offendit with him althocht he defendit his awin innocencie, ſeing he was ane preicher. Which being granted (as juſtlic it culd not be denyed), the nixt foday, in his publiēt fermond, he ſaid—

“I am compellit, and that be impudent and manifēt lyaris, to crave of yow, loving auditouris, as ge will anſuer to God, to beir trew and faithfull witneſſing. I am greivouſlie accuſed, as a bill delyuerit to the feſſioun of my kirke dois proport; and thairfor to yow, as to my competent judges, haue I my refuge, deſyryng yow yit once againe, as ge will anſuer befor the juſtice ſeate of God, to ſpair nothing of the veritie. Is there ony of geow that hard me in this publiēt place call the laird of Grange, now captane of the caſtell of Edinburgh, ‘a erwell murtherer, ane oppin throat-cutter, and one whoſe nature I had long knowin to be bloudthriftie?’ &c. Or was not the concluſioun of my juſt reprehentioune and complement direct to the plaine contrair end? I accuſed, indeid, that iniuſt and erwell murther; I affirmed that the violatig of the houſe of juſtice to be treafone; and finallie, I compleined that the lyke enormitie and pernitiouſ exemple I never ſawe in Scotland! Not but I had ſene murther and rebellion of befor; ge, I have ſene magiſtratis ganefoude, and the ſupreme magiſtratis of the croun I haue ſene beſedgit in thair awin tolbuith; and I haue ſene condemned perſones violentlie reft fra the gallous and gibbet; but nane of all theis foirnamed can be compared to this laſt attemptat. For, giſſ the maſteris and authoris of this laſt ryote had been knowin befor to have been oppin throatcutteris, bloudthriftie men, and ſic as had bene void of the trew feir of God, I wald haue bene no moir movit at this tyme then I haue bene at other tymes befor: Bot to ſie ſtaris fall from heavine; to ſie men that haue felt alſweill Godis judge-

mentis as mercies, in ane pairt; and to sie men of whome all godly hartis haue had a guid opinione; to sie, I say, sic men so far cariet away, that both God and man are nocht only forget, but also publiċlie dispyset, is both dolorous and feirfull to be remembred: ffor I haue knawin that man in his grittest extremitie, when that he mycht haue set him self at freedom be scheding of bloud, at the counfall of sober men, he vtterly refused all sic crweltie, and tuke a hafard to the fleshe most feirfull; which God nochtwithstanding blessed, having respect to the simplicitie of his hart. And thairfoir, then I said, and yit I say, that this exemple in him is the maist terrible exemple that euer I sawe in Scotland. I know that some haue made vther repoit; bot in thair face I say, that of thair father the devill they haue learned to lie; whairin gif thai continow, without repentance, thai fall burne in hell!"

This meikle being spoiken in oppin pulpet, he made this ansuer following, in write, to haue bene gevin in to the sessioun the nixt thurisdlay, for his full ansuer vnto the soirsaid lybell or accusatioun:—

*The Ansuer of Johne Knox, minister of Christ Jesus, in preiching of his blessed evange, to the Complent and Accusatioun of sir Williame Kirkcaldie of Grange, knyght.*

“To the long narrative preceeding the complent of the said Williame vnto your wisdomes, and his accusatioun of me, I ansuer nothing, save only this: that his owin confessioun convicts him to be a murtherer in hart, befoir that his servandis committed murther; indeid, for his owin confessioun is, that he, movit be divers misbehaviouris of umquhile Henrie Seatoun, send certane of his servandis to Leith to have dwng the said Henry with a batton; which directione and charge, I avow, was murther befoir God, afoir ony bloud was shed. For our maister Jesus Christ, and his apostle Johne, pronounced the hatreat of the hart to be murther befoir God; 3e, Johne affirmes, that ‘who so loueth nocht his brother is a man-flayer.’ The apostle Paul affirmeth, that ‘loue worketh no euill.’ And so the charge to stryk with a batton imported with it, from the first conception therof, murther; which is burst furth to the knowledge of the world, in mae fortis then one. I vtterlie deny that I haue done or said ony thing

in publick reprehensione of the said sir Willieme, repugnant to the dewtie of a faithfull pastore; ze, I feir not to affirme, that a true pastore nor a faythfull watchman I had nocht bene, gif I had keipit silence at so oppin a selander, and so proud contempt both of God and man. And this for summar answere to this whole complement; the particularis referring to farther oportunitie. Whair he compleinis that privie admonitiones past not befor, I answere, that nather to him nor yit to ony that in sic sort offendis, pertaineth privie admonitione. Bot against so proude and manifest attemptates belongeth publick reprehensioune, that vtheris may feir, according to the commandement of the apostle Paull, 1 Timothy 5. Whair he complainis that I called him 'oppin traytoure, vmerciefull murtherer, and a plaine throatcutter,' and that I did expres him be his name, giving the people to vnderstand that I had certane knowlege, proufe, and experience of his nature and inclinatioune, to be bent to murther and bloudshed, &c.; becaus that this pairt of his complement and accusatioune is manifestlie fals, and so far contrarious to my wordis, I omittit all answere and purgatioun of my self, that only excepted which in publick audience I gaue vpon fonday last. But in my rigorous accusatioune, as it pleisit the said sir Willieme to terme the publick discharge of my conscience, and dewtie to God, to his kirke, and to him (then and yit, alace! I feir, sleipin in syn), that my publick denunciatioune of his defectioun, I say, is in ony wayis contrarious to the actes, ordinances, and practises of this or ony weil reformed kirke, or yit against the rule of Christane charitie, I vtterlie deny. For in this kirke, since the erecting of it, this order hes bene obseruit, that vpon the notoriety of sic enormities committed within our owin body, publick declaratioune hes bene made to the whole people, as I suppose your wisdomes doe weil aneugh remember and vnderstand; and thairfor I supereid ony farther probatioun in that heid, and also farther apologie or defence of my self, unless your wisdomes pleis me new commandement. And so for conclusioun, I say, the said sir Willieme maist vnjustlie accuses me, who hes done nothing, in all that actioun, befydis the dewtie of a faythfull pastour. That I am fleshe and bloud, and cled with manly passiones, as he alledges, I neuer haue denyed; bot that ather fleshe or bloud impyred in me, in re-

buking his manifest impietie, that I vtterlie deny; praying God, that he may deale with him so faithfullie and so vprichtlie, that ze communicate nocht with his finnis; bot that it may pleis God so potentlie to worke with yow, that ze (he) may be brocht to the deip confideratioune of his feirfull defectione, and so to the confideratioune of his feirfull offences, and to vnfeaned repentance, be continuance whair of he may escaipe the vengeance pronounced, and that inevitable fall fall vpoun all impenitent perfones. And this for anfuer in generall; being reddie, as habitie of body will serue or suffer, and gif it fall pleis yow to command me, to anfuer every head in partieular.

(Subferyvit)      Youris to command in God,      **JOHNE KNOX.**"

Upon the declaratioune befoir said, opinly made in pulpet (which was most true), the captane take new purpose; and whair it was luiketh for that the said captane shuld in proper persone cometh, and fortified his accusatioune, he send a new bill to the sessioun, the tenour whair of folowes:—

[*New Bill to the Sessioun by fir William Kirkcaldie of Grange, knycht.*]

"Ryght reverend ministeris, elderis, and deacons of the kirke of Edinburgh, vnto your wisdomes, humblye meanis and schawis I your servitore, and one of your brethrin, William Kirkcaldie of Grange, knight, fforfameikle as I gaue, this day aught dayis, ane complent vpoun Johne Knox, minister, anent ane pairt of his preiaching be him made the fonday then preceeding, concerning me; the quhilk, as I was informed by diuers that hard the fame, was tane, reported, and vnderstand be thame, and mony vtheris, to my grit injury, and sclander, and defamatioune, as at mair lenth is conteinet in my said complent: Neuerthelefs, I vnderstand that the said Johne Knox, minister, vpoun fonday last was, hes declaired, in his sermond, his former sayings and intent to haue bene vtherwayis then thai were vnderstand be monie, as said is; and to the lament and amende-ment of my fault, and not to my hurt, injury, or defamatioune: I am content to give place to the treuth, and credit his awin declaratioune, and swa quyet myself in hope of the mercie of God, and not to vnquyet your wis-

domes nor him, be farther perſuite of the complent; only deſyring, gif it pleis him and yow, for fatiffactione of ſic as vnderſtoud and reported his ſayingis vtherwayis then he declaired, to giue his ſaidis wordis and declaratione in write. Vtherwayis, referring the fame to God, and end of the fame mater, which will declair all. And your wiſdomes anſuer I beſeike."

As Johne Knox was paſſand to the ſeſſione to anſuer the greivous complent, according to his promeis, this former bill was preſentit vnto him be two eldaris; quhilk beand red, he ſaid, "I will goe to the ſeſſione and give my owin anſuer." And fo creiping vpoun his club, came in beſoir them, and ſtanding, ſaid, "This day was aſſigned vnto me to anſuer the complent of ſir William Kirkealdie of Grange, knycht; but becaus, as this lettre propertis, he is nocht willing to perſew the fame, whatſoever pleiſes yow pleiſes me: for, God knowis, I haue neuer bene enemie to that man; and thairfor, his purſuit ceaſing, my defence fall ſleip. Bot tuo thingis I man proteſt and deſyre of your wiſdomes. The former, that this my caſines to be intreated, nather prejudge my ſelf, nather yit ony of my bretherin, fellow-preichouris; for quhat it is to accuſe a miniſter for the functione of his office, I ſuppone ge vnderſtand: farther, in this heid, I delay. The ſecund is, that I deſyre that ge ſuffer not the gentle man to ſleip longer in his ſyn. He is ſnared by Sathan; it is your deutie to haue compaſſione vpoun him. And Superintendent, thairfor, I pray yow, for the mater cheiflie tuiches yow, be faithfull, and ſtout in your office. Admoniſhe him of his offence committed againſt God, againſt the partie, againſt the kirke, and cheiflie againſt the magiſtrate." Heirvpoun was the Superintendent of Lowthiane direct to the caſtell. But anſuer is not yit (to wit, the laſt of Februar) reported to the ſeſſione. Bot the brute came to the eares of ſome, that the captane had fatiffiet the Superintendent, in all thingis; and wald fatiffie the kirke, as thai wald command. But in the mean tyme, the brute went that Johne Knox had recanted, and had aſked the captane mercie.

The next ſonday after, the ſaid Johne Knox, in his ſermond, declared the nature of trew repentance; and in the end, concludit that vnfeaned repentance broecht with it humiliatioune without exeufe, and true humilia-

tionne procured of God delay of plauges, how scharplie that euer they were pronounced, at least for a tyme; and that heid he fet fourth be the historie of Elias, who in his face rebucked Achab of Naboths slauchter, who was not participant thairof, bot be approbatioune, when the fact was done.

This fermond did exasperat the captane agane, and pat him in a new raig. The fourt sonday, it chanced the ladie Murray to be in Edinburgh, for whose caus, to wit, to salute hir, the captane came to the fermond (as he had nocht bene befoir almost ane whole yeir). He brocht at his bake the principall murtheraris, and sic as had befoir brocken up the tolbuthe. Johne Knox was quicke in that fermond against all sic as forget Godis benefits received, and entreating of Godis grit mercies bestowed vpoun penitent sinneris. According to his commoune maner, he forewarned proud contempneris, that Godis mercie aperteined not to such as with knowledge proudlie transgressit, and after, moir proudlie menteaned the same. All that scharpnis the said laird of Grange tuike, as spocken against his persone only; and spake his pleifoure to moe then ane or twa.

Vpoun this new displeafoure, the brute therof ran to all partes; fwa thair is no tydingis, but this is one, that the laird of Grange hes sworne him enemie to Johne Knox, and will slay him. Whairvpoun, the bretherin of the west wrot this lettre to the captane, as follows:—

[*Lettre from the Bretherin of the West to the Laird of Grange.*]

“He that continowis to the end salbe savit.”

SIR, After hartlie commendatioune in the Lord; fforfameikle as into this our assemblie at Ayre, the secund of Januare, we haue hard be report of some, that not only ge haue conceived ane offence against our brother Johne Knox, but also that ge are purpofet to injure him be sum way of deid (a thing hard to be beleived of us): ffor albeit in materis of civile regiment ge doe not fullie agrie with us, yit in the actione of religione, God hes heirtofoire fa far vsed your labouris to the furtherance thairof, that ge haue not bene a simple professore only, but also a chiefe defendar thairof, with the hafard of your lyfe, landis, and guidis: And, thairfoir, hard it is to perswade us that ge shuld be movit to doe ony harme to him, in whose protectione and lyfe (to our iudgment) standis the prosperitie

and incres of Godis kirke and religione; and fo, be the injureing of him, to cast down that worke which with fo grit labouris and manifold dangeris 3e haue helpit to build. 3it, nochttheles, the grit cair that we haue of that our perfonage of that man, whome our God hes made both the first planter, and also the cheif waterer of his kirk amonges us, and moves us to write these few lynis vnto you; protesting, that the death and lyfe of that our said brother is to us fo pretious and deir, as is our owin lyves and deathis. Defyryng to haue a plaine declaratioune of your mynd in this matter with this beirar, whom we haue directed vnto yow with farther credite. And this nocht trubling 3ow with farder wryting, we committ yow to the regiment of the Spreit of God. From Ayre, the 3 of Januare, 1570 (1).

(Thus subfcriyvit):

Glencairne	Hew Wallace of Carnall
Vchiltrie	Johne Foulertoun of Dreghorne
Cunynghamheid	Johne Cathcart of Carriltoun
Williame Cunynghame of Crapintoun	Gilbert Kennedy of Dalquharran
Barganye	Johne Neilfone of Craigecaffie
Johue Lockhart of Bar.	Hew Kennedy of Bennand
	Thomas Kennedy of Lamby.

In this mean tyme, Paisley was taken from the lord Semple's servendis be the Hammiltounes, and be thame keipit till that the Regent with his forces tuike it, and delyuered the place in keiping to the lord Cathcart. Great moyen was made to raife the feidge, and fo to frustrat the poure Regent of that enterpryfe; but God affited him then, fo that he gat the place of Paisley randerit without promeis or compositioun, vther then the Regentis will, vndeclared.

The erle of Mortoun, and Mr James MacGill, clerke of register, wer fend to England commiffionaris for the kingis majesties partie. The quene of England schew fair countenance to aither partie, as by her anfier gevin to the comendatore of Dumfermeling, who was fend befoir, and hir owin letter short befoir fend to the Regent, may appeir.



*The Anſuer gewin (be the Queine of England) to the Commendator of Dumfermeling.*

“The quenis maieſtie hath perſed the Inſtruſtiounes which he brocht from the Regent, and findis in thame diuerſe thingis worthie of conſideratioune; which, without farther debating of thaim, can nocht be weyit as thai import: And thairfoir, hir maieſtie wiſhed that ſome ſuch perſones of that eſtate as haue credite and acquaintance with thoſe cauſes, myght furthwith repair hither for that purpoſe; with whome hir maieſtie will haue farther and more particulare conference vpon thoſe articles, as falſe ſitt. And for the principall point, twiching the reſtitutioune of thair queine; conſidering that by thair fundrie anſueris, alſweill heirtfoir made as now at this tyme, it ſeameth that by thair allegatiounes the pretent caus in juſtice to ſtay the ſame, hir maieſtie wold that the Regent, and vtheris of the kingis pairt, ſuld vnderſtand that ſhoe neuer intendit, nor will grow in reſolutioun thairin, that fall appeir vnto hir to be againſt juſtice or otherways, vntill ther caufe may [be] honorable provydit for, to all purpoſes. And thairfoir, whatſoever thai can make apparant vnto hir maieſtie for thair continouance and conſervatioune, to be agreeable with juſtice, hir maieſtie will be reddy to vnderſtand the ſame; and thairvpoun further do, as falſe to thair ſatiffactione, for the continouance of the pairt they hold: And gif percaſe, on the vther fyde, they ſal nocht be able to fortifie thair cauſe with ſic evident reaſones as hir maieſtie may with conſcience ſatiffie hir ſelf, and with honore anſuer to the world; then neuertheles, hir maieſtie, for the naturall loue ſcho beireth to the kyng, hir neir kynſman, and guid will ſho had, and to the nobilitie on his pairt and thair affociatis, will leive no meanis to provyde for all thair ſafties. In both which caſes, it is eaſlie ſene how neceſſaire the preſence of ſume ſitt perſonages to be ſent from them is, with whome hir maieſtie will treat to thoſe endis, gif thai ſall thinke gude to ſend thame. And thairfoir requyred the abbot, ather by him ſelf or by his aduerteiſment, to giue knowledge of this hir maieſties anſuer to thoſe noble men, with ſpeid, that thai may ſpedilie diſpatche the commiſſionaris, ſufficientlie authoriſed to confer with hir maieſtie, in ather caufe; ſo as by no delay of tyme, the guid intent hir maieſtie hath for thame be

hindered. And confidering the guid opinione hir maieftie hath conceaved of the difcretione and finceritie of the faid abbote, fhoe wifhed him to be prefent with fuch as come for that purpofe.

*The Quenis Lettre.*

“ Rycht truftie and rycht weilbeloued coufing, we greit yow weil, doing yow to vnderftand that we haue receaved, by the commendatore of Dumfermeling, your lettres, with fuch other wrytingis as he hath willed him to declare vnto us: And lykwayis, as he is very weil able for his wifdome and fufficiencie for to doe, he had declared vnto vs fuch thingis as on your behalf he hath to declair vnto us; whairby we doe verie weil perceive the guid will which yow, and the reft that ar with yow, in that realme, beir towardis us, and the regard you feame to haue of us. And for anfuer of thefe thingis which yow haue fend vnto us, and vnto that which the commendatore hath declaired vnto us further, becaus thair confist of mony and fundrie poyntis, and be of grit wecht and importance, and requyre a further tyme to be deliberat vpoun, we haue for this prefent refolued no further thairin, then the faid commendatore fall informe yow; referring our further anfuer and refolutioun to the comeing hither of your commiffionaris, who were luiked for to haue bene heir afoir this tyme: And fo much the rather we haue done fo, becaus the faid commendatore doeth judge that befoir he falbe able to returne vnto yow, they wilbe neir vpoun thair arryvell heir. But of one thing we moft at this tyme remember yow, and requyre you fo to confider thairof, as thair follow no fuch inconvenience be the fame, as otherwayis it moft neidis doe, which is this: Our requeit was, that the abftinence from hofilitie betuixt both pairties thuld be agried vpoun, ather for fex weikis, or tuo monethis; for your partie have aggreed but for fex weikis, and the queine of Scottis pairtie have agried for tuo monethis; fo as nether pairtie do varie thairin. Whairfoir, to avoyde this inconvenience, and that the faid queine and hir pairtie haue no caufe to compleane heirof, nor blame us heirin, we requyre and pray you to agrie alfo to keip the faid abftinence alfo for the full tuo monethis; fo as neather pairtie do varie thairin. And confidering that this fpace of tyme being alreddie weil fpent, and will nocht fuffer for the

tyme of the treatie of the said commiffionaris, we thinke it meit that thair be a further abstinence agriet vpoun of both pairteis, and the same to extend to Marche nixt; whairvnto we pray you to agrie, and with speid to aduerteis us of your refolutioun thairin; for the saidis queinis pairt did agrie at the first tyme vpoun ane abstinence, nocht onlie for two monethis, but for as long tyme as we should think meit: Which agriement the said abbote had fend heir, vnder thair handis and seales. And, in caice, thairfoir, ze do agrie to this our secund requeist, we will, vpoun aduerteisment thair of to us (which we requyre you may be done with all convenient speid), procure the lyke renewing from the saidis queinis pairt, vnder your handis and seales. Gevin vndir our signet, at our Honour of Hamptoun Court, the 7 day of December, 1570, and thretein zeir of our regne.

Your loving freind,

ELIZABETH R."

These lettres nochtwithstanding, the captane of the castle was nurished in grit esperance, or elis vaine boasting, blew fourth of the rocke; ffor the winde blew vp and downe Edinburgh, that the queine of England had offerit to him, and for his caus, to the Secretare, restitutione of all that ather thai or thair freindis had fusteaned. This message come be a gentleman called Haringtoun, who also caried lettres to the Regentis, whome he fand at Glasgow. Eftir him come ane vther messinger, from Berwicke, called Hope, from the Merchell of Berwicke. What was conteaned in his lettres, or what he had in credite, is not publictlie knawin; bot wer the tydingis pleising or vnpleasing, the captane made a schaw of a stout bragg, for his gaird houfes were furnished; his new men of weir, vnder the conduct of Melvin, captane, who befoir had bene a captane of a company in the first Regentis tyme, and his enseinggie, Waeven the tailzour, come downe the gait of Edinburgh, vpoun mononday, the penult of Februar 1570 (1). They come downe, we say, from thair gaird houfes, with sic haift, as men wonderit what shuld be thair enterpryse; the end whair of was to initiat the hand of Wattie Weaven, old deacone of the tailzouris, with a new enseinggie; which, with a grit solemnitie, was careit through the publict mercate, and so to the castle, and bake againe about St Cuthbert kirke, whair the eath of the suddartis wer taken: Whair of, for

the present, we will not speike, but referre treuth to God, and to the declaratioune of tyme.

At this time come fourth a ballate, direct (as it had bene) from the captane of the castell, compleaning, as he lay vpoun the craig of Edinburgh: And becaus we neuer vnderstoud the vaine of his poesie of befoir, ge fall reid, gif ge pleis, that ge may judge out of what arrow-bag sic arrowes are fhott.

*The Ballat.*

At the castle of Edinburch,  
 Vpoun the bank baith greine and rouch,  
     As myne alone I lay,  
 With paper, pen, and inke in hand,  
 Musing, as I could vnderstand,  
     Off the suddan decay  
 That vnto this puir natioune  
     Apeirandly dois come:  
 I fand our Congregatione  
     Was caus of all, and some  
 Whois aucthoris, instructoris,  
 Hes blindit thame so long,  
 That, blameles and schameles,  
 Both riche and poure they wrong.

These wicked, vaine veneniaris,  
 Proud poyfoned Pharifianes,  
     With thair blind guydis but grace,  
 Hes caused the puire cuntrie  
 Allist vnto thair traitorie,  
     Thair Prince for to displace:  
 For teine I can not testifie  
 • How wrangouslie they wrocht,  
 When thair thair Prince so pitioullie  
     In prisone strong had brocht;

Abufed hir, accused hir,  
 With ferpent wordis fell,  
 Of fehavelis and rebellis,  
 Lyk hiddeous houndis of hell.

These difpaired birdis of Beliall,  
 Thocht nocht but to advance thaim fell,  
     Fra thai had hir down throwin;  
 With erre and hypocrifie,  
 To committ open traitorie,  
     As cleirlye now is knowin:  
 But the grit God omnipotent,  
     That fecreitis thochtis dois ferche,  
 Releivit hes that innocent  
     Out of thair rage fo fearce;  
 Provydet and guyded  
 Hir to vncouth land,  
 Whair wander and fclander  
 With enemeis none fho fand!

Sen tyme of which ejectione,  
 This cuntrie is come in fubjectione  
     And daylie feruitud.  
 With men of weir in garifone,  
 To the communes oppreffione,  
     By flicht, and fuddrone bloud;  
 Whofe craft, ingyne, and polycie  
     Full reddy bent is euer,  
 Be treafone vnder amitie  
     Our nobles to diffeaver:  
 Some rubbing, fome budding,  
 Thair studie thai employ,  
 That flichtlie, vnrichtlie,  
 They may this realme enjoy.

This guyding gart grit greif aryfe  
 In me, wha nawayis culd devyis  
     To mend this grit mischance;  
 And als I argoued all the cais,  
 I hard ane fay, within this place,  
     “ With help of God and France  
 I fall, within ane litill space,  
     Thy dolouris all to drefe !  
 With help of Christ thow fall, or Pasche,  
     Thy kyndlie Prince possès ;  
 Detrufaris, refuifaris,  
 Of hir autoritie ;  
 Nane cairand or spairand,  
 Shall outhir die or flie.

“ Thought God, of his juft jugment,  
 Thole thaim to be ane punifhment  
     To hir, thair fupreme heid ;  
 Zit fen thay war participant  
 With hir, and fho now penitent,  
     Rycht fuirly they may dreid ;  
 As wicked fcourges hes bene feine  
     Get for the fcurgene hyre,  
 When fynneris repentis from the splene,  
     The fcourge caft in the fyre :  
 Swa Mortone, be fortone,  
 May get this fame reward ;  
 His boafting, nor pofting,  
 I doe it not regard.

“ Bayth him and all thair cumpany,  
 Thocht England wald thaim fortife  
     I cair thaim nocht a leike ;

“For all thair grit munitione,  
 I am in fuire tuitione,  
     This hauld it fall me keip.

My realme and Princes libertie  
     Thairin I fall defend,  
 When traitouris falbe hangit hie,  
     Or make some schamfull end.  
 Affuere thame, I cuire them,  
 Ewin as thei do deferue;  
 Thair tressone, this cessone,  
 It fall not make me fuerve:

“For I haue men and meit aneugh,  
 They know I am ane tuilzeour teoch,  
     And wilbe rycht fone greved;  
 When thei haue tint als mony teith  
 As thei did at the feige of Leith,  
     They wilbe faine to leive it.  
 Then quha, I pray you, falbe boun  
     Thar tinfall to advance,  
 Or gif sic compositione  
     As thei gat then of France?  
 This fylit, begylit,  
 They will bot get the glaikis;  
 Cum thai heir, thir tuo yeir,  
 They fall not misse thair paikis.

“As for my nychtbouris, Edinburch toun,  
 What falbe thair part, vp or downe,  
     I can not yit declair;  
 Bot one thing I make manifest,  
 Gif thei me ony thing moleft  
     Thair buithis falbe made bair.

## BANNATYNE'S MEMORIALES.

Gif fyre may thair buildingis facke,  
 Or bullat beat thaim downe,  
 They fall nocht fail that end to mak  
     The staires made in this toun.  
 Swa vfe thaim, and chufe thaim,  
 What pairt thei will enfew;  
 Forfake me, or take me,  
 They fall drink as thei brew!"

He bade me rife and mufe na mair,  
 But pray to God both lait and aire,  
     To faue this noble ludge,  
 Which is, in all prosperitie,  
 And lykways in aduerfitie,  
     Our Princes plane refuge.  
 Thairfoir, all trew men I exhort,  
     That ge with me accord,  
     That we all, baith in ernesf and sport,  
     Aske at the leving Lord.  
 That hanged, or manged,  
 Mot ilk man mak his end,  
 Wha dewlie and trewlie  
 Wald nocht this houfe defend!

FINIS.

Schort efter the knowledge of this rowftie ryme, the General Affembly of the kirke was to conveine in Edinburcht, to wit, vpoun the first day March, 1570 (1). Befoir this affembly, thair was no fmall boast, that the captane of the castle wald accuse Johnne Knox of the reproving of his murther, and of his vther enormities done; which the said Johnne hard of diuerse, patientlie did abyde the time appointed, not omitting his dewtie vpoun the fonday, as the text offered occasioun. Bot, when the affembly was full, and a day was past, nothing was hard; whairat mony mervellit.



That tuiſday nycht, the ſecund day of the aſſembly, ther was a brawd, or elis a foulifhe vanitie, devyſed in the caſtell. The one pairt of the captanes ſhuldioris touke vpoun thaim to ſcirmifhe in maner of ane aſſault to the caſtle; the vther pairt, with his gentlemen, tuike the defence and keiping of the caſtle. The ſkymeis begouth about 8 horis at nycht, and fo continowd quhill eſter 9. Queſtioun was demandit from the hous, "What thei were that trubled the captane vnder ſilence of nycht?" It was anſwerit (as the feares was devyſed), "The queine of Englandis armie." Thare began flyting, and ſic flyting as commounlie we haue nocht hard; for befydis thir wordis, "Away lubbard!" "Away blewcoate!" "I defy the whytcoite!" "Dyrt vpoun your teithe!" "Hence kneavis, and go tell that whore your maiftres, ſho fall nocht come heir!" "We lat you to wit, that we haue men, meit, and ordinance for ſevin yeiris!" And fo about the end of the ſcirmifcing, the caſtle began to diſcharge cannones, firſt ane, ſyne ane vther, and laſt the third; and fo ſhortlie, the counterfout aſſaultaris touke the flicht, and quytneſ was in the toune for that nicht.

At diuerſe tables wer diuerſe communicatiounes, and amongis vtheris, Johne Knox, fitting with two bretherin, ſaid, "I could expone, gif I myght ſpeike, the myſterie of yon thair (thrie) cannones; but becaus the nicht is fare ſpent, and I may nocht weil ſpeike, I conclud with this ſentence of Salomon, "*Ante ruinam præit fuſtus,*" befor deſtructioun geoth pryde, &c.: I ſawe als grit bravetie in the caſtle of Sanct Androis, and yit few days brocht a miſerable defolatione."

The 3 day of the Aſſembly thair was a lybell, without name, in a counterfuite hand caſſin in, and fra the houſe of the Lordis fell into the Aſſembly houſe. The tenor of it, as ſalbe eftir declaired, was to accuſe Johne Knox. The lentre being preſented to the ſaid Johne, he willed the ſame to be made maniſteſt to the moderatour and bretherin of the Aſſembly; deſyring thame onlie to give him place to anſwer for him ſelf. Vtheris thoct it not expedient, ſuddainlie, but rather to ſuffer tyme to wirke, that the compleners mycht open farther of thair myndis; and fo that day it paſſed by with ſilence. That ſame nycht following, this ſame bill, with

some additione, was fixed vpoun the Affemblye doure; the tenour whair-  
of followes:—

[*Lybell accusing Johne Knox.*]

“ Vnto yow, rycht honorabill superintendentis, ministeris, and kirk of God, presently affembled within this burcht for reformatioun, humble meanis and compleanis your fellow memberis of Jefus Chriff, professing ane self religione with you, vpoun Johne Knox, minister of this burcht. [1. *They wer nocht Gentles that accused pour Jeremy*]. That quhair, vpoun fonday last bypast, and diuerse vtheris tymes of befoir, the said Johne, contrair to his professioun, opinie, in this kirk of Edinburgh, maist feditioufflie [2. *Falslie lybellit*] detracted, rayled, and invyed against our fouerane ladie [3. *No fouerane lady is shoe to me, nor yit to this realme, and so ye ar traitouris*], the nobilitie, and vther subiectis of this realme, professing her grace obedience, naming her ane idolatres, and murtherer, and ane adulteres [4. *I grant the accusatioun, bot realing I deny*], and her subiectis, menteaneris of adulterie and idolatrie; with mony vtheris injurious and felanderous wordis, as is notorly knowin to this haill burcht. Attour, whairas of dewtie [5. *I deny dewtie in that pairt*], not only he shuld haue openly, in his commoun prayer, haue prayit for her, bot exhorted the haill church to pray for her weillfair, repentance, and conuerfion to God; not only doeth he omitt the same, but, contrariewayis, vses all maner of imprecatiounes and execratiounes against hir [6. *What I haue vsed man has not stopped, nor shall nocht stop*], and vtherwayis speikis of her as shoe wer a reprobate, saying shoe repentis not, nor can not repent [7. *Thou art ane impudent liare! I said, and say, that pryde and repentance abyde not in a hart*], because shoe desyris, most refounnable, to be restoirod to hir owin realme and auctoritie, justly aperteyning to her, both be Godis richt and manis, and whairfra shoe was vnnaturallie reiected, and is wrangoufflie debarit; thus entering in Godis secreit counfall, as thoct he war previe thairof, and called thairto. In which doing, he workis, fa far as lyes in him, be sic presumptioun and malapairt arrogancie [8. *I know you for no judge, and thairfoir I appele to Godis mercie, and to the rycht judgement of the kirke*], to make the

religione of Jefus Chrif to be ewill fpoken of, and the hail miniftrie to be heated and abhorred; and be intermedling of civeill and profaine materis with the word of God, devydis the church in contrarious factiones; whairvpoun may enfew grit hurt and perrell, not only to the kirke, but alfo to the commoun weill. Heirfoir, we befeike your worfhipis, as yow that are apoyntit to watche aboue his churche, to put order to the faid Johne, in the executioun of his office, that he defift fra fic intollerable and enorme railing [9. *Railing I deny; your fouverane lady I know nocht; my commiffione man can not limitate*] vpoun our fouverane lady, and intromedling fic profaine caufes with the word of God, far aboue his commiffione; vtherwayis, 3c wilbe thocht, in tymes cuming, pertakeris of his fchifme, and charged thairwith, as oportunitie will ferue. Vules 3c put remeid heirto, the ingevaris heirof will fpeike the famen with gretter vnquyetnes." [10. *Godis gude will be done; and to that juft Judge I appeale*].

This fecund letter comming to the knowledge of divers, the Affemblic decried to aduerteis the lordis of feffioun (wha war in the hous vprycht aboue thame), and for that purpofe did direct vnto them fome bretherin, and minifteris, with both the billis, to inquire gif thai knew ony thing of the ingiving of the fame? Which being denyed vtterlie be thame, the procurouris wer called, and thei lykwayes denyed both knowledge and counfall of and to ony fic accufatioune. Then the Affemblic commandit a publict proclamatioune to be maid, as followes:—

[*Proclamatioune by the General Affemblic.*]

“ Becaus some wrytingis are caffin in be some perfones, fclanderoullie, againft Johne Knox, and the ingevaris thairof are mifknawin, thairfoir the Affemblic defyris ony perfone or perfones that will perfew and ftand to the famyn, to compeir and perfew the famyn, and iuftice falbe done accordingly.”

This proclamatioune, nochtwithftanding, no man wes fund to accufe; bot this thrid bill was affixed vpoun the kirke-doure, the tenour whairof followes:—

*To the rycht honourabill Superintendentis, Ministeris, and Kirke of God, presentlie assembled for reformatioun.*

“Forfameikle as vpoun the Supplicationes gewin to yow of before, 3e caufit openly proclame at the counfall hous doure, gif ony man wald compeir to perfew the fame, faying that Knox was readie to anfuer thairto: Gif the fupplicatioune be reffonabill, and foundit vpoun ane guid caus of complent, worthie to be reguardit (as thai ar most reffonabill), then ar thai fuffieient, but farder purfuite, to admonifhe yow (men of iudgment), of your dueitie, and moue you to provyde that no flander be gevin be the minifter that oceupis the cheif chaire of this realme; the ingevaris of the fupplicatiounes luikis that the fame be alfweill ane admonitione to the criminall as vnto your wifdomes; 3it, give he, vpoun his corrupt fence and pervers affectioun, perfiftis in his arrogant malice, he fall not want ane or mae accufatoris at the nixt Affemblic, provyding he be then law byding, and not fugitive, according to his accuftomet maner.”

This bill being affixt vpoun the kirk-dour, as faid is, and vpoun fundrie vtheris places, was brocht be the bellman to Mr Knox the 10 day of Marche 1570, as he was putting on his cloathes; and eftir that he had red it, delyuerit it to Richard, his fervant, commanding him to tak it to the Affemblic, which diffolued that fame day. The bill being presentit, and alfo red, the faid Richard fayis, “I befeike your wifdomes to heir me, and to take in guid pairt the thing that I fall fpeike; ffor God I tak to reorde, it procedis of na malice to ony perfoun.” And fo leive being grantit, he procedis thus:—“It hes pleafed God to make me a fervant to that man, Johne Knox, quhom I ferue (as God beiris me witnes), not fo meikill in refpect of my worldlie commoditie, as for that integritie and vprychtnes which I haue euer knowin, and presentlie vnderftandis to be in him, efpeciallie in the faithfull adminiftratioune of his office, in teiching of the word of God; and give I vnderftoud or knew that he wer a fals teichair, a feducar, a raifer of chifnes, or ane that makis diufioun in the kirke of God, as he is reported to be by the former accufatiounes, I wold not ferue him for all the fubftance in Edinburgh. Thairfor, I defyre your

wisdomes to make it manifest and knowin, be some publict edict, that ge approue his doctrine, consent and agrie with him, that ge are of one mynd and judgment with him, and that ge sing all ane sounge; that thairby, the rest of ministeris beiring the part and burding with him (which, on my judgment, now lyes only on his bake), the enemeis haue no occasion to say, it is only Johne Knox that speikis against the queine."

Thay all said they wold beir their part of the same burding with him; for the which the said Richard earnestlie protested, and desired ane act thairvpon, but it was refused. Ane askit and demandit of the said Richard, "Gif his maister badd him requyre ony sic thing?" Bot he confessed, as the truth was, that the thing he spake was of his owin heid, without any knowledge of his maister; but onlie, that he was movet be the sclanderous accusations, and thairfoir (he said) he could do no les, of his conscience, than to desire their wisdomes to remeid the foresaid fals reportes, so far as in thame lay; which could be by no means better, in his judgment, than be their publict declaratione, be edict or vtherways, as thair thocht best, to mak it knowin to all that they approvet the thingis that Johne Knox spake, and that they war in the same mynd and judgment with him, twiching these thingis whair of he was accused; leif, be their silence in this behalf, they wold confirme the opin speikingis of the enemeis, who alledge, and say, that thair haue als monie ministeris on thair fyde as the king hes upon his fyde.

The said Richard, being not a litill in choler that his just desire was refused, and that the clerke of the session refused to give him ane act vpon the same, whos duetie, as he thocht, was not to haue bene so earnest in refusing his request; he requyred Mr George Mackiesone, witness in the premises, and wald haue givin him ane plake to make ane act vnder his handwrit of the former wordis. The said Mr George promiseit to beir witness (as his hand write heirof testifies), but refused the plake, and said it neidit not.

*Thir are the names of thame that wer present in the Assemblie, quhen the said Richard made his Protestatioune:*

Mr George Hay, moderator

The Laird of Dunn, superintendent of Angus

Maister Robert Pont, commissiounar for the kirkis of Murray  
 Mr Andro Hay, commissiounar of Glasgou  
 Mr Daud Weymis, ministar at Glasgou  
 Williame Crystifone, ministar of Dundy  
 Mr Daud Lyndfay, ministar at Leith  
 Mr Johne Craig, ministar at Edinburgh  
 Mr Gilbert Gairdein, ministar at Monthe  
 Mr Johne Hepburne, chantour of Murray  
 Daud Forgefone, ministar at Dumfermling  
 Donald Adamfone, commendatour (commissiounar?) of Ros  
 Mr Johne Prestoun, and Adam Fowlartoun, commendatouris (com-  
 missiounaris?) for the kirk of Edinburgh  
 James Dalrumpell, ministar at Ayre  
 Johne M'Cron, ministar at Stenton in Lanerike  
 Mr Robert Lockard  
 The Laird of Haltoun  
 Thomas Summerwell, burges of Edinburgh  
 Mr George M'Kiefone, folister for the kirke  
 And Johne Gray, scribe, who tuike the speich upon him, and first  
 refusid.

GEORGE M'KEISONE, *ane witness of the premises, with my hand.*

The General Assamble being dissolued, some of the bretheren travel-  
 lit with Johne Knox; and that of guid mynd, that he sould pas over all  
 sic accusatiounes with silence. To whome he anfuert:

[*Johne Knox his Anfuert.*]

“The kirk may forbid me preiching, but to stop my tounge being in the  
 pulpet it may not; and thairfor, eather lat me be dischargit, or else lat  
 you and the aduerfaires both louke for ane anfuert.” And swa fonda  
 beand the nixt day, the sermond endit, he anfuert all the billis; and first,  
 he anfuert the complent and title that the accusatouris cleamed to thaim  
 feluis, calling them fellow-memberis of Jesus Christ, etc. and said: “Al-  
 beit, it is most dolorous to my hart to make ane apologie against such as  
 call thame felues fellow-memberis of Jesus Christ, and men professing the

fame religione with us; ȝit, becaus it is no new thing that Godis fervandis haue beine accused of sic as haue bene esteamed the cheif pillaris of the kirke, it becometh me to take my lot in guid pairt; for Jeremie was not accused of the Gentiles, bot his accusatouris were Jewis borne, and circumcised according to the law, and all externall professing and avowing the testament made with Abraham; Paull was in mony dangeris, and amonges the rest, he recomptis his perrelis amonges fals bretherin. Ȝe heir how greivouſlie I am accused. I will nocht say that Tertullus accuses Paull; bot we know that once he accused him, as the Aētes of the Apostles, the 24 ver. and 1 cap. (*Acts*, xxiv. 1) we may reid.

“Gif this accusatioune be weill weyeth, I doubt not but ȝe fall perfaue the fame to be the dytment and fals style of a flattering oratore travelling to cloake impietie, and to defeace the just reprehensioune of Godis Spreit. That I haue called hir ane obstinate idolatrice, ane that consented to the murther of her owin husband, and ane that hes committed whordome and villanous adulterie, I glaidlie grant, and never myndis to deny; bot railing and feditione thai ar neuer able to prove in me, till that first thei compell Esaj, Jeremie, and Ezechiel, St Paull, and vtheris, to recant; off whome I haue learned, plainelie and bauldlie, to call wickitnes be the awin termes—a feg, a feg, and a spead, a spead. I feir that threatening pronounced be Esaj, in these wordis, ‘Woe to them that call licht darknes, and darknes licht, guid ewill, and ewill guid.’ Gif sho be innocent of ony of the crymes laid to her charge be me, then may I be accused as a realer; but gif thair awin conscience bearis witnes to thame, that scho is guiltie in all the foirnamed, and in everie ane of thame, and in monie moe, lat thaim studie how thai falbe abfolued befor God, who threatenis to cast Jefabell in a bed, and thame that committ fornicatioune with hir in grit afflictioune, except thai repent. How mony flattered hir when sho raged in hir iniquitie, vnder the cloake of autoritie, some within this realme, and within the same citie, vnderstandis. But how that God the just judge hath overthrowin her pryde, and disafointed thair fals flattering promises, the whole world can witnes, and yit they will not cease, but still thai will menteane hir as sho wer ane innocent, and vnjustlie handled of her subiectis. Let her and her menteaneris compleane upoun God, who made

her cheife flattereris hir cheifest enemies. What shoe falbe to thame or thai to hir, lat thaim declair. I speik of thingis certane and bypast. Now to the rest of my accusatione, I pray not for hir; I anfuere, I am not bound to pray for hir in this place, for foveran to me sho is not; and I lat thaim vnderstand that I am not a man of law, that hes my toung to fell for siluer or favore of the world. Bot to reffone with them of prayer, who neuer vnderstoude what trew prayer was, wer bot labourer lost. I prayed till I was forbidden; but this maner of speiking the world vnderstandis not. They terme her thair fouerane, and them selvis the nobilitie and subiectis professing her obedience. In this thai confes thaim selues traitouris, and so am not I bound to anfuere thame, nor yit thair accusatione, till that thei giue anfuere to my peremptour. As to the imprecationes maid against hir, whair of I am accused, I haue willinglie confessed that I haue defyred, and in my hart desyres, that God of his mercie, for the comfort of his puire flocke within this realme, will oppone his power to hir pryde, and confound hir and hir flattereris and assitaris in bir impietie. I praise my God, he of his mercie hes not difappointed me of my iust prayer; lat them call it imprecatione or execratione as pleises thame. It hes after then ones stricken, and fall stryke, in despite of man; menteane and defend her who so list.

“I am further accused, that I spake of thair fouerane (myne shoe is not) as that sho wer a reprobate, affirming that sho can not repent, etc. Wharto I anfuere, that the accuser is a calumniator and a manifest liare, for he is neuer able to prove that at ony tyme I have said that sho could nocht repent: But I haue said, and yit say, that pryde and repentance abydis nocht in ane hart of ony long continowance together. What title sho hes, or euer had, to this realme, and to the authoritie thair of, I list not to enter into contentioun: How sho was dejected fra it, lat the estaitis anfuere; for me thei can nocht accuse, vnles thei lie; for hitherto I haue liued as a subiect, and obeyed as a subiect, to all lauchfull ordinance of God within this realme.

“It restis one thing that is most bitter to me, and most fearfull, gif my accusationis wer able to prouf thair accusatione, to wit, that I proudly and arrogantly entered in Godis secrete counfall, as that I wer called



therto. God be mercifull to my accufatouris, of thair rafche and vngodlie judgment! Gif thai vnderftoude how fearfull my confcience is, and euer hes bene, to exceed the bowndis of my vocatioune, they wold nocht fo boldlie haue accufed me. I am not ignorant, that the fecretis of God apertheine to him felf alone: but thingis revealed in his law aperteinis to vs and to our children for euer. What I haue fpoken againft the adulterie, againft the murther, againft the pryde, and againft the idolatrie of that wicked woman, I fpake not as ane that entered in Godis fecreit counfall, being bot one (of Godis greit mercie) called to preich according to his bliffed will, revealed in his moft holy word, haue offer then once pronounced the threatningis of his law againft fic as haue bene of counfall, of knowledge, of affiftance or consent that innocent bloud fuld be fched: And this fame thing I haue pronounced againft all and fundrie, that go about to menteane that wicked woman, and the band of thefe murthereris, that thei fuffer not the death according to his word, that the plague may be taken from this realme, which fall neuer be falong as shoe and thai remaine unpunifhed, according to the fentence of Godis law.

“ Whare I am accufed of intromedling civeill and profaine thingis with the word of God; I divide the kirke in contrarious factiones; I make the religione of Iefus Chrift to be evill fpoken of, and the whole miniftrie to be hated and abhorred, etc.; I anfuer, that when thai fall teiche me, be Godis plaine written word, that the repruife of vice is a civeile and prophane thing, and that it is a thing that perteaneth not to the miniftrie, I fall do as Godis word commandis me: Bot vnto that tyme (which will not be till the morne after domefday, and not then), I mon hold that fentence and power pronounced and gevin be God to his prophetis, be Jeremie and Ezechiell, to ftand for a perpetuall law and rewle to all true minifteris; which, with Godis affiftance, I purpofe to follow to my liues end.

“ Whare thai threaten to put order to me with grit vnquyetnes, vnles I ceafe from railing of thair fouerane, I anfuer as befor: Railing I deny; thair fouerane I know not; lat Godis will be done in me! I haue laid my compt; mony thingis I knowe I haue omittit, but in that I find no great fault with my memorie. Lat thaim reply, gif ather thai can or dar, and I fall anfuer as it pleafes God to affift me. And this anfuered to both thair

first accusations, in sehort wordis I ansuer to the third; in the which my accusatoris alledge, that there complent is sufficient that the Assembly accuse me, for thair awin discharge, &c. Whairvnto I ansuer, that my accusatoris wold haue the Assembly of Christiane ministeris moir brutise and moir barbarous then an Etnick judge was in a moir notorious accusatione: ffor the princees of the preistis cumming to Festus, the deputie defyred sentence against Paull; to whom he ansuerit (Actis 25, 16), that it was nocht the consuetude of the Romanes to decerne against ony man befor that he was accused, had his accusatoris present befor him, and that he him self had place to purge him of thingis objected against him. Now, gif my accusatoris wald that a Christiane assembly sould condempne me at there request, and vpoun their accusatione, they make it inferiour to this Ethnicke judge, as said is. Bot thai haue promised to accuse me face to face, at the nixt General Assembly, gif I be found law-byding. Whairvnto I ansuer, that I praise God, that thei haue nothing presentlie to accuse, when the tyme is als favourable vnto thame, as euer thai will find it (gif Christ Jesus haue place within this realme). Bot becaus thai know that thair persuite is vnjust, they flie to the last refuge of all walteris of commone wealthis, *tempora mutantur*. Whither I falbe law-byding or not at that tyme I know not, for my dayes and wayes ar in the handis of Him vpon whome I depend, and who hath guydet me throughle in mony troubles, and hes yit preserved me to this decreipit aige, which now is not apt to flie farre. Mairover, I think that no man is able to conuict me to haue bene a fugitive from the flocke, whairto I was bound, without thair owin commandement.”

This apologic, pronounced be word, befor the secund sonday they caused the fourth bill to be affixt, accuseing Johne Knox of seditione, of schisme, and erroneous doctrine. As the tenour of thair accusatione dois testifie; which begins with a grite nota, thus:

[*The ffourth Bill, accusing Johne Knox of seditione, of schisme, and erroneous doctrine.*]

NOTA.—“Gif the the buike intitulat the Blast of the Trumpet, set fourth be Johne Knox, against the regiment of weomen, be grundet vpon a

schisme and fals doctrine (as but dout it is), why then may he not be judged, trewlie, ane seditious man and a fals doctour, that set fourth the same so arrogantlie? And gif it be groundit vpoun ane infallible treuth, why then doeth he avowe and approve the contraire—I meane that regiment in the queine of Englandis persone, which he avowes and appreives, not only in praying for the menteanance of her estate (as he hes done diverse tymes oppinlie in pulpet), but als in futeing and procureing, be him self and vtheris of his alluiring, be all meanes possible, hir aide and support against his owin natiue cuntrie and libertie thair of? It is evident, that ather his doctrine is fals, or els that he workis against the manifest treuth.”

[*Johne Knox his ansuer to the ffourth Bill.*]

That nixt fondaie, the sermond endit, Johne Knox requyred a litle audience of his congregatioune. “Beaus,” said he, “I am accused as a schismaticke and fals doctore;” and so he red the ticket that accused him self: And thaireftir said, “God be mercifull to my accusatoris, and giue thame grace cleirly to sie and perfitlie to vnderstand the doctrine which, be me, God hes pronouced ever since it pleased his mercie to illuminate myne eyes, and to instruct myne harte with the brightnes of his word. And God grant me patience, that without bitternes I may beare the opprobrie of the croce of Jesus Christ; whairtill I prais my God I am so afflited be his Holie Spreit, that gif I had not farther respect to you, who now of so long tyme haue bene my auditoris, then I haue or ever had to my self, I fould neuer oppin my mouth in my awin defence. But becaus I am not ignorant that Sathan, through his malice, seikis to deface the treuth of God in my waike persone, I dar not pas by sic accusatiounes with silence. The ditment feames to smell of some craftie lawles man of lawes braine; and yit, gif I list to handle him as his folie deserues, I micht easilie lat him sie, that in accusing the author of that tractat, he hes nather luiket to God, nature, nor to just law. His dilemma begynis with a conditionall, saying, ‘Gif the buike intitulat The First Blast of the Trumpet be grundit, &c.; why may not Johne Knox be called a seditious man, and a fals doctour, that so arrogantlie set

fourth the fame?' I will only anfuer his 'gif' with ane vther; and fo fay, Gif that be grundit vpon guid reafone, vpon Godis plaine treuth, and vpon maift plaine and juft lawes, then hes the accufatore nather God before his eyes, knowledge of juft lawes, nor yit reverance to nature. And fo lat one 'gif' anfuer ane vther, till that farther probatioune be produced. He bauldie affirnes, that that buike is grundit vpon a fchifme, &c.: Whairto I anfuer, that the affirmatione of ane liare may not be a fufficient proufe againft me, principallie in his owin caufe. A guid and wife dialectifiane wald haue labored to haue laid fome proufe, befor that he wold haue fo rashlie pronounced; and fo, becaus the former part of his dilemma hes no griter ftreth then his awin affirmative, I fay, it is brocken, and he is a manifeft liare. Gif euer I entreated that argument in publict or in privat, fen my laft arryvell in Scotland, his argument myght haue fum probabilitie; bot feing thair of I can not be conuict, a fchifmaticke I can not be proven. Bot the fecund horne of his argument the craftie accufatore thinks I can not avoid, for thus he writes: 'Gif it be grundit vpon ane infallible treuth, why then doeth he avow and approve the contraire—I meane that regiment in the queine of Englandis perfone, which he avowes and approves, nocht only in praying for the fame, the mentenance of hir eftate (as he hes done dyvers tymes opinlie in pulpet), but alfo in fuiting and procuiring, be himfelf and vtheris of his alluiring, hir ayde and fupport againft his owin native cuntrie,' &c. This horne, he thinkis fo ftrong, that no force is able to brek it; and yit my guid hoip is, that the hammer of Godis treuth fall fhaw it to be moir fragile and waike then euer glas was. He affirnes, that I approve the contraire, to wit, that fame regiment, in the perfone of the queine of England, his probatioune is, I pray for the mentenance of hir eftate, and I procure her ayde and help againft my natiue cuntrie. Thefe appeir to my accufatoris fo ftrong, as faid is, that I am not able to avoid thaim. And yit, I fay that nether of both his reffones fecht againft me; for nather doeth the prayer of Godis fervantis, for the mentenance of commone wealthis, whair the people of God remaines, prove that Godis fervantis allow all things done in fic commone wealthis; nather yet dois the feiking of help (ewin from the wicked) prove that the godly juftifies the wickit.

“And that these, my assertions, may be vnderstand to be most true and faire, I will not alledge the testimoneis of prophaine wryteris, but content my self with the mouth of God, and with the factis of thame, who in thair cheif aëtionis wer rewled be the Spirite of God. For example, I bring the prophetes of God that seruit in Israell, from the dayes of Jero-boam, the sone of Nebat, till the destruëtion of that kingdome, off whome (I meane of Godis prophetis) some comforted the kingis, althocht thai wer wicked, some forewarned thaim of dangeris, some gaue them charge to fecht, with promeis of victorie; but did ony of these actis prove that the propehites did allow and approve that kingdome of idolatrie, or thair vnnaturall defeëtion from the hous of Dauid? Jeremy prayed, and commandit the Jewis to pray, for the prosperitie and health of Nabuchanedzare; did he therefore justifie his crueltie against Jerusalem? I am assured he did not; as his awin prophesie beareth plane witnes. And so, my praying for the queine of England can not proue that I do any thing contraire the treuth affirmed in that buike. This same I answer to the secund member of his probatioune, to wit, that I seike and procure her ayde, and thairfor I justifie hir authoritie. I answer, that gif he were able to proue his assertion, to wit, that I seike and procure her ayde, yet is he neuer able to proue that nather my doctrine is fals, or that I worke against the manifest treuth, *Quia omnia munda mundis*. Dauid, purchased be Saull, focht support and refuge of Achys, king of Gath; did he thairfor approve and justifie the enormitie that was vsed in Palestina? My accusator may consider how easie it is to simple treuth to breke the strength of lyes, how artificiallie that euer thai be composed.

“But one thing, in the end, I may nocht pretermit, that is, to give him a lye in his throat, that ather dar, or will say, that euer I focht support against my native cuntrie. What I haue bene to my cuntrie, albeit this vnthankful aige will not knowe, yet the aiges to come wilbe compelled to beir witnes to the treuth. And thus I cease, requyring of all men that hes to oppone against me ony thing, that he will do it so plainlie as that I make myself and all my doingis manifest to the world: for to me it seames ane thing most vnreasonabill, that, in this my decrypt aige, I falbe compellit to fight against schaddowes and howlatis, that dare not abyde the lycht!”

This anſuer gevin to that horned argument in publiſt, with gritter vehemencie then it is wrytten, accufatioun be wryting againſt Johne Knox ceaſed for a tyme; for men had vther thingis to thinke vpon.

The caſtle of Dumbartane was taken the 2 of Aprile, 1571. The goat of the gilteane horne, the lord Flemyng, who knew not one but the king of France, tuike the fea. The grit biſchope of Sanct Androis was hanged; his epitaph on the gibbet was—

*Crefce diu felix arbor ſemperque vireto,  
O vtinam ſemper talia poma feras!*

The winning of Dumbartane was thus: The ſecond of Aprile, the ſaid caſtle was takin in the morning, about the brecking of the day; whairn was taken the biſchope of Sanct Androis, with vtheris of the queine of Englandis rebelis. My lord Flemyng eſcapit by flicht, in a litill boate; Boghall, and the biſchope, wer brocht to Striveling ſhortly eſter, with the Regent. The biſchope was execute the 7 of the ſamen moneth; whare he confeſſit the Regentis murther. Boghall was delayed; how long I can not tell.

*A Diſcourſe of the Wining of the Caſtell of Dumbartane be my lord  
Regentis grace, the 2 of Aprile, 1571.*

Firſt, the enterpriſe being deuyſed and concludet be his grace; whairnto thair was none made privie, except foure perſonis, in the begining. Vpoun the which, his grace fend for the laird of Drumwhaiffell, being then at home in his awin hous, and Thomas Crawford; to whome his grace communicate the executiing of the ſaid enterpriſe: And in reſpect of the ſhortnes of tyme which his grace had to remaine at Glaſgow, being verie ſingill accompaneit, except with his houſhold men and fervandis and men of warre, tuike purpoſe to hafard ſhortlie. And vpoun the firſt day of Aprile, at tuo eſter noune, directed the ſaid laird of Drumwhaiffell, with the horſmen, to make all paſſages ſo ſuire, both be land and water, betwixt Glaſgow and Dumbartane, aſoir the departing of the foutmen, which was at ſix horis at evin, in caufe aduerteifment ſhuld haue paſt at thair removing; appointing thaim to meit the ſaid Laird at the hill of

Dumbucke, at ten houris at evin, a myle diftant from the craige; whaire all kept tryft, both horfmen and futemen. The paffages, bayth be land and water, being weill fet at the faid meitting place, the faid laird of Drumwhaiffill and Thomas Crawford, be command of my lord Regentis grace, declared the enterprife to the whole fuddartis, and how the maner and moyen was made to performe the fame, be ane guyde conduēt it and hyrit to that effeēt, prefentlie thair. And fwa, be guide perfwaſiounes, the faid captanes and futemen tuike the enterprife ftoutlie in hand, in Godis name, and the kingis.

In the meane tyme, thair repaired thair ledderis and towes, and put all in guid order, fa long as the moun remained vp, which paft to at 12 houris in the nycht; and then beand bot thrie houris to day lycht, paft on thair fute with the ledderis to the craig (and ane thing cheiffe to be noted, a grit lycht of fyre ryfing out of the ground behind thaim, and paft fud-dainelie away), and thair labored in clymbing of the fame, whiles vp, whyles doune, nothwithftanding the crying of the watche; till at laft, by the vai-liantnes of the capitanes Crawford, Home, and Ramfay, they wan to the foute of the biggit wall, vpoun the heicht of the craig, be breke of day; at which tyme, be the prouidence of God, ane cluid of miſt circuit the craig about in fic darknes, that the watchman could nocht ſie our folkis, nochtwithftanding the day licht: And then ſchortlie, the ledderis were fet to; and captane Ramfay beand the firft vpoun the ledder, enterit, cry-and, "God and the king!" "A Darnlie! A Darnlie!" And beand perfaved be ſome within the place, was perfewit be thame, and ſchortlie releived be the fuddartis following; and thair, at the firft entrie, thair was thrie of thame within the hous flaine, and the fame win without ony mair ſkaith.

In this meantyme, the lord Flemyng, principall captane, feing the place win, paft out at a quyet part of the neather baillie, and beand full ſie, gat ane boit neir hand, and paft in Argyle. The biſchop of Sanēt Androis, the maifter of Levinftoun, the laird of Boghall, Virec, the French kingis agent, and ane Engliſh gentelman, with the reſt of the fuddartis within the place, tackin prifonaris, with my lady Flemyng; who wer all deteanit till my lord Regentis grace coming the morne, at ten houris in

the morning; whair his grace shew grit kyndnes to my ladie, and disponit to hir certane landis of hir husbandis, with her filuer vefchell and apparell, and all that belang to hir.

*Ane Letter of Thomas Crawford, to the same effect; written to Johne Knox, at the Laird of Braidis request.*

Rycht honourabill sir, Efter my hartlie commendatiounis, the laird of Braid schawis me that ge ar desyrous to know the maner of the taking of Dumbartane, and what we fand into it. The maner was this: I haveand knowledge of the maner how thai watched, and whare; and haveand an yeoman man, ane that had beine one of the watchmen of befoir, wha knew all the craig, whare it was best to clymb, and whair fewest ledderis wald ferue; without ony farder intelligence, I tuike on hand to give ane assay, and to do that thing that was possible.

Vpoun the which, we departed from Glasgou ane hour befoir the foune setting; I haivand provydit of befoir the lederis and coirdis, and crows of iron, to put betwix craigis to put coirdis to: And afoir we struke our drvme in Glasgou, fend out our horfmen to keip all the paf-fages, that none fould gang befoir. And swa we past fordwart, while we come to the hill of Dumbucke, within ane myle of the said castle; and there, about one eftir midnycht, we lay downe our lederis, and our coirdis, and fortit all our buffines, as it were long to write. But everie man hes his hacquebute bound vpoun his bake, and everie ledder had diverse cordis put to it, and ane coird from the former end of this; we gangand but one man behind ane vther to the hinder end, swa that everie man had the said coird in his hand, and the formeft to guyde all; swa no man that held ane grip of the cord could gang by the way, becaus it was in the nicht. Now we had mony fowfeis to pas, and ane deip water, briglit with ane single trie, afoir we come to the castle; and the formeft of vs buire the ledderis; and swa we past fordwart. And becaus thei suspected nocht the heighest pairt of the craig, thair was not ane watche in that pairt of the wall aboue, within sex fcoir of futes to the pairt whare we entered. We thoct it best to assay it at the same part, and swa we did, which is the last pairt, called the Beike. And when we had knit the led-



deris of thriefcoir of stepis, we wer yit xx stepis from ane trie that was aboue vs; to the which trie the guyde and my self wan to without led-deris, with grit difficultie, taking coardis with us, and fefchoned the said coirdis at the trie; and sua lating the coirdis hing doune to the ledderis, whairwith men mycht draw thaim fellis vp to the trie. And when we war at the trie, we had fyvefoir of faddomes to the rute of the wall, to the which we bare cordis in lyk maner.

Be this was done, day licht was come, becaus it was long of doing; and thair we tuike one of the ledderis and brocht to the wall, whairwith we enterit euerie man. And at the entrie of the first man vpoun the top of the wall, the watche that fate befyd saw him; and immediatlie he cryed and waikened the place. And ane clud of myft fell about us, which was litil lychter than the nycht: And thair comes out of fundrie houfes of the place men runing naiked, swa that thair wes incontinent thrie slaine and findrie hurt; and sua the restis gevis bakis, and incontinent we wan thair artailgerie, and thair powder and thair bullates, and turned the famen to thaim self; wha yit keipit Wallace toure, the Whyt tour, with the Windie hall, the chalmer betweine the craigis, and the neather baillie. And als founne as thai saw thair owin artailgerie turned to thaim self, everie man tuike him to his schift; and becaus the mist was so done thicke, some lap the walis and efcapit, and vther some we gat as ze haue hard. And what munitiounne and vther thingis we gat within the hous, ze fall receive the inventar of it als just as I can giue it you. And farder, I can not say, except ane thing that I will affuire you of; as I live, we haue no maner of intelligence within the hous nor without the hous nor I haue spoken of befoir. Swa committis you to the keeping of the eternall God. Off Leith, the 14 day of Januar.—Be youris affuired at pouer,

THOMAS CRAUFURD of Jordanhill.

Written to Johne Knox.

*The Inventar of the Mwnitione within the Castell of Dumbartane, the tyme of the entrie of the Laird of Drumchajffill, as Captane thairto.*

ITEM, in the first, ane gros culvering, monted for the wallis, and nocht for the feildis, with xxiiij bullatis for hir.

Item, tuo batteris monted for the wallis, and not for the feildis, with sufficient number of bullatis for thame.

Item, tuo myons, ane monted for the wallis and not for the feildis, the vther vnmounted ather for wallis or feildis; with sufficient number of bullatis for thaim tua.

Item, tua Bartenyie falcones, monted for the wallis and not for the feildis, with sufficient number of bullatis for thame.

Item, ane quarter falcone, monted for the wallis and not for the feildis, with sufficient number of bullatis for hir.

Item, thrie hacquebutes of fownd, whole; and ane broken.

Item, ane dowbill barfe of irne.

Item, ane fingill barfe.

Item, threttie grit barrelis of cannon powder.

Item, viij barrelis of hacquebute of fownd powder.

Item, viij calleveris; of these, at my lordis comand, ane gevin to Harie Wedderburne, ane vther to George Dundafs; restis thair of, vj.

Item, of speiris, heidit and vnheidit, lx.

Item, of culvering powder, thrie barrel.

Item, of victuallis left in the place at our entrie thairto, after my lordis departing:

Imprimis, of wyn, xx tune.

Of meill, twelff chalderis.

Item, of wheat, ten bollis.

Item, of malt, viij bollis.

Off bifquite breid, xj hole hogheidis.

Item, of balcone, iiij whole puncheounes.

At this tyme, a constant rumore rais of the returning of the erle of Mourtoun from England, with a guid dispatche. These, and vther thingis, made powre Johne Knox to be the more quiet fra all sic accusatiounes; and zit he ceased nocht to doe according to his accustomet manner, publickly reproving the murther of King Harie Stewart, invented be the queine, fortified be sic as efter God made instrumentis to con-found hir, and put in executioun be Bothuel and vtheris, whom God will

yt difclofe. He ceased not to pray in publicke for the king and for his Regent, and to exhort the people to stand constant in defence of the present authoritie; nochtwithftanding of the queinis braggingis, and of all her liuetennentis, who had appoynted ane Conventioun at Edinburgh, the 10 of Aprile, 1571; whair of we ceife to fpeike, abyding farder knowledge of the end.

The captane of the caftle hes declared, by his letter to ane gentleman of honeft fame, that he will receive the ducke and his fones, and will accompany thame. He hes this houre, vpoun fryday the 20 of April 1571, Claud Hammiltoun, in the caftle of Edinburgh, Arthure of Meritoun, Robert of Inchemachan; and a fort of the strongeft throatcutteris of the Hammiltounes, going plainelie vpoun Edinburgh calfay. How euer that he be blindit, who foeuer fearis God, feis his handis defyled with his maisteris bloud, in that he joynes with the menteaneris of the murther!

“Now, Lord, be mercieful to thy puire flocke, within this realme, and cheiflie within this citie; give me ftrenth, Lord, to fight my battell lauchfullie; and welcome be thy merciful prouidence at thy guid pleifoure! ffor in death I doubt not to overcome death, and to get enterance in eternall lyfe, be Jefus Chryft, in whois handis I commend my fpreit!

“Lord, provyde for thy flocks trew pactoris; raife thow vp the fpreitis of fome to obserue thy notable workis, faithfullie to committ the fame to writ, that the pofterities to come may praife thy holie name, for thy great graces plentifully powred fourth vpoun this vnthankfull generacione!

JOHNE KNOX, truſting end of travellis.”

Efter the taking of the biſchope, the Hammiltounis regent fought vp and downe to apprehend fome man for the biſchopis releif; and be chance the duckis fone, Claud, tuik a boy with certane clothis of my lord of Maris, going to Striveling, and fome travellouris of this toun of Edinburgh; whom they lat depairt, vpoun fovertie to enter againe at thair calling.

Befoir this, thair was a conventioun in this toun of Edinburgh, of the queinis lordis, for the difchargene of this Regent (the erle of Leuenox),

and chousing ane vther in his place; and the laird of Grange to be lieutenant; which or now had not bene to doe, gif God had not prevented be the tacking of Dumbartane, to thair grit greif and displeasoure.

My lord Huntlie come to this toun, about the 6 or 8 of Aprile, for the fame purpose. On tuesday, the 10 of Aprile, the heid of wit, the Secretare, landit in the nycht at Leith; whair he remayned till the morne, and was borne up with sex workmen with fling and ling, and Mr Robert Maitland hauling vp his heid. And when thair had put him in at the castle yeat, ilk ane of the workmen got iij s; which they receavit grudginglie, hoping to haue gottin mair for thair labouris. And being put in the lord Homes chalmers, he maid the lord exceeding angrie that he fould be disloged for sic a one.

On fetterday the 14 of Aprile, the lord Hereis, and Maxwell, with the larde of Lochinvar, come to this toun about 10 houris efter noune, and lichted at the castle yeat. This nycht at ewin, about xj houris, captane Meluine come vnto Robert Lekprivickis hous, and focht him (as he had done twyfe of befor), and louket all the hous for the Camelione, which the Secretar fearit that he had prentit; bot he, beand warned befoir, escapit, and went out of his hous with sic thingis as he feared fould haue hurt him, gif thair had bein gottin.

On mononday the 16 day, the lordis Huntlie, Home, and Hereis, with Lochinvar, gead doun the gait to Leith port; whair thair lap on and raid to Leith, to rin thair horse and take the ayre, sfor the lord Home had not come out of the castle mekle of half a yeir befor. Bot sir James Balfoure, who had bene litle shorter tyme therin then he, come nocht furth to sonne him with the rest. Whither he was halden in or not I can not tell; becaus a brute wes of some tressone he fould haue wrocht against the castell, which tyme will try. About fyve houris at evin, thair come vp the gait ryding to the castle yeat.

Tuesday the 17 day, at 10 horis at evin, the lord Hereis and Lochinvar depairted home; quha, belyk, had nocht agried to subscriue with thame of the castle. And so I thinke this conventioun to be at that tyme at the height. The lord Maxwell depairtit the next day (as some said) to meit the lord of Mortone, who come to Tamtallon homeward out of England.

On weddinfday the 18 of Aprile, at evin, betwixt ten and ellevin horis, thair was a fray vpoun the captanes fuddeartis, and in the castell; becaus tuo men ryding in the Long-gaite schot thair pistolis, or elis a culvering, for a falutatioune to the castell.

Thurfday the 19 day, at nycht, about midnycht, captane Meluine came and rapped at the baillies yeat, Mungo Fairlies, who had the keyis of the west port; and the said captane passed fourth with his men of warre, as thocht they went to fie some men that was going vpoun the croftis with lunttis. But it was to receiue in Glaud Hammiltoun, the duckis sone, into the castell. And on the morne, being fryday the 20 day, Arthure of Meritoun vas opinlie gangand vp and down the heich gait, with diuerse vtheris of thame. This day the baillies and sune of the counfall, heiring this word of Claudis refetting in the castell, asked the captane, who denyed that he was thair. This day was tane be the castell men ane Patrike Ogilvie, for betraying the castell, be lettres fra sir James Balfour to Striveling, as thai alledged. This nycht, some bretherin feiring for Johne Knox, thair minister, come and watched all nycht in his hous.

The same day the captane beand defyred that the toun mycht have a guard, for the favetie of thair minister, whome thai feared, becaus that the Hammiltounes said the lordis wald tak it in ane evill pairt, and think it were done for thame; and said, that gif they feired him, he wald gar captane Meluin, wha was an auld protestant, (a protestant lyke the Secreter!) with his band convoy him to the kirke and from it.—He wold give the wolf the weddir to keip!

Ane of thir dayes Mungo Fairlie being in the castell, and feing Arthure Hammiltoun of Myrritoun, wha had tane befor Johne Nymmell, burges of this burcht of Edinburgh, and had gottin his band; charged the captane to hald the said Arthuire in waird, or elis delyuer the said Johnes band; which was delyuerit that same instant.

Vpoun fonday the 22 of Aprile, at 8 horis at evin, the said Arthure and Alexander Baillie of [Lamyntoun], spous to the auld lady Lamyntoun, the duckis sifter, tuik James Inglis, tailgeore, burges of this toun, behind St Cuthbartis kirke, cuming out that day at morne fra Striveling; wha had bene at the kingis grace, becaus he is his workman.

All this tyme fen the taking of Dumbartane, ffor the maist part, the captane had workmen labouring about the castle, and casting of ane fewche, and pairing away the greine graffe, and making all thingis fmrthe and fliddrie from clymmyng of the wallis.

On the morne, the counfall and the deacones of the craftis went and spake the captane about James Inglis, who promised that he fould be randered as he was tane; and that he had sent one for him befor thair comeing. This fame nicht, which is monoday the 23 of Aprile, come the lord of Kilwining, and the laird of Stennoufe, to the castle, and dyvers vtheris to the toun; and was supposed that the ducce fould be in the castell that nicht.

At this tyme, certane merchandis of this toun affirmed that thei saw Mr James Kirkcaldie (wha not long befor was sent to France for support be the captane and his counfall) ganging in Pareis, and in familiar taking with Jamie Hammiltoun of Bothuelbaughe, wha traiterouflic slew Mr James maister. The 25 of Aprile, the foirfaid James Inglis come home againe.

On weddinfday the 25 of Aprile, at evin, about ellevin houris befor mydnycht, thair was some young men of the toun gangand vpoun the gait; and the watches vpoun the stiple asking, what thei were, fell in schort wordis, bidding them 'Remember on Brichen,' &c. And the watch of the stiple fending one of the crofeguard, who cuming downe the gate, mett of thair owin cumpany that had come out of the stiple to persue the young men of the towne, who wer depairtit out of fycht; and they of the stiple meiting with the crofeguard foirfaid, cryed, 'Lay upon the theives!' And the vtheris said, 'Get the traitouris!' And thair gaue ilk vther thair paikis, vnknown to vtheris; swa that on the morne, the bloud was sene vpoun the streatis. Thair was about 8 or 9 evill hurt, and sum mutilate.

Fryday the 27 of Aprile, the lord of Mortoun come agane fra Strive-ling to Dalkeith, and the tua bandis of the Regentis fuddartis come with him. This nycht one man fell ovir the foir blokhous and died; who wes filland the gabionis with earth. This nycht also, about mydnycht, the captanis fuddartis tuike out the townes ordinance and artailgerie out of the kirke, and some pickis out of the counfall hous.

Settirday the 28 day, betuix 9 houris and ten at evin, they went downe about vj<sup>xx</sup> men to Andro Henderfones, feikand ane Tod, which was not thair. And thaireftir, betuix ane and tua, thai ftraike the grand drwme, and went to these fame houfes, feikand the fame man; and captane Melvine entering with 20 and him self (vndir promeis) to feik the hous, as he did; but at his departing, the rest of his men entered and tuik four fervantis of Mr James MacGillis, the guidman him self, with tuo vther young men, schollaris new cumed from Sanct Androis. A nychtbore wife demanding, 'what thei fought that tyme of nycht,' ane suddart gave hir a ftrake, whair of shoe died incontinent.

Sonday the 29 day, at fermond tyme, the fray ryfes becaus of the Regentis suddartis, about a vj<sup>xx</sup> men and xxx horfemen come to Leyth, whair thai proclamed letteres; and efter denner come to the Netherbow, and schot in thairat, and proclamed thair lettres at the Canno-crofe; as also ftrake thair drwme, defyryng all that wold tak wages of the king, etc. And swa past away neir to Craigmillar. Bot the lordis Home, Huntlie, Kilwining, Coldinghame, with all the gentlemen of the castle (the captane and sir James Balfour excepted, with a few vtheris in the hous), followed furth efter thame, with captane Meluingis band, and captane Culanis band, to the number altogether of pickmen and hacquebuteris xiiij<sup>xx</sup> numbered men. The Regentis men perfaveing thame come furth, stayed; and efter come bake vpoun the foirfaidis lordis and thair company, and schamefullie dange them in at the Kirk of Feild port, nocht-withstanding of the shouting of the grit ordinance out of the castell; where thair wer flaine to the number of . . . and tane. That nycht the nychtbouris of the castlehill gat guid rest, as thei confessit vpoun the morne. Captane Moffat was verie evill hurt with a speir through the said port, steiking it. The lord Huntlie stoutlie discharged his dag at the cuming in againe of the port, becaus he durst not had his face to the perfewaris.

Mononday the last of Aprile, the captane maid proclamatioune, at 4 houris efternovne, declairing his freindschip towardis the toun, amonges whome he knew monie enemies, as he had fund some in thair houffis with armore for the support of his enemies; and becaus he could not be fuire

of thame, he defyrit all that wold nocht be joyned with him in ane reciprocat band with him and his freindis, to avoyd the toun within sex horis.

Twyflay the first of Maij, they begouth to make the barrace aboute the Butter-trone, for the defence of the castell. Efter the proclamatioune, the counfall of the toun fend to the captane to fie his mynd about the proclamatioune, &c. which, said he, man be interpreted according to his meaning, which is thus:—

[*Proclamatioune be the Captane of the Castell to the Inhabitantis of Edinburgh.*]

“ It is not vnknowin to the counfall, communitie, and inhabitantis within this toun of Edinburgh, what gude nyctborheid and freindschip the captane of the castell hes vsed towardis them, in all tymes bygane; what commoditie hes redoundit to thaim thairthrow, and from what inconveniencies they haue beine preferuet by his meanes. In which kynd of societic with thaim he can verie weill be content to remaine, and continow in all tymes cuming; they geving him no caus to the contrarie. It is notore what enimitie the erle of Lennox and his factioun beiris againt the said captane, publihit and fet out to the world by diverse opprobrious proclamatiounes, full of calummies; whairwith not content, he and his factioun forsaid are determined to invade and persew the said captane with all maner hostilitie, alswell be opin forces as fecreit interpryfes; as plainelie may appeir be the privie missives direct in all partes of the realme, and publiēt charges fet fourth be vertue of his vsurped regiment; whairthrow the said captane is in honore and dewtie compellit to provyde for his owin fouertie, and preservatioune of his freindis, and in tyme to tak heid that, be privie intelligence of some within the bowelis of this burcht be his enemeis, he be nocht suppressit. He doubtis not the gude caus he hes made to this toun in generall, and euery ane in particular, will moue all honest men to be his freindis. And yit the proceedingis of some seditious personis, being assembled together in cumpanies in privat houffes, on the nycht, with weaponis and armore; keipand watche and waird without his knowledge (whairof fume hes bene deprehendit in the deid doing), giues me sufficient ground to suspect that there is some euill myndit, meaning to joyne thame felfis with his enemies for his subver-



fioune: Nochtwithstanding, he is myndit to deale plainelie, directlie, and sinceirly with everie man professing him self freind to his freindis, and enemye to his enemyes. Thairfoir I make it knowin to you all, yea nychtbouris of this toun, in the captanis name, and vpoun his behalf, that fa mony of you as will profes your freindschip towardis him and his freindis, and be affuired freindis to him in effect, may reciprocally be affuired that he will not only be ane guid nychtbore, but also to menteane and defend you against all deidlie; fua that ge fall not be trubled in your persones, guidis, or vthirwayis. And be the contrair, I denunce to all vtheris that ar myndit to concure with the said erle of Lennox, and his enemyes foirfaidis, and will nocht assure the said captane of thair trew freindschip, that incontinent within sex houris efter this proclamatioun, that, the said sex houris being by past, gif any of thaim be deprehendit, he fall demaine them as enemyes, and thai fall remaine at thair perrell: Whairof he hes thought guid to giue you publict knowledge, that none may pretend ignorance, or think him self evill vsed vnder traift."

Befoir our departoure furth of Edinburgh, this first of Maij, the laird of Elphinstoun wret a lettre to his guid-brother, Robert Meluing, that Mr Knox should not be trubled, &c.: ffor the which purpose, Robert Meluing wrytis to the laird of Braid, as follows:—

[*Lettre, Robert Meluing to the Laird of Braid.*]

Sir, It may pleis you to wit, that I haue receavit ane lettre fra my guid-brother the laird of Elphinstoun, to desyre me be cairfull that Mr Knox incurre no displeisour, but that the laird (meaning the captane) and my self should tak ordor thairin, which we haue nocht pretermitted to this present; nochttheles, in respect the laird is compellit to take the assistance of some (that beiris Mr Knox na guid will) for his owin defence, I pray you to caus him either come heir, where he salbe preferred as our selues, or that ye convoy him to some freindis hous while ge vnderstand some quyeting of thir troubles. Assuir your self, albeit he hes vsed us vtherways than we deservit, we wold be als loathe to sie his displeisour as vtheris that he lippnis moir vnto. Ge will do heirin according to your wisdome, ffor he may get harme being at this tyme within the toun, and

we innocent, which wold be ane grit greif vnto us, befydis felander without defert.—This Fryday, be youris to comand,

ROBERT MELUING.

*Post scriptum.*—Lykwayis tak heid to your self, for albeit ze fal neuer laike our guid will and intelligence, when we know of your hurt; zit be affuired thair is gritter perfonages heir present that will haue vther respectis. Be the moir circumspect.

*Ansuer to this.*

Sir, I haue ressaued your wryting, whairof I thanke you most hartlie. As to me to enter in to persuade Mr Knox to remoue fra his vocatioune, I can not weill doe; bot thair is tuo thingis I most warne you of—Medle with him wha will, to his hurt, God fall reveng it or it be long. The vther is, that gif the laird and ye be his freind (as ze fay ze are), ther is none that is come to that toun will medle with him. But notwithstanding, I will travell so farre as I may, that he fall remove aff the toun: And for my self, I will keip my owin hous; and gif ony perfew me thair, I hope in God thai fall haue na honour nor vantage.

*Ane vther lentre written be a freind.*

Sir, I have spocken the man that wrait to you, and lykwayis the principall; ffirst be thame selfis apart, and thairefter together, anent your owin pairt, and the vther manis that was written to you for. As to his parte, they bothe thinke it best that he remove for a ceafone, ffor sen thir folkis cuming to this toun, it hes beine plainelie ressonit, that althocht the principallis will do him nor wishe him no hurt, yit thei can not pleadge thair honouris for his favetie fra the multitude and rascall; and they fay, and it is true, when he is gone thair is no remead nor restitutione for his lyffe; and trewly, sa farre as I can perfaue, they speik it of a guid hart, and vpoun intencionne only of his preservatioune. Therefore, sir, I wald wishe ye fuld write your guid counfall to him, to will him to remove for a ceafone. As to your owin pairt, it hes bene spoken amonges thir folkis that are cum in, that thei fall revengde thair hearfchipe vpoune the Lowthiane lardis; and named a certane of them, and named you amonges the leive. Quhairfoir, he that wreat to you thoctt guide to give you aduerteisement thairof, be the principalis avyse; nocht in ony wayis to fray

you, or to will you to remove your self or your guidis, bot allanerlie to tak tent about you, and to be the mair circumspect: Affuiring you, that thei fall, nather in counfall nor outwith, know nor haif wit of your harme, but thei fall give you intelligence of it; and incaise it happen to be done by there intelligence, thair credit fall failzie but it falbe be redressit. Alwayis, thei wold not wishe it to cum to that feay, gif ather your guid circumspectiōne or thair aduerteifment myght prevene it. I find it gud that ze be als walkryffe about your place and guidis as ze may. And fua committis you to God. The caus why I came not vp is, that I wald help to trauell with the vther man for his removing.

This day, the 1 of Maij, the lord Boyd entered in commouning with thame of the castell, as was reported, for some guid wayis, &c. He was in the castle (as is said) the 3 or 4 day preceeding. The ffryday preceeding, the lord Cassillis was fend to Dumbartane to waird, Eglingtoun to Dovne, and Boghall to Blacknes.

Woddinfday the ij of Maij, 1571, they began to mak the vther barrace at the strate of the Wester boll.

Thuirfday the thrid day, they enterit in the tolbuthe and counfall-hous, and Andrew Lindfayis hous; so that the scribes were compellit to remoue all there letteris. The same day they spoyled my lord Regentis ludgene, and tuike vp his pottes, panes, &c. his hinger about his hous, with some cannabie bedis; albeit thei wer of small importance.

On fōnday preceeding, the 29 of Aprile, Johne Cairnes being miniftring mariage and baptyfme efter noune, befor fermond, as thei went out of this toun against the kingis folkis, thair cumes into the kirk ane Wilkie by name, a priest was, and now a suddart, with fevin or 8 with him, crying, "Away, away!" &c.

Fryday the 4 of Maij, 1571, the ducke come into Edinburgh betuixt 7 and 8 houris, who had riddin all nycht, accompanied with his sone Claud; being in number about ane hundreth horse and seventy futmen, als guid lyk men of warre as vses to cum out of Argyle. This day thei begouth the zoling of the vout of St Geillis kirke, which they made lyk a ridle, for to schoute whome thai pleifed within the kirke, or that wald

brek down the pillaris. This is thocht to be Mr [Sir] James Balfoures devyse, with the lordis Huntlie and Kilwyning, who with captane Meluille come down and visiet the whole kirke and stiple, both vnder and aboue. This day captane Culanis band was brocken (a famous man), and ane vther put in his place.

Settirday the fyft day of Majj, 1571, Johne Knox departed the toun fore against his will, being compellit be the bretherin of the kirk and toun; becaus that his tarie wold be ane occasione of farther truble vnto thame, and ane occasioun of the schedding of thair bloud for his defence, whome thei could not sic persecuted without assisting of him; which mycht come to both thair destruccionnes. This day was ranforced all the pointis of the toun, except the Neddar boll and Waster port. The commynione, this sonday following, was delayed, becaus of the troubles.

*A MEMORIALL of sic thingis as wes done in this toun of Edinburgh, sen the depairture of Johne Knox, minister, out of the same, fore against his will.*

Fryday the fourt of Majj, the ducke and his sone Claud come to this toun, to the number of ane hundred hors, and iij<sup>xx</sup> hacquebuteris or thair-by, and lychted at the castle gate. At efternounge thei went all to the counfall in the castell, whair all the murthereris was together, and Grange, now joynd with the Hammiltounes, wha slew his maister; a thing befor few wald haue beleiued, which caufes vtheris to beleive him to be als guiltie as thai war of that innocent bloud.

The captane defyred ane assuurance to certane men in the toun, of the counfall thair present, and in special to Johne Knox, minister, that he fould not be hurt be the Hammiltounes; wha anfuert, that thai could not promeis him assuurance vpon thair honouris, becaus thair was mony rascalis and vtheris amonges thame that loved him not, that micht doe him harme without thair knowledge.

The brether of the toun seing thair minister in danger, come vnto him with Mr Johne Craig, also being minister, and defyrit him, in the name

of God, to depairt (as oftymes thei had done befoir). But feing on no-ways him to condiscend vnto thair defyres, they said they could nocht see him in ony wayis get harme, but it behouet thame to affist and defend him against whomfoeuer wald hurt him; and so, in defending him, it could be the occasioun of thair owin destructioun; becaus now thai were not able to resist the Hammiltounes, and the rest in the towne. Thairfoir thei charget thair said minister, Mr Knox, in Godis name, as he tenderit thair fanetie and weil, to depairt; which gif he did nocht, that gif thair bloude wer shed for his cause and in his defence, that God wald requyre it of his handis. And so, be this occasioun, he departed on the morne, the 8 of Maij, over the water of Leyth, and went to Abbotihall, whair he is presentlie.

This first of Maij, all the portes were clost vp, except the Eist and Wast portes. This day also Alexander Baillie tuike thre cofferis of Mr James M'Gillis, going out of Leith to Pinkie, esteimed worth 1000 pund. Also the bischop of Orknayis filuir worke, tane be some of that foirt betwixt this toun and Leith.

The day of the dukes cuming to the toun, the woulte of the kirke was holit in all pairtes, so that nane culd cum thairin, without sicht of thame that ar aboue; nather can ony enter or be in the kirk, but thai may be shot from aboue.

The table of the Lord was now in hand, and twa fondayes past, and tuo was cuming of the ministratioun thairof; bot this fonday following it was delayed, be what occasioun tyme will try. The duke come to the sermond this fonday (Mr Craig preiching), with his sone Claude, the lord Huntlie, and the rest; wha efter sermond depairtit, when he was going to make the prayer.

Monoday the 7 of Maij, -1571, dyverse poore chopmen and vtheris were spoyled be the Hammiltounes or be thair men, especiallie be Jamie Baxter. This day some gentlemen of the lord of Mortonis houshold come and raid vpoun Haggartanis craft, befoir the castell. For all the schouting, calling them "Traytoris both to God and man!" "Murthereris!" Bot none went fourth to brek a speir.

A proclamatioun was made, that none of thir lordis retinow fould truble ony inhabitant within this toun, nor ony vther subiect, that hath

not borne armes against them, or assisted thair enemeis: And gif ony fuddart tuike ony man, he fould incontinent bring him to his captane; and gif a gentleman tuike ony, that he fould bring him to the lordis, that tryell mycht be tane gif he had come in thair contrarie, or assisted thair enemeis.

Twysday the 8 of Maij, Mr James Kirkcaldie come home out of France in a littill barke of threttie tunne, whairat was no small ruifing and proud bragging. All horfmen and foutmen went fourth down to Leyth to the lossing of the said barke; which incontinent was broecht vp to the castell efter thair lossing. Thair wer fyve or sex cofferis honourable convoyed, as thocht they had beine full of gold, as they said they were. Thair was in hir foure or fyve tunne of wyne, thre or foure last of powder, some corfletis, and roches of small ordinance, and fum bisquet, and ficyke. As for gold, I thinke it mycht be tauld in few horis.

Woddinsday the 9 of Maij, the lord Argyle, Boyd, and the duckis sone, Arbrothoke, come in at ten houris at evin. The tuo former come to sie gif thai could make ony agrement and concord betwix the Regent and thame of the castell; wherof when thai saw no apeirance, departed home as thai come afeild.

Thursday the 10 of Maij, it was proclaimed at the croce, that all that wold assist Mathow erle of Lennox, and James erle of Mortoun, shuld depart the toun. At evin, about 9 horis, all the inhabitants of the toun were charget to thair ludgenis; as oftymes every nycht almost thairefter. This nycht, the Regent and his cumpany come to Linlythgow.

Fryday the xj of Maij, the Regent come to Leith, [with] the number of sex thousand hors men. Some pricking was vpoun the croftis afoir the castle; whair thair was tane tuo men of the castellis partie, nochtwithstanding that the castell shot fyve or sex shot.

Settirday, the 12 day, a drwme was sent fra Leith to the towne bailies and the toun, that the portis mycht be made patent to the Regent and his folkis, that he mycht enter without truble. But Arthure of Meringtoun, being at the port, gaue anfuer of his owin heid that he fould get no entres thair; and forbad him to come sic erandis againe. Ane vther drwme come lyk w yes to the West port, for the same effect. Johne Sym,

baillie, defyred me to schaw thir heidis vnto the Regent, or his lordis, that certane of the counfall had concludit to goe to Leith and speik the Regentis grace, and the noblemen with him to make thair owin excufe, and schaw thair humble obedience to the kingis maiestie, and to the Regentis grace; but could not obtaine licence of the lordis heir, nor be sufferd to pas fourth, except of Argyle and Boyd. Secondly, that they gart the brute gae that the Regentis grace had gevin the spoile of the toun to his men of warre. And last, that the toun was informed that this day, at 9 horis, thair come ane drvme to the port, quhilk defyred talking of the baillies; to whome the fuddartis at the poirt gaue euill anfueris, without knowledge of the baillies. Thir heidis, I say, when I was defyred to schaw them to the Regent and his counfall, becaus I knew not of quhat fontaine they procedit, and lykwayis being defyred be this one man allane, I refused; yit, at his comand, I schew the same to doctore Prestoun, who promised to doe his message.

Sunday, the threttene of Majj, 1571, Pherniherst come in with thrie fcoir ten speiris, or thairby; and ane of his men was hurt with the schot of a hagbute, thinkand thai had beine the Regentis men. This sonday, Mr Craige teiched the 130 Psalme; and, in his fermond, he comparied the feat of the kirke of God within this toun vnto the feat of the Maccabeis, wha wer oppressed sumtymes by the Assyrianis and sumtymes by the Egiptianis, be whome the people of God than wer oppressed. Also, he said, that when wicked men and wicked parteis contendis and stryves for thair pryde, ambitione, and worldlie honore, the kirke is alwayes in trouble. Be which maner of speich, mony wer offendit, in making the tuo parteis alyke; and how farre vnlyke the comparifone is, all men may fie. Also, he lamentit, in his fermond, that there was no mid-man to make ane agriement betwix these tuo parteis; which, gif ony of them be wreaked, this realme, said he, will come to a miserable ruyne. Bot vtheris said, happie is that realme whairin murthereris, traytoris, and bluid-thrifty men are punished; whilk, gif thai wer, this truble wald not be. And efter, exhorted all men, be the example of the prophet Daud, with fervent prayer from the deip pit and bottome of his hart, to rune vnto God, both

for the quyetnes of his kirke, this commone wealth, and for ane agriement betwix the tua parteis.

Monunday the 14 of Maij, the drwme pafst throw the toun, for all workmen, with fpeade, fchule, and mattocke, that wold take wages, and thei fhuld be weill payed; but sic as wold not cume, fould be compellit, and get nothing: which was trew indeid, for thei wer payit with fchot of hagbute, and fo flaine, at diverfe tymes, be thaim without. This day the Regentis grace, with his cumpany, come to the Cannogait, and campted thair to hauld the parliament, in defpite of the cannone, within the freedom of Edinburgh.

The nycht preceeding, the Regentis men had planted thair ordinance vpoun the Dow-craig, beyde the fold dyke of ftone; out of the whilk thai shot, and dang away the men of warre in the dirtie blokhoufes within the wall of Leyth wynd; whare was flaine ane captane called Gibfone, wha was captane of the ftiple, and another called Kirkcaldie, wha befoir had danced vp at the cocke of the ftiple, and another called corporall Bufyne, a Frenche man. Alfo the Regentis grace fuddartis enterit in ane Lawfonis hous, at the heid of Leith wynd, nerrefst the Nather boll, out of the which thai shot; and out of ane vther hous foragainft it, and let none remaine vpoun the tuo turretis aboue the Nather bow; which port thei within clofed, and filled vp with mucke, and ftones, and tymber, be four houris in the morning, or thairby. The cheif men of work, wer lordis Claud, Flifek, Kilwyning, Arbrothok, Home, and Huntlie, with diverfe vtheris gentlemen with them; wha drew downe mony of Alexander Clerkis geiftis, lyand on the hie gait, with thair owin hand, for feare the vther fould haue enterit. The laird of Grange is becum a grit man now, whan fic men are pynouris to him, fitting in the caftle lyke a bird in the caige, and neuer comis furth not to the toun, meikle les to the feildis. This day thai fet foure gabionis at the ftrait of the Bow, which thei filled with earth, foragainft the port; wher thei pat fome ordinance to fchut at the port when neid wer.

About xj houris, thair enterit in the tolbuith, the lordis Huntlie, Home, and Kilwyning, with the priour of Coldinghame, brother to the young laird



of Lethingtoun, with 4 or 5 vther gentlemen; and thair fenfit ane court of parliament "in our foueranes name," specifying nather king nor queine; and tuike documentis that thei wer present in the name of sic as wer called to the parliament, and wer foirfalted, that thei wer present to anfuer, the said day, to sic thingis as war to be laid to thair charge, &c. This was done in the presence of the thrie scribes of the fessione, to wit, George Gibfone, Robert Scot, and Johne Wallace; whome of befoir thei had charged, under the paine of 5000 lib. the piece, not to transport or give ony lettre or lettres whatfumeuir, without licence asked and gevin of the captane; and that thei shuld remaine thaim selues in waird, within the toun of Edinburgh, vndir the foirsaid paine.

Pherniberst and his men, the same day, tuike a 23 hors fra the Regentis men, beand at the gerse; feaning thaim selues to be freindis, and causing the castell shut at thaim, as give thei had bene the Regentis horfmen. Captane Culan, the lord Huntlies cheif captane, brunt this day the horfman pairt of it, and some pairt cast downe for covering the vther fuddartis. This day the grit cannone was brocht downe out of the castell to the Bleak-freir-gaird. At evin the cannone was caried vp againe to the castle; whither for feir of thaim without, or no, I can not tell. Bot on the morne, being twyfday the 15 of Majj, sho was brocht doun againe be the procuriment of the lord Huntlie, who was fouertie for hir faue bringing againe, vpoun 500 or 600 pundis. Shoe was stelled with gabionis in the said yaird, which coist tuo or thrie poure men thair lynes for the drawing of hir. Scho shot this day about 24 shot, ten whair of I saw and hard shot at Lawfonis hous, within tuo horis space and ane half. Once this day shoe fyred hir owin gabionis. Thair was slaine and eardit this day of fuddartis and workmen 8 or 9; some fayis mae.

On weddinsday the 16 of Majj, two men of thair owin wer slaine be the peices that lay on Daidis touer heid, heaving leid faldit about a peice of iron for a bullet.

Ther was foirfalted in the Canogait, wher the parliament held, the laird of Lethingtoun younger, the priore of Coldinghame, his brother, and also thair younger brother, Mr Thomas Maitland; the abbot of Kilwyning and his sone, with the bischope of Sanct Androis sone.

Johne Watfone going furth at the West port, being asked, whiois man he was? made a mint to speike, "Mr Knoxis fervant;" but corrected him self, said he was "Mr Craigis fervant:" But the suddartis said, "Hauld you at your first maister!" And so he was tane vp to presone for Mr Knoxis faike; whair he lay 6 or 7 dayes, in the lord Huntlies ludgene.

This nycht, at evin, come in lord Hereis, Maxwell, and Lochinvar, to the number of tua hundreth or xj<sup>xx</sup> horfe; who ran all the gait, fra thai come within fyve or fax myles to the toun; as was weill fene on thair hors at thair entrie. Then no finall bragis wer made that thai wold fecht them vpoun the feildis; which thai wald haue done, indeid, gif thai micht haue caried the castell with thaim!

Thuirfday the 17 of Maij, the lordis Argyle and Boyd departed the toun, and wold not remaine for no treatie that the lordis Hereis and vtheris could make. The word wes, that Argyle had the war will of thaim, becaus of thair refusall of ressonabill offeris be the Regentis grace, whilkis he and the lorde Boyde proponed vnto the castle. What thai wer, as yit I know not.

The last weddinfday, in the nycht, wer slaine of our townes men (I meane our suddartis) fyve of thame; and the cannone in the Blak-freir-yaird compellit to remoue be the sehutting of thame without, wha wer in some houfes within Pleafance.

A grit fray was this day, becaus it was thocht that some of the Regentis suddartis was enterit throw a wall at the Nidder bow; which, gif thai had done and come fordwart, in my jugment thai mycht haue beine maister easslie of the toun, beneath the barrafe; for all wer sleiping for the most part at this present. At estir noune, thair fortit out of the toun the lordis Hereis, Lochinvar, and Phernihert, at the West port, about 200 hors, and vj<sup>xx</sup> hagbutteris, of purpose to haue tane the foirt vpoun the Dow-craig; and went als farre as Moutraife of the hill, hard beyd it. Bot a few men, not passing 33 or 34, that come in fight, causit them retire; and the Regentis horsmen cuming vp about be the Cannomylnes, vpon certane of the townes men, made sum pricking; and the hagbuttaris also skirmishing vpoun the croftis, the space of ane hore and more. At this

tyme thair wer hurt bot few, except 5 or 6, and ane suddeart, wha was thocht he died als founne as he come to the toun. Arthuire of Mirriatoun was rvn throw with a speir; bot thair durft neuer gae beyond thair strenth, I meane the castell, which all this tyme sehot very fast, both small and greit peices; but I hard no word of ony skayth thair dyd. This nycht captane Moffet, which was hurt befor, wes buried.

*Certane Commissionaris sent to the Castell, be the generall Kirke conuenit in Leyth, to pacifie the trubles of this countrie.*

At our entrie in the castell, we past to the grit hall on the fowth fyde; whair founne efter sir James Balfoure come to us, and incontinent thair-efter the lord ducke, and last the captane of the castell, wha desyrit my lord ducke and us also to enter within the chalmer within the said hall; whair the lord Secretare was sitting befor his bedde, in ane chyre. My lord ducke fat down; so the captane desyred vs all instantlie to sit downe, which we did.

Then the Superintendent of Fyif begouth the propositiounne, faying: "My lordis, becaus some commissionaris of the kirke are conuenit presentlie in Leith, wha perfaving thir intestine trubles in this comounewealth, thocht it become thame of thair dewtie to offer thair labouris and travellis, to the end that gif it fuld pleis God that thairby the same might be stanchid; for the which we are come heir to offer our travelis and laboris, as said is."

Efter this propositiounne, silence was keipet ane certane space; while I continewed the purpose agane, on this maner: "My lordis, I thinke our commissioun extendis this farre, that seing your lordschipis are willing we fould travell, as ge have declaired be your wryting to our brother heir, Mr Craig, and we are also verie willing to bestow our labouris; then it restis to knowe and heir of your lordschipis what heidis or articles ge will offer vnto vs, as ane ground whairvpon we may travell."

To this anfuierd the lord Secretare, "Mr Johne, ge are over wyse; we will make no offeris to thaim that are in the Cannogait, ffor the principallis of the nobilitie of Scotland ar heir, to whome thair that ar in the Cannogait are far inferiouris in that rancke. Therefore, to thame we mynd

not to make offeris, for it becumes thame rather to make offeris to thame that are heir: And gif thai wold come to this point, to confidder how far thai haue gone afray, and defyre the noble men that are heir to trauell for thame, that sic thingis as thai haue done heirtofoir mycht be remitted to thame, and securitie to be made of thair lyfis, landis, guidis, and heritages, for them, thair freindis, and posteritie, I vnderstand thir noblemen will to that effect concurre with them, that all securitie may be provydit for thame, so that concord may be had amonges them all. And vtherwayes bid thaim not luike from (for) ony offeris fra us." Then, said I, "Swa, my lordis, it appeiris to me we have the les adoe, feing no ground is offerit vnto vs whairvpoun we may trauell."

Then said Mr Craig, "But it appeiris to me, that we haue sumquhat more to fay, that feing thair is ane lauchfull autoritie establisht in the persone of the King and Regent throughout this realme, which aucht to be obeyit be all the subiectis thairof; and thairfoir our dewtie is, as commissiouneris and memberis of the kirke, to admonishe everie ane of your lordschips to obey the same."

Then said the Secretare, "I will schaw you the discourse of the proceedingis heirof from the begyuing. When we enterpryfet the taking of the queine on Carbarry-hill, ther was then tuo cheif occasiounes that movet us; the one was to punishe the kingis murther, cheiflie in my lord Bothuel; the vther was, that the unhappie mariage contracted betwix the queine and him mycht be dissolued: And to the end to sequestrate hir bodie from him, sho was put into Lochlewin. And that thir war the cheife causes, the proclamatiounes made at that tyme, and the wrytingis fend to vther cuntries, plainelie declairis. Sua that then we meanit nothing of the kingis autoritie, nor to put the queine out of hir owin rowme; as I my self (said he) that same nycht the queine was brocht to Edinburgh, I made the offer to hir, gif shoe wold abandon my lord Bothuel, sho shuld haue as thankfull obedience as euer sho had sen sho come in Scotland. Bot noewayis wald schoe consent to leive my lord Bothuell; and swa shoe was put into Lochlewin. At the which tyme we hopit, that all men shuld haue assited to the revenge of the kingis murther; but neuer ane came mae to us, than we war at Carbarry-hill; but be the con-

trair, the lord Huntlie, and many vtheris, raise vp against us, swa that thei wer gritter partie then we. Sua that, then, we finding na vther wayis to preferue us from inconvenientis, we devyfit to mak the clocke of some new authoritie; even as gif we were passing ower at Kinghorne and the boate tuike fyre, ze wold loupe in the sea, to flie the fyre; and finding your self able to drowne, ze wald preis againe to the boit. Evin so the fetting vp of the kingis authoritie was but ane fetche, or shift, to faue vs from grit inconvenientis; not that euer we meaned the fame shuld stand or continue, as euir thairefter I schew to my lord Regent, willing him to compone and agrie the mater. And for my owin part, plainelie I confes, I did verie euill and vngodly in the vpfetting of the kingis authoritie; ffor he can neuer justlie be king falong as his mother lives. And that which I speik, the whole noble men within this toun, and vtheris heir present, I am affuired, will affirme the fame."

At this speiking, my lord Ducke, sir James Balfoure, and the captane, confessit, with naturall (mutual) consentis, nodding with thair heidis, and with leath speiking, the premises to be of treuth.

Then said the Secretar to sir James Balfoure, "My lord Precedent, you can tell thir thingis alswell as ony man can." Then said sir James, "In deid, my lord, I was privie of thir thingis, and knew them weill, and vnderstandis the very groundis of thir proceedingis to haue bene as your lordschip hes spoken."

Then said I to the Secretare, "My lord, I can not tell what fetches or shiftis your lordschip hes vsit in thir proceedingis; but heirvnto lat your awin confciencie accuse your self, befor your God, *conscientiam vestram oneramus*. Bot one thing weill I wot; honest men of simple confciencie and vprycht dealing meanit nothing of thir your shiftis and fetches, but procedit vpoun ane honest and constant ground, having the glory of God befor thair eyen, and the punishment of horrible crymes. Nather said I, my lord, that godly men of vprycht dealing hes vsed sic schiftis or fetches as thir of youris are, namelie, in sic notable and weghtie materis. But one thing, my lord, I persuaue, that methinke God hes begylet zou, that howbeit he hes vsit you and your schiftis as ane instrument to set vp

the kingis authoritie, yit it apeiris not that he will fet it down again at your pleifoure."

Then said the Secretar, "How know ze that? Are ze of Godis counfall? *Quis fuit confiliarius eius, &c.* Ze fall fie the contrair within few dayes, and then we will fie what obedience ze will give. "Then," said I, "vn-to that tyme, my lord, our argument is goud; and ze and vtheris aucht to give the king obedience."

Then said the Superintendent of Fyife, "Your argument, my lord, appeiris verie guid, that the authoritie anes established be order, with consent of the thrie estates of the realme, aucht and fould be obeyit, ay and while the same be fet down againe be the lyke power and order."

Then said my lord Secretar, "I mervell that ze will fay so, ffor I remember I hard Mr Willockis, Mr Johne Row, and the rest of you, preiche concerning the papiftrie, that albeit the same was established be long continowance and authoritie of princes, zit fould the famen be rejeçted without order; and as it come in over the dycke, so fould it be fhot over the dycke againe, and not to tarie till the lyke order fould be vfit in fetting doun of it, as was vfit in the establishing of it. Evin fo I fay of the kingis authoritie; that we neid not tarie till the same be fet downe be the self same order that it was erectit, for that perchance mycht be too long."

"Then," said I, "in this your argument, my lord, I perfaue ane paralogifme, and that be reffone ther is a grit difference and ane diffimilitude betwix the religione, and materis of polycie: ffor as concerning the religione, howfoeuer ane wicked religione enteris in, so founne as the same is knowin to be wicked, how long continowance or whatfoeuer authoritie it hes had, it aught incontinent to be rejeçted; and the preichoris dewtie is to admonifhe the peopill thairof, commanding thame to rejeçt it and to embrace the treuth; and that, becaus ane wicked religione tendis directlie to the dishonore of the name of God, which on nawayis aucht to be sufferit, ze, not ane houre. Bot vtherwayes it is in the polycie, and cheiflie in the established authoritie of kinges and princes; ffor howfoeuer the authoritie be anes establishit, I prefupone it wer by violence or tyranny"—Heir the Secretar interrupted me, and said, "Mr Johne, I am glaid to

heir that confesse out of your mouth.”—“ My lord,” said I, “ Gifand, and not granted that fa wer, alwayes I vnderstand ane lauchfull ground in the kingis authoritie, and the authoritie anes establisht ought to be obeyit; nather is it against conscience fa to doe, bot rather standis weill with guid conscience, as Paull testifieth wryting to the Romanes, commanding thame to obey thair emprioris authoritie then establisht amonges thame, and that for conscience cause (fayis he); yit gif ge fall consider the ground, how the emprioris of Rome entered to thair authoritie, I think the ground thairof was rather violence and tyranny, nor ony lawfull establisment be the lawis of reffone: yit notwithstanding the apottle comandis the same to be obeyed, which he wold neuer haue done concerning the obedience to ane wicked religion. And gif the argument be guid, that we fall obey the establisht authoritie, howbeit it enterit in be violence and tyranny, then meikle rather aucht we to obey the authoritie establisht, the ground whairof is lauchfull, reffonabill, and godly; and gif we fuld enter on discourse, I can not tell how many authorities ar establisht vpoun ane lawfull ground.”

Heir, as I vnderstand, we keipit silence a certane space; and thereafter Mr (sir) James Balfoure said to me, “ I marvell of you, that in your kirke, ge haue made ane act, decerning the kingis authoritie lawfull, and so to be obeyed.” “ My lord (said I), haue ge red that act?” “ Nay,” said he. “ Indeid (said I) so it appeiris, ffor we haue made no act decerning ony authoritie lawfull. But we haue concludit that the kingis authoritie establisht could be obeyit; and all the subiectis to be admonished be his obedience, and he to be prayit for in all publiēt fermondis. And what fault, my lord, find ge with this?” “ I pray you tell me, how knowe ge that the kingis authoritie is establisht?” “ I know, my lord (said I), by tuo argumentis; the first, becaus it is establisht be the thrie estatis publiētlie in parliament; secundlie, becaus it hes refaet vniverfall obedience within this realme, without erecting ony vther face of authoritie in the contrair.” “ Bot yit (said he), how know ge that it is establisht trewly?” “ My lord (said I), I can weill anfuer to that argument, for I was present in parliament when I both hard and saw the famen concludit. Gif it be true that ge ar thair standing, or that yone litle dog is lying vpoun the Secretares

lap (for ane litle meffane was lying vpoun his knie), evin fo is it true that I haue said." Then fir James said, "That parliament was no lawfull parliament, ge, it is null in the felf." "My lord (said I), is that proces of nullitie deduced and concluded be ony sic order as the parliament was haldin?" "That neidis nocht (fayis he), becaus it is null in the felf." "Truelie, my lord (said I), I learned ane rewle in the law, *Sententia facit jus inter partes donec retractetur.*"

Then said the lord Secretar, "That parliament is null for monie caufes, and can not be judged ane lawfull parliament." Then said I, "My lord, gif ony parliament was haldin in Scotland this 700 zeiris, I doubt not bot that was ane lawfull parliament, both in substane and ceremoneis; and what nullitie ge can alledge, I doubt not but the same may be alledgit against ony parliament in Scotland thir 700 yeiris agoe. Men may know what the nullitie of this parliament tendis to, feing our religione was heir in established."

And heir we wer apeiring to fall out in some vther termes devoyding from the purpose. Thairfoir the Secretar touke vp the mater againe, and said to us, "Sie ge not what thir men that are in the Cannogait pre-tendis? Nocht elis I warrand you, but to rug and reive vther menis livingis, and to enriche thaim selues with vther menis geir: ffor how many of thaim hes not vther menis benefices and levingis, and yit can not be satisfied?" Then anfuert Mr Craig, that "Sic as be spoken of thame that be yonder, meikle worfe is spoken of thaim that are heir!" "And what is that, Mr Craig?" said he. "My lord, it is plainelie spoken that these that ar heir travelis only in ther proceedingis to cloike crewell mur-thereris; and that the consciences of some of zow ar fo prickit with the fame, that ge will neuer suffer the nobilitie to agrie." "Zit, Mr Craig (said he), so long as I was with thame, they neuer accused me of the kingis murther; and the last yeir, when thei gawe me all thair hand-writes purging me thairof, gea, to be schort with you, so long as I was a pillar to menteane thair vnjuste authoritie, they wold neuer put at me as they doe! In the treatie that is begoun in England, that is ane of the cheif articles, that the kingis and regentes murthereris falbe punisshit, to the rigour, in all perfones that falbe fund guiltie thairof. And our queine hes also



obleifhed her felf to the queine of England, vnder the paine of the tinfall of hir rycht, that fhoe pretendis to the croun of England, that thefe murtheris falbe punifhit in all that falbe found guiltie thereof."

Then faid Mr Craig, "My lord, how can thir tuo ftande, that the queine being fet vp in authoritie, wha is guiltie of the murther of the king, fall punifhe the murther in ony vtheris?" "My Lord (faid I), I hard your lordfchipe tell ane teale, that thair was ane apointment vpoun a tyme betuixt the kingis of England and Spainyie; and when matteris wer concludit, ane mirrie man faid to the king of England, Sir, who falbe cawtione for the king of Spainyie? Ewin fo I fay, my lord, Wha falbe cawtione for our queine, in that behalf?" "Mr Johne (fayis he), the queine of Scotland will not tyne hir richt that fhoe pretendis to the crowne of England, for ony favor fho beiris to ony man in Scotland." "But this is ane mervellous thing (fayis Mr Craig), that albeit my lord duck heir, or fome vtheris, acknowledges not the kingis authoritie; ȝit, my lord (fayis he), ȝe, ȝe, and ȝe (poynting to the Secretare, fir James, and the captane), will not deny the kingis authoritie, feing ȝe haue profellit the fame, and wer the cheif instrumentis of the erecting of the fame!"

Then faid the Secretare, that "The kingis authoritie was fet vp in refpect of the queinis dimiffione, off the which I thinke I was als privie and travellit alfmeikle as ony in the Cannogait, as thai can beir me record thair felues: ȝe, and farther, without me they had nather the knowledge, wifdome, nor moyen to performe the fame. And thinke ȝe, of your confcience, that that dimiffione was maid willinglie, feing the queine was haldin in captivitie? Howbeit, my lord Lyndfay and Ruthwen, fo deponed publictly; and for verificatioune heirot, my lord Lyndfay being defyred be my lord Regent, therefter earneftlie to pas to England with him, he refufid altogether, whidder for laik of expenfes or vtherwayes I can not tell: Bot at lenth, when my lord Regent preiffed him fo earneftlie, being in ane hous in Leith, before ane honorabill company, that he behoved to goe to England, then my lord Lyndfay fwore ane grit oathe, and faid, my lord, and ȝe caus me to goe to England with you, I will fpill the whole mater, for and thei accufe me, of my confcience I cannot but confefs the treuth." Then

faid I, "Trewlie, my lord, this appeiris to me ane of your owin fetches that my lord Lyndfay vfed at that tyme; for feing he had not will of the journey, he wald haue shifted the mater be some colored meanis; and in this fetche, my lord, he may appeir to be ane of (your?) difciples: howbeit, he meant not fua indeid."

Heir we began to mow, and as it were euery ane to lauch vpon ane vther, and fo raife. Then Mr Andro Hay paff to the captane, and fpak with him apart; and thairefter I fpake with the captane. Whan we were readie to cum our way, the Secretar cryes vpon me, "Mr Johne, thinke ze that my lord of Levenox, being ane Englifman fworne, can be lauchfull Regent to this realme?" "My lord (faid I), quhidder he be ane Englifman fworne or not, I can not tell, for that ftandis *in facto*, but I vnderftand he is ane natiue borne Scottifman." "But I can tell zou (faid he), I know he is ane Englifman fworne." "Bot prefuoning (faid I) that fua wer, what impediment is that whidder he be an Englifman, Frenchman, Spaingard, or Italian, gif he be lawchfull tutour of the law, and hes the rycht thairto? Why may he not be lauchfull Regent, induring the tyme of the tutorie? ffor was not the ducke of Abany ane Frenchman borne, yit becaus he was lauchfull tutore to our king, he bure the regiment induring his minoritie; and how could he iuftlie, be ony lettis, be fecludit thairfra?" Mr Johne (fayis he), thair is a difference betweine thefe tua." "And what is that (faid I), my lord?" "We ar joynd (faid he) in leig and amitie with France, but England hes bene over ould enemies." "My lord (faid I), that argument apeiris now nothing, ffor we haue peace and amitie with England, prefentlie, as we haue with France."—And this we touke our leive and come our way.

Thair was in the wache, about this tyme, fum commouning betuixt the lord Hereis and the tuo captanes of the Regentis men, Craufurd and Home.

Fryday the xvij of Maij, 1571, the lord of Morton and the lord Hereis fpake together be the meanes of the former commoning. A litle abftinace ther was during the faid commoning for certane houris.

Settirday the 19 of Maij, all the gentlemen and horfmen for the moft pairt went out at the Weft port, with 120 hagbutteris or mac, off purpofe

to haue drawin the Regentis folk from the Cannogait, that fume mycht gae out thair to doe fum mischeife : ffor the which caus, captane Hakkarstoun went out at a durre beydes the Kowgate poirt, and 16 with him, and come to the trinche at the Nidder bow, in the heid of the Cannogait; whaire he said, at his incuming, he had flaine sex or fevin; but afterwardis I hard fay thair was not ane fuddeart flaine, but only ane workman hurt, or elis ane guidgeat who was doing the office of nature, his hoife downe, in the said trinche. ¶ It the said Haggerstoune lost one of the best that he brocht furth with him, and him self tuyfe or thrife shot in his corflate of prufe, which fauet his lyfe.

This nyght the Regent and his cumpany reteired fra the Cannogait to Leith, at efter supper; bot the captane of the castell gaue thame the convoy of a doufone of cannone, which did no harme that I hard of.

The weike preceeding, ther was nather preiching nor prayer, nather was thair ony found of bell hard in all the toun at that tyme, except the ringing of the cannone; whair of thair was of canone, and cannone feir, myen, and battard, 500 shot at leift, beydis small brasen peices, flanges of irone, and vtheris mae peices that was tane fra the toun.

Sunday the 20 of Maij, 1571, lord Claud and Pherniherst went out be-tuixt thrie and four in the moirning, with the most part both of the horfmen and foutmen; only, as I beleive, to draw the Regentis folke vpoun the shot of the castle. About ten houris, all both on horse and foute went furth, becaus the Regent was going from Leyth. Thair was fum shouting or skymishing about the water of Leith, with the futmen; the water being betwix both. After that the lord of Mortoun had put the Regentis grace agaitward, (he) purposed to haue gone to Dalkeyth; bot feing thaim of this toun als farre furth as Merchinstoun vpoun the Borrow-moure, drew neir, hard in be Braid. Bot a commandement come out of the castle, with expeditioun, that theiould not pas the boundis of thair guard, to wit the cannone. At this tyme, be the occasioun of a word speiking, the lord Hereis and his Annandeale men lyched on foute, and send thair hors to the toun, in takin thei wold nocht flie. Bot I hard fay, my lord of Mortone and his cumpany wer almost past Braidis-craigis, homeward to Dalkeith, befor a hors come in the toun. The men of

this toun I numbered as thai come in againe, who were 400 horfmen, and about a 300 foutemen, all hagbutteris, except a 30 of pickmen, or thairby.

Mononday the 21 of Maij, the men of weir of this toun went to Leith, and brocht about a fourtie long ledderis, which was left thair be the Regent, or elis the lord of Mortone. Alfo thei tuik out of Cuthbert Fergufounes, out of the Canogait, 3 or 4 tvn of wyne; whither it was his owin or the Regentis, wher he ludged, I knew not. Lykwayis the pokis of woull and packis of skynis which the Regentis folkis brocht fra Leith to the Cannogait, for defence of the shutting, thei tuke them for a butie.

Tuyfday the 22 of Maij, the lord Hereis, Maxwell, and Lochinvere departit this day, and Phernihert departit this nyght about x houris; whois men for the most pairt of them, when they departit, left thair lawingis, stable fie, and hors corne vnpayit, for making thair hostes beleive thei went to the pricking.

Weddinsday the 23 of Maij, the lord Claud, with the rest of horfmen and foutmen of Hammiltonis (except the ducke, Kylwining, and a few with thaim that remained); the rest, I fay, departed towardis Hammiltoun. The purpose was suspected to haue bene for Glasgou, which was the famen day betrayed be thrie brether of the Cochrone, who had bene tane in Paisley, and wer ther committed prefonaris, being at frie libertie, bath feducit ane certane of the houfe to thame, pat out or elis band thrie or foure within, that knew nothing of the enterprife; and thinking to haue all at thir willis, shot a peice or tuo vpoun the hous heid, for a warning vnto vtheris of thair awin. But the toun heiring the shot, suspected; and incontinent with the laird of Mynto (who hes the castle in keiping), clapis about the hous, and pat sum hagbutteris in the stiple, and so letherit it; and gat it againe with the losse of tuo men, and diuerse vtheris hurt. It was reported that the elder brother of Cochrone fould haue mareit Mintois dochter, becaus thai wer vnder commoning heirof. Within a short tyme efter the gattin againe of the castell, lord Abirbrothe, the duckis sone, was cummand to the castell; wha had come fordwart, had not bene ane woman going out of the toun tauld him quhat was done, and fo he escaped.

Fryday the 25 of Maij, a douffane of fuddartis come to Braid at supper tyme, and spoylled the myllaris hous (the myllar beand at supper with the laird): And when thei saw the millar cuming in, and staying them fra spoyling of his hous, tuike him and brocht him to the yeat of Braid, and gaue the laird injurious wordis, bidding him come out to captane Meluing, or elis they fould burne the houfe about his luggis. The laird being a quyet man, badd thaim depart, faying, that he had nothing to doe with thame, and gif captane Meluing wald haue had him, he had not sent sic meffingeris as thai were. They still continowing in thair injurious wordis, and misfing the lairdis millar befor his eyes, the laird went furth with a tuo-handit fwörd (the rest of his, be occasioun hindereth, followeth as thai mycht); the suddeartis, I fay, for the most part of thame, discharges thair hagbuttis at the laird, but be Godis providence he escaped thair furie, and struicke ane of thame breadlingis with his sword to the eird, wha cryed that he wold be tane. Vther tuo of thame having thair peices vndischarget (in ane of the which thair was thrie bullatis), and feing ane of thair marrowes dung to the ground, they discharge baith at the laird, yit, be Godis eternall providence, he was fo preservit that he gat no hurt, nor nane of his, albeit thei wer all but armore! But the skaith fell vpoun thame felfis, for thai slew thair owin man that had randerit him self to the laird. Vther thrie also was tane, befor whome this man confessed that his owin marrowes slew him; ffor the lairdis cumpany neuer shot a shot. And so the fuddeartis, when thei had discharged thair peices, fled to the toun, and made repourt that the laird of Braide had a cumpany of men of weir waiting thaim. So the alarvme struke, and all come furth to the Querall holes; but heiring the treuth, wer stayed be the laird of Merchintoun, wha shaw captane Melving that thair wer vther men cuming from Dalkeith for the lairdis releif, as that thei did with speid.

This Fryday at ix houris or thairby, Mr Drurier, the merschell of Berwicke, come to Dalkeith; and on the morne come to this toun, whair he spake with the captane and the rest of the lordis that wer in the castle.

On Sunday the 27 day, he rade to Striveling to the Regent, and come againe vpoun Tuysday the 29 day, and fuped in the castell. Off his commissioun, and talking with the captane, I referre it till better knowledge.

Thair was a word that ane Inglishe fuddart with captane Meluing should haue shot the marchell as he come into the castle, whairat he was gritlie offendit. The captane of the castell come down with him at efter supper; who talket proudly ilk ane with vther, so that they were hard vpoun the hie streit. Whidder it was for diffimulatione or nocht, God will declare. It was reported, that the merchell gat the Englishman with him to Berwicke that fould haue shot him, with ane vther Inglishman and Scottifman for witnes.

Weddfnday the penult of Maij, captane Culan tuike out all the fcheip that was in the parke, thinking thei had beine Mr James M'Gillis; but wer puire menis of the toun.

Thurifday the last of Maij, lord Claud come againe with his horfmen and foutemen, about a vij<sup>xx</sup> or vij<sup>xx</sup> horfe, to Edinburgh; and brocht with him the lord Semple. Captane Meluing and his band went out this nycht about the gallous vpoun the Borrow muire, about ten horis; but thei come in againe about mydnicht, and brint not Dalkeith, as it was thocht at thair furthgoing. The lyke thei did the nicht following.

Settirday the secund of June, 1571, the whole companies come furth out of the toun, about 7 houris in the moirning, to the number sex hundreth men, horfe and foute; and went towardis Dalkeith, within half a myle or thairby, having with thame tuo carted brafen peices or falcones: And albeit thei of Dalkeith wer not so mony, pat the townes men bakward to the Borrow-muire, and dang thame off thrie or foure pairtis which thei tuike for defence; and tuike captane Haggerstoun, with 8 or 9 fuddeartis with him, and fowre or fyve horfmen. And the castell men being on Craigmillar-hill, captane Meluing dealing a barrell of powder to his fuddartis, the powder takis in fyre, and burnes about a xvj of the fuddeartis, of whome thair dies tuo at the fame instant; and captane Meluing, hauing a corflate upoun him, was blowen vp from the earth a guid space, and efter was brocht into the toun, without hope of lyfe.

In the mean tyme, a certane of my lord of Mortonis shuldeartis, per-faving the powder to blowe vp, come moir franklie fordward; and the vtheris, be resson of that losse, reteis the faster to the tovne; who being followed with a thriefcoir of fuddartis, the space of half a myle or mair,

but the castell men luiking behind them, and feing thaim cheffed with fo few foutemen, and about a half douffane horfmen, thair horfmen being in number of vj<sup>xx</sup> or thairby, cuttis off my lord of Mortonis fuddartis, and tackis of thame to the number of 28, a little beyond the gallous, at the Ladie-brig-end; whare Adam Wachop was flaine. Tua horis befoir this was Carmichell dung fra his hors, and releivit be Robert Hepburne, who was shot through the theigh, and Carmichell through the arme. My lord of Morton was but his awin houfhold men, to the number of 40 hors; and the day befoir thair was sent away iij<sup>xx</sup> fuddartis and fume horfmen, with money to fend to Dundie, whilk made the men of this toun to interprefe this jorney; whair of they ruiffed thaim nothing. Ther was na slauchter except 3 of my lord of Mortonis fyde, 2 or 3 on the vther fyde, befyde the thing was done be the powder. God be sic meanis fehtis for his owin, to the de-  
 ftru<sup>c</sup>tioune of thair enemies; albeit the wickit, whais hartis are hardened, attribute Godis workis againft thaim felfis vnto blind fortoun. This fkyr-  
 mishe continowed fra 7 horis that thai went fourth, till thai come in at 5  
 houris at evin.

Tuifday the 5 of June, 1571, captaine Culan warned sic as dwelt about the heid of Leith wynd, and St Marie wynd, to take downe thair foirstairis, and demolife the tymber worke thair of; becaus befoir the regentis fud-  
 dartis shot in vpoun the toun, in these pairtis. This fame day thai tuike out  
 fome wyne out of Leith, and some beir.

Weddinfday the 6 of Junij, captane Meluing depairtit this lyfe about mydnycht preceeding; who continowallie reaved fra the first nicht furth that he come in, till his depairting, having a fever. Some alledged that he was als evill hurt with the fall that he gat when he was blowen vp with the powder, as he was with the burning. He was buried about foure  
 houris efternounge, being convoyed with grit folempnitie, not only of weir  
 men, but also be the lordis, duck, Huntlie, Home, Claud, Kilwyning.  
 The captane made ane oratione to captane Meluingis band, within the  
 blockhous of the castell, lamenting the death of sic a captane as thai had;  
 whome albeit thei want, zit thei fould not laike a sufficient captane; and  
 that he wold be thair captane him self; and that none of thaim fould want  
 fo long as he had a furre heretage in Scotland: And thairfoir defyrit thaim

to be trew to the king [queine?] and him, in the defence of that houfe, and in refifting of our auld enemies, gif thai wald perfewe the fame. "What the purpofe is of the lordis within this toun, I know not, nather will I haue adoe with thame; but this is my onlie butt, to keip this hous as faid is, and thairfoir defyris you to be leill and trew."

Thurifday the 7 of June, fome fuddeartis of the Hammiltounis going to spoile ane tailgeoris houfe, called James Nicoll, ane honeft and godly man, being compleaned to the captane; the captane being verie com-moved thairat, bad the toun gae to thair armes, and he wold affift them. Bot the mater beand foine meaffed, the toun ftayed.

Fryday the 8 of Junij, captaine Culan was appointed to the Nidderbow. This day thei began to ranforce the houffis about the fame. This nycht the bifchope of Galloway, or Athnis, come into this conventioun, which was appointed to this day. The lord Hereis, Maxwell, and Lochinvar, come this fame nycht alfo, being all not paffing 31 horfe in cumpany; whairat the captane and vtheris was not content. The lord Hereis and Lochinvar fpake with Mortoun, in thair by çuming. Therefoir thei ar come as men that wold creat a concord and agriance.

*The Bijchope of Gallowayis preiching, in the pulpet of Edinburgh, vpoun Sunday the 17 day of June, 1571, the day after the defeat was gevin thame be me lord of Mortone; transported word be word, be the moft copious auditore being thair present for the tyme.*

"GUD people, my text is this, of faith, hope, loue, and charitie, written in the 13 to the Corinthianis; ffor of faith procedis loue, and of loue charitie, which are the wings to hope, wherby all Chriftiane men fould enter in the kingdome of heavin; whair I pray God we myght all goe: And this for the present.

"Now brethiren, may I not fpeir at you, in what place of this puir realme is faith, hope, and charitie refett? And gif thai be authorifed among the thrie eftates? Na, na, brether, na! Is faith or loue amonges our nobilitie? Why then, How many lordis hes oberfuit thair hand writis and thair feales, or keipit thair promeis, outhur vpoun thair fyde or ouris? Yea, few or nane! But I will fpeik newtrally, for it is my pairt, feing



my brotheris sone and I am thriddis of kin to the lord of Morton. Is not the regent sicylke, and we neir of kin? But allace! How mony of us keipis faith, and loue one to ane vther? Why then, lat vs goe to the second estait. Hes the spiritualitie oberruit the preceptis of ecclesiastical order, conforme to thair first institutioune? Or, hes not our ministeris not alterit from the laft ordor fet out efter the reformatiounne of the kirke? Or then the thrid estaite. Is thair faith and loue amonges our burgefes, in bying and felling of thair wayres, or borrowing or lending ane with ane vther? *Ze*a, gif I wald degrefs, I doubt not but faith and love is left in Machling, in wode of hardheidis, whair mony of your merchandis leivis thaire faith! But, allace! bretheren, the only caus of this is particularitie, which hath bene the grittest defectione that hes caused this poure cuntrie to declyne fra thair soverane, the queinis majestie, our only maistres, quha now remaines in England, bot not presoner, as thai haue made you to beleive: ffor I will assure you, and I may say it, sene I haue sene it, being thair commissioner for hir lordis of hir factione. Whairfoir, I wald wisse you not to be abusid; ffor this I will take vpoun my conscience, *ze*a, and vpon my honour, that shoe is better treated, better nourishit, *ze*a reverencet and authoriset more in England, on one day, nor shoe was in Scotland in ane yeir; and licentiat to hauke and hunt, with fundrie vther pastymes, as pleases her; albeit our ministeris haue altogether forget her, and not willing to pray for her. But I wald wishe you, inhabitantes of Edinburgh, to send for your ministeris, and caus thaim pray for the queine, pray for thair lauchfull magistrates whatsumeir; for this I may say, shoe is as lawchfull, sen hir father was our natiue king, and hir mother lykwayis ane honorabill princes, and shoe borne in lauchfull bedde. This for the prufe of my argument, that sho aught to be prayit for.

“And farder, all fynneris aught to be prayed for. Gif we shuld not pray for finneris, for whome fuld we pray? seing that God come not to call the rycheous, but fynneris to repentance. Sant Dauid was a fynner, and so was shoe: Sant Dauid was an adulterer, and so is shoe: Sant Dauid committed murther in slaying Vrias for his wyfe, and so did shoe? Bot what is this to the mater? The more wicked that shoe be, hir subiectis fould pray for hir, to bring hir to the spreit of repentance; ffor Judas was

ane fynner, and gif he had bene prayed for, he had not diet in dispair! Whairfoir, I pray all faythfull subjeētis to pray for thair lawchfull magistrat, gif it be the queine. It is the queine, as I doubt not. Bot ye weill confider, that na inferiour subjeēt hes power to depryve or depose their lawchfull magistrat, hie or sho whatfumeuer, albeit thai committ whordome, murther, incest, or ony vther cryme, being anes be God iust and lauchfull prince or princes, to ring aboue you, not chofen as the imperiall magistratis are. Zea, and farther, was shoe euer excommunicat be the order of the kirke? Gif sa be, iust caufes had we not to pray for her; and albeit shoe were, we aught to pray for her and all vther fynneris, to bring them to the spreit of repentance. Bot mony of our ministeris are too ceremonious, at this present; ffor I remember my self, at the begynning of our religione, when I teiched ather in this pulpet, or in the pulpet heir beydes, when we wald haue bene glaid to had the mefs heir, and the preiching thair: And brether, when I stoude with the stole about my neck, how mony bischopis beade or buire the burding on his backe then bot I? Bot now our ministeris ar growne sa wantone and ceremonious, that thei will not pray for thair lauchfull heretrix, wha hes permitted thame sic libertie of conscience, that they may vse what religione thai pleis.

“And gif we pray not for fynneris, for whome then, sen the iust hes no neid of amendement? Or gif we be not fynneris, wha will say he will cast the first ston at the woman beand tane in adulterie? Is it my lord of Mortoun vpoun thair fyde? Is it my lord Argyle vpoun our fyde? Or is it we ministeris? Nay, brether, nay! ffor I confes my self, yea, this foule carkage of myne to be most vyle carioun, and altogether gevin to the lustis of the fleshe! Ze, and I am not eschamet to fay the grittest trumper in all Europe, vntil sic tyme as it pleasit God to call vpoun me, and make me ane of his chosēn vashelis, in whome he hes powret the spreit of his evangle; and as candles are lichted and fet vpoun heich places, so fall I schaw the giftis that God hes gevin me amongis you. God illuminat your hartis to receive the fame! For giff Manasses had not bene prayed for, he had not beine brocht to the spreit of repentance!

“Ane word or tua, and so I will beteiche you to the mercies of God. Brether, at eternounne I wilbe occupied with some vther bufinis: but

vpoun weddinfday and ffryday, I fall tak some paines to oppin the rest of this text: And becaus I know my self not so worthie as thai that haue occupiet this place befoir, I befeike you, bretheren, fend for your ministeris, and I shall take the paines with them to trauel, to sie gif we can pacifie the infatiable myndis of our brethir, who gois about lyk lyonis, to fuike out the bloude of thair brethir. And sen God blift the peacemakariss, lat us sie gif we can be the instrumentis to bring the nobilitie to concord with faith, houpe, and cheritie. But alace! wher was cheritie yisterday amonges vs? Yea, not whair it fould be, conforme to the wordis of my text. And so I beteich you to the mercie of God."

Settirday the 9 day, ane of the prifoneris of Dalkeith, being hurt vpoun the feildis, died. Balcleuch and Pherniherft come in efter midnycht following.

Sonday the 10 of June, the ducke, Huntlie, the bischope Athenis, Claud, etc. were at fermond. Ducke and Huntlie, with Claud, baid the prayer; which befoir thei did not.

Mononday the 11 day of June, 1571, the lord Home, Balcleuche, and Pherniherft, raid furth, and made some pricking with them of Dalkeyth. Vpoun this day the laird of Grange, capitane of the castle of Edinburgh, sent up this letter to Dalkeith, as followes:—

[*Cartell by the Laird of Grange, sent to Dalkeith.*]

“Whairas it is cum to my earis, that sum wicked perfonis, of very malice bred in thair vngodly breiftis, hes taken libertie to vtter the venome of thair poyfoned hartis, to the prejudice of my honore, sa far as lysis in thair slanderous tounge, haifand be lettres, proclamationes, brutes, and reportes, gevin out to the people fals and vntrue taillis of me, calling me ane traytore, and murtherer, and affistar of murthereris, and spciallie, allower of the slauchter of the erle of Murray, leat regent, of guid memorie; to whome it is notoure what guid affectione I bare, and for whome, during his lyfe, I hafardit all that I had in the world, and diuerse tymes my persone in place whare the authoris of sic calumpneis durft not haue schawin thair faces.

“Gif I knew who wer the authoris or fawaris of sic vild brutes, I wald anfuer thaim moir particularlie; and gif ony dare cume furth and profes thaim self to haue devyfit, writtin, or spoken the famyn, I fall anfuer him fa directlie, that I trust he fall haue occasioun to advance him self nothing of his interprife. Alwayis, for defence of my honore, which I will menteane against all deidly, this I fay, without exceptioun of ony perfone or estait quhatfumeuer he be, that hes, by wryting, speich, or vtherwayis, vsed sic unhoneft language of me, as befoir is specifcit, or of the lyke substance, of what estait, degrie, or qualitie whatfumeuer he be, he hes vuhonestlie, falschlie, and mischantlie lyed in his throat. From Edinburgh castell, the xj day of June, 1571.

(*Sic subscribitur*)

WM. KIRKCALDIE.”

*Anfuer to this ltre [by Alexander Stewart, younger of Garleis.]*

“Forfamekle as thou, be ane cartall laitlie fet fourth, boastis the anfuer to ony, without ony exceptione of perfones, estait, or degrie; and most lyke that thou meanis to make the said anfuer but in wordis, faying thei lie that rumoris thé with treassone. Albeit, that this cartell is so proud, that it may seme to eum of a breift full both of arrogancie and treafone, and comparis thy self to the cheif nobilitie of Scotland, not excepting fa meikle as the kingis graces bloud; thou being of fa base conditioun, that thy father had bot aught oxin-gang of land, and his progenitouris for the most pairt falt makeris; and that thou art so notorious and notable a traytore, that the actioun fould be decydit be vther judges then be aventure of arms: Nochttheles I, Alexander Stewart of Garleis, will offer my self to proue thy vyle and filthie treafone with my perfone against thyne, as the law and custome of armes requyris; with protestatioun, that it fall not be prejudiciall to my honour nor to my bloud, to compair my self with sic ane leat prentit gentleman, manifestlie knowin to haue committed at fundrie tymes dyverse treafones, and takin out of the galeis to be keptit to the gallous. This cartell, for the more affurance, I have subferyuit with my hand at Leith, the 14 of June, 1571.

(*Sic subscribitur*) ALEXANDER STEWART of Garleis, youngar.”

[*A second Cartell by the Laird of Grange, in reply to the Laird of Gairleis, younger.*]

“Thy cartell I haue reffaut, which is na direct anfuere to myne in any speciall poynt. But feing thou takis vpoun thé to be the vtterer of these fclanderous wordis to my reproche; speciallie in that, that thou hes termed me a notable and notorious traytore, and wrytin that I am manifestlie knowin to haue committed at fundrie tymes dyuerse treaffones (whairof I thank God thou art not able to specifie ane): in that thou hes written, I affirme thou hes falllie, wickitlie, and mischentlie lieth in thyne throate; which I will menteane, with my persone and thyne, according to the law of armes. And gif thou dar perfew thy challenge, I fall meit thé in newtrall and vn suspect place, whare none fall medle in the querall but our seluis; and thair, be Godis grace, make thy owin tounge declair that thou hes falllie and rashlie liet.

“And whair thou wald, be thy cartell, make it appeir to thame that ar not weill acquentit with us bathe, that I am of so base conditione, that I may not be comparid with thé in the degrie; albeit, thy vaine braging thairin be not worthie of anfuere, yit I affirme, that thairin also thou hes falllie liet; I and my progenitoris being alwayes gentlemen of bloud and armes, hes bene in gritter estimatioune, alweill with the princes of this realme as the subiectis, then thou art able ever to attene to.

“Off thy bloud I will not speake, haueing to doe only with thy self. Thou art so farre degenerate from the staite of thy antecessoris, be the notable imperfectiones that ar knowin to be in thé, which I remit to the judgment of the people, to whome thy franticke nature is notoure, that gif I wald stand vpoun my reputatioune, being of the ranke and steat I am of, I mycht with reafone refuis thy chalange. But vnder protestatioune, that in other caises it be not prejudiciall to me, I will at this tyme anfuere thy challenge, as said is. Subfcryuit with my hand, at Edinburgh castell, the 25 of Junij, 1571. (*Sic subscribitur*) WM. KIRKCALDIE.”

[*Cartell, Alexander Stewart of Gairleis, younger, in reply to the Laird of Grainge's second Cartell.*]

“Whair be writing, daitit the 25 of Junij of this moneth, subfcryuit

with thy hand, which I haue refaued, thow callis my cartell na direct anſuer to thyne, in ony ſpecial poynt; to that I ſay, as I haue befoir ſaid, and which, God willing, I fall preiue vpoun thé, that thow art indeid a notable and notorious traytore. And this being the moſt ſpecial poynt that in thy cartell thow ſeimes to juſtifie thy ſelf of, includes and conteines vnder it the remanent particularis, whair of euerie ane is ſo notore, that thair is left no place of doubt, as vaineſie and lyinglie thow waldis pretend, bragging that I am not able to ſpecific ane of thy treafones: whairas, befydis the notorietye of thaim to all honeſt men (of) this realme, thy awin hand writis, compared with thy contrarious deidis, ar able to convince thé of ane number of filthie treafonis; which being pruiſſis evident, the tryall of the lawes of armes in that caſe is not required, but rather the ordinarie lawes of the realme ſhuld judge and puneis thy manifent vntreuth and treafone.

“ And ſpeciallic, thow hes fortified and affitit, and joyned with thame that fortifies and affitits the perſones ſuſpectid and knowin culpable, and foirfaltit be the law, for the horrible murtheris off vmquhill our ſouerane lordis father, of worthie memorie, and of vmquhil the erle of Murray, lait regent of this realme; and hes diuerſe of thaim preſentlie in the caſtle of Edinburgh. Did thow not fet the werdoris and preſoneris committed to thy cuſtodie within the caſtle, for quyetnes within the commone weill and fuirtie of the kingis eſtaite, at libertie, ſoune efter the murther of the lait regent, being thy owin maifter? And was not the ſame libertie the verie cauſe of the ſtaying the puniſhment thair of? Did thow not breke the kingis preſone of the tolbuthe of Edinburgh, trefonablie tacking fourth of the ſame ſic as had committit, that ſame day, a recent murther be thy owin directione and command? In doing of the which deid, diſcharged not thow the ordinance of the caſtell againſt the toun of Edinburgh, to the terrore and harme of the inhabitantes thair of? Hes thow not viſit the ſaid caſtle and the kingis ordinance and munitioues, being therin, to ane vther uſe and fyne nor it was appointed, when the ſame was committed to thy traitt, againſt thy faith and promeis? Hes thow not menteaned, and now menteanis, oppen rubbaris, natiue theiuis, and commoune breakeris of the godly peace with the queinis maieſtie and realme of England? Hes

not thow fawld ane pairt of the kingis munitioune and stufe, being within the said castle, and prodigallie consumed ane vther pairt, and no litle quantitie, to the distructioun of the kingis gude subiectis? And finallie, hes not thy shamefull defectioun fra the caus of the king, thy fouerane lord, whois obedience thow professit (and be the new erecting of the pretendit authoritie of the queine, his hienes mother, at Edinburgh, ane murderer of hir owin husband, and ane enemie to the true religione of Jesus Christ, which without thy treffone culd nocht haue bene done, nor walde nocht haue bene permitted), betrayed not only the king, and sic noblemen and subiectis as thow joyned with in the actioun for revenge of the murderis, and fourthsetting of the kingis authoritie; but also, hes betrayed the toun of Edinburgh, and the kingis guid subiectis, inhabitantes thair-of; which now to leat may repent thame that thai haue suffered thame felfis to be abusid by thé, vnder cullore of friendship and league standing betwixt thame and thé, as captane of the said castle, in the kingis name, to haue thair libertie oppreffit be thy tyrannie and treffone; thair treade beyonde sies restrayned, be procuriment of thé and thy confederatis; thair honest nychtbouris exiled and made prisoneris; thair guidis spoyled, and searched, at the licentious apeteite of men of warre; thame felues made slaues, and discharged from weiring of armes; the portis and wallis of thair toun garnished with fouldeartis; the service of God, and discipline of the kirke, neglected; excommunicatis refaut in hous of prayer, and preiching of the word of God; with the tolbuithis, wher justice fould [be] ministrate, made ane den of theivis, and ane receptacle of men of warre and suddartis: yit thy shamles bragg of fighting fall not advance thy untrew querrell, nor silence procure credite to thy leis, as hyprocrisie rather then proves, hes heirtoufoire purchast thy bypast reputatioun.

“I will, and darre perfew my challenge, with my persone against thyne, according to the law of armes: And leiving longer contentioun with thé in wordis, which thy generall anfuer declairis thé to delyte in, I promeis and offer to meit thé hand to hand, on horse or fute, armed with jake, speir, steilbonet, sword, and whinger, being the order of Scottis armoure, in the Gallowley, vpon the west side of the hie way betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, ypoun the third day of Julij nixt, be nyne houris befor noune; whair nane fall mell in the querall but our felues. Which place is sa new-

trall and vnſuſpect, as thow can not haue a ſubterfuiſe to reſuiſe it; except thow will aſoir hand confeſ, willinglie, thy treaſonable turpitude, alreddie ſo notorious to vtheris, with thy owin tounge; and owther ſuffer for thy owin offence, or imploir mercie for the fame.

“ Whair thow bragis, that thow and thy progenitouris haue alwayis bene gentlemen of bloud and armes, I ſay, the order and tymes of thy advancement, being ſo weill knowin, neidis no farther anſwer, but rander againe ſhortlie thy ſhameles lies in thy owin throat. Thy preſent treſſonabill doingis do declair how ewill thow heſ deſeruit that eſtimatione with the princes and ſubjectis of this realme, that heirtoſoir, without guid cauſe, thow heſ had; which now may repent thame of that confidence thei reſoped in thé, having proued true to nane that euer thow promiſed faith or obedience vnto: And for my owin part, I think, neuer to preis to attaine to eſtimatione be ſic treaſonabill dealing as thow heſ practiſed.

“ In that thow termes me degenerate from the eſtaite of my anteceſſouris be the notable imperfectiones in me, and that my franticke nature is notore to the people, and that thow, being of the ſtait and rancke thow is of, may with guid reſpect reſuiſ my challenge; as thow art not able (praifit be God) juſtlie to burding me with ony ane poynt of vntreuth, ſhame, or diſhonore, ſa I regard not that villanous and ſlanderous railing, whairof I doubt not all men fall haue the lyke opinione as they haue of thy ſelf, ſeing thow declairis thy awin opprobrie, for that the people can and dois iudge the ſtait and rancke of vs bathe, having guid cauſe to curſe the tyme that euer thow was placed in that charge, that ſo vntrewhie heſ dealt with them, to thair wraike and deſolatione, againſt thy faith and promeiſ; and I doubt not, be Godis grace, to gar thy tounge acknowledge beſoir the world thy manifold treaſones and turpitude, and maniſteſt the clocked poyfone that ſo long heſ lye in thy feangeit breaſt. Proteſting yit my anſuer in challenge with thé fall not preiudge the proces to be led in forme of law againſt thé, for thy manifold treſſones; nor to my honore, being knowin for ane auncient and vndefamed hous, that compairis my ſelf to ſo notorious a traytore, wha of juſtice, and of the law of armes, aucht not to be reſavit to ſic juſtificatione. Subſeryuit with my hand, at Leith, the laſt of Junij, 1571.

(*Sic ſubſcribitur*)      ALEXR. STEUART, of Gairleis, younger.”



[*The Laird of Grange's third Cartell, containing his answer to the last Cartell of the Laird of Gairleis; younger.*]

“ I haue refauit thy cartell, dated at Leith, the last of June; whairin I persuaue thow delytis in multiplieing of words, which I will purposelie eschew, in respect the mater falbe tryed be deidis, and not be wordis. To thy accusatiounes, thairfoir, I will make na vther ansuer presentlie, but as befoir, that in the whole poyntis that thow hes vttered to my reproache, thow hes falllie lied in thy throat.

“ To thy offer to meit me in the feild, in the place named by thy lettre, which thow callest newtrall and vn suspect; as presentlie the cause standis, it can not be reputed vn suspect and newtrall for me, so grit forces lyand in Leyth as now ar thair, and wilbe at the day appointed be thy lettre. And gif, I war ane privat man, as I haue sumtymes bene, not bound to a charge, I wald mak little difficultie of ony place wher ther wer but onlie questione of my persone; but in respect of the charge I beir of this house (being of so grit consequence), the principall fortres of the realme, vpoun the suirtie whairof thair dependis moir then the persone of ane thousand sic as ather of us may import, I am compellit to provyde farder for the securitie of my persone, whairon the securitie of the hous dependis, to be frie from all vther but thy self, nor vtherways and at ony vther tyme I wald. And thairfoir to make ane place betwixt this and Leith vn suspect to me, be reassone of my charge foirsaid, I requyre that thrie of that pairtie, whome I will name, be enterit within this hous, to remaine as pledges and hostages during the tyme of our medling, that no man of that pairtie fall haue to doe with me but thow only; wha, vpoun my honour, falbe releived and put saiffie to Leith, immediatlie efter our querall be endit, but fraud or gyle.

“ This poynt being provydit, I promeis to meit thé, to fight in sic maner, and with sic armes, offensive or defensive, as I fall prescryve to thé; which, be the law of armes, thow hes no place to appoint, but man at this tyme be in my optione and chose. Send me ansuer of this poynt, and then thow fall perceive, thair fall nather delay nor subterfuge be vsed on my pairt. Gif thow had only wit or discretione, thow wald haue forborne to reale and speike so irreverentlie of a princes, whose subiect thow art borne.

Thy rashnes in that behalf declairis what man thow art. At Edinburgh Castell, the first of Julij, 1571.

(*Sic subscribitur*) WM. KIRKCALDIE."

[*The Laird of Gairleis, younger, to the Laird of Grange, in reply.*]

"Thy wryting I haue ressaued, at Leith, the first of Julij instant; and wheras thow makkis mentioune I delyte in multiplicatioune of wordis (which thow wold eschew), as I am on the vther pairt willing to eschew wordis, so wald I that nather drift of tyme, nor vther cullored excuse, fould conceill thy tresonabill turpitude. Bot, to be short, as I haue said befor in my last cartall, in all the poyntis conteanit thairin, and which, God willing, I fall preive vpoun thé, that thow art, indeid, a notable and notorious traitour.

"And whairas thow makis mentioune that the place appointed be my cartell is not newtrall nor vnfuspect to thé, be resson of the charge thow beirs of that hous, albeit the contrair be of veritie, being within the shot of the cannone, as is notoure; zit that maner of shift shall not trampe the querrell of armes vnderfute, nor give the world to vnderstand that thow offeris that thing which the law thair of requyris, I offer to fend to thé, afoir our medling, a band of my lord regentis grace, with all the rest of the noblmen of his partie being heir in Leyth, that during the tyme of our medling thair fall nothing be attemptat be thame, nor none of thairis, against thé nor thyne assistaris (but that which falbe done betuixt our feluis only), receaving the lyke band fra thé and thyne againe. And whairas thow desyris sic thrie as thow fall name of this partie to be enterit within that hous, for thy fuirtie, what thinkis thow? Or quhat may the world gather of that vnresonabill desyre, which may seame that thy conscience fightis against thy self, will not suffer thé to enter to defend thy vnrighteous querrall thow hes tane on hand, but to feike and shift excuses thow can to cullore thy manifest vntreuth and treafones? Yit, to dryve thé to that point, that thow fall not gang bak agane, I offer, and I fall give to thé, thrie of this fyde, equall in degrie of bloud and rent with me and thé, receaving the lyk againe at thy handis, for fuirtie of thé and thy assistaris during the said tyme of our said melling.

“And what I have spokken vnreverentlie of a princes, I aught thé no account thair of. Thow thy self hes spokken mair of that mater nor I haue done. I haue greiter cauffis to be forie then thow hes that sic causes falbe gevin to speik vpoun. This is a sufficient anfuer to thy letter; and the rest to my former cartellis. At Leith the 2 of Julij, 1571.

(*Sic subscribitur*) ALEXR. STEWART of Gairleis, younger.”

[*The Laird of Grange fourth Cartell to the Laird of Gairleis, younger.*]

“I refaued thy letter, daited at Leith, the 2 of Julij; and becaus I wald efchew the wifling of wordis (which dryves tyme), and bring the mater quicklie to the poynt, I requyre immediatlie, that tuo freindis of myne mycht meit, vpoun affurance, tuo gentilmen of that pairtie, to conferre and agrie vpoun all thingis for bringing our medling shortlie to pas. To that effect, I direct the laird of Pittadrowe, and the young laird of Drylay; wha had power of me, for sufficient security, to condiscend vpoun the day and place of our combat, and to offer sufficient securitie for this pairtie to thé, and certaine gentlemen that sould accompanie thé to the place, to sie that thow sould be sincerly and vprychtly dealt with all. I trust that Andro Ker of Fadownfyde, and captane Crawford (whome I take to be discreit gentlemen, and to vnderstand what is reffonabill in sic caifes), will beir record, that my fadis freindis offered all meafoure in my name; zit sen be ane ticket from them, directed yifter nycht to the fadis lairdis of Pittadro and Drylay, I vnderstand that thow requyris that my offeris may be fend in wryting, thair defyris falbe satisfied in that behalf, that the world may judge thair of.

“Bot first I will tuiche a litle the ground of our querrell, repeating the begynning, and the proceedingis senfyne, whairby it may the moir easilie apeir to all indifferent perfonas that my offeris and defyris are reffonabill. The route of all this mater proceidis from ane proclamatioune fet fourth be the erle of Lennox, and subfcryuit with his hand, daitit at Striueling, the sext of Aprile lastbypast; whairvnto I made ane direct anfuer be ane vther proclamatioun, published at Edinburgh shortly thereafter. When I saw no reply was made thairto, and yit was be commoune voice and fame informed that in that cumpany which hes adjoynd thaim felfis to him,

ther was diuerſe bruitis ſpreid of me, flanderis ſpocken, written, and vttered to my reproche, whairof I culd not try the certane authore; I directed my cartell to diuerſe places of the realme, deated the xj of June, anſuering in generall, as aperteineth to all, that by lettres, proclamatioues, bruites, and reportis, had geuin out to the people ſic fals and vntrue tailes of me. When I was in fuſpence, awaiting for anſuer, thow gave thy ſelf out as campione for the reſt, and tuike the whole querall vpoun thé, offering, be thy cartell, daited at Leith, the 22 of Junij laſtbypaſt, thy ſelf to proue vile and filthie treafone vpoun me, with thy perſone againſt myne, as the lawes and cuſtome of armes requyris: Whairvnto I made a direct anſuer, bearing dait the 25 of Junij, and gave thé the lie, offering to menteane it with my perſone to thyne, according to the law of armes; and gif thow darreſt perſew thy chalenge, promeiſt to meit thé in the field, in place of the field vnſuſpect, whair none ſould medle in the querall but our ſelues.

“ I mycht, with guid reaſone, haue refuſed to fight with thé, in reſpect of many circumſtances, depending vpoun myne perſone and thyne, notore to the whole people; and, namely, in that thow art degenerat from the ancient ſtait of thy hous, and thy bloud ſteaynged, as I am informed, be matching of thy motheris father, called Dumbar, with a preiſtis dochter, of whome thow art diſcendit, and ſo ane of thy principall branches ane prieiſtis dochter; whair be the contraire it fall not be fund, that ony of my branches of long continouance hes bene vther then gentlmen, without matching ather with preiſt or merchant. This conſideratioune hes not ſtayed me; but I will menteane my honoure againſt thy vnjuſt chalenge.

“ Be thy wretting, daittit at Leith the laſt of June, thow avowes that thow dar and will perſew thy chalenge, with thy perſone againſt myne, according to the law of armes; and thairfore promiſes to meit me hand to hand, on horſe or on fute, armed with jake, ſpeir, ſteilbonnet, ſword or whingar, on the Gallowley, vpoun the waſt fyde of the hie way betuixt Leith and Edinburgh, vpoun the third day of Julij inſtant, be nyne houris aforenoune; to the which I anſuerit directlie be my lettres, daittit the firſt of Julij, and thairin ſchew diuerſe conſideratioues whairfoir the place nominat be thé was not to be reputed vnſuſpect; as my lettre at length reportis: Yit, to make ane place betuixt Leith and Edinburgh vnſuſpect

to me, I requyred hostages; which point being provydit, conforme to my lettre, I promised to meit thé, to fight in sic maner, and with sic armes, offensive and defensive, as I fould prescryve to thé; the appointment whairof man at this tyme be at my choise, in respect of the nature of our querall, and in consideratioune wha is perfewar, and wha is defendar.

“ To my requisitioune, thow answered, be thy lettre the secund of Julij, that thow wald fend me, afoir our melling, a band of all the noblemen of that partie in Leyth, for fuirtie, that na vther fuld medle in the mater bot our felis: Which offer, I finding not sufficient, in respect of the charge I beir, and willing to bring the mater quicklie to ane end, and to determine at once, without farder delay, all thingis necessar for the combat, I requyred the meiting mentionat in the begynning of this lettre. Now to the poynt: My freindis foirfaidis had commissiounes to agrie vpoun a certane day, to be the 25 of Julij instant; they had commissiounes to agrie vpoun the ground, to be the barreffe bewast the Waft port of Edinburgh; the place accustomed, and of auld appointed for tryall of sic materis in thir pairtis; none to come with thé neir the place, but tuelf gentlemen, to see that thow fould haue fair play, for thy fuirtie; and thair my freindis hath power to offer to fend thé, afore our medling, a band of all the noblemen that ar heir of this partie with my awin band, that during the tyme of our medling, thair fall nothing be attempted against thé and the twelf gentlemen in thy cumpany, but that that falbe done betwixt our selues onlie: Which offer, I am affiured, that on no reffone thow may refuse, seing it is equivalent to that thow makis to me. Seing, then, that I am the defendar, and in respect of chaarge of this hous, whairto I am bound, and whairevpoun so grit thingis dependis, beand the principall fortres of this realme; and in respect of the tyme, I am compellit to stike vpoun mony thingis farther then I wald vtherways doe, and at ane vther tyme. Be reaffone whairof, the chousing of the place shuld rather be myne, I makand the same securitie that thow offeris to me.

“ They wer also instructed, that all maner of armore, with horse and vther thingis necessar for the combat, shuld be sufferit be that partie to be convoyed to me, without ony impediment, with sic freindis and ser-vantis as I fould appoint to fetche thaim, and to offer the lyke; and siclyk

that sic freindis as I wold defyre to be with me that day, be suffered, without all truble, to come with me; and to offer to suffer, siclyk, thy freindis to come to Leith againe that day. As to the airmor, provyde thy self befoir the day, and bring with thé ane horse, a jak, steilbonnet, plaitfleivis, speiris, a sword, a dager, a corflat, a murrione, a picke, a tuo handit sword, a pair gantilotis, tuo sword stypes, or plettis, for the theife and legis. And when thou art come to the feild, I fall prescryve vnto thé according to my priviledge, whither we fall fecht armed or vnarmed, or on horse or on fute, or what armes thou may vse; whair of I fall vse the lyke, and no vther.

“Last of all, seeing thou art the persone whome the erle of Lennox and his adherentis hes fend out as thare campione, to take the querall on hand, I requyre that he and thei, vndir thair hand writtis, will allow thé to be thair campione in the said querall, and obleis thaim selfis to recognosce and acknowledge the wrong and injurie done to me be so mony of thame, as be wrytingis, proclamatiounes, bruites, or wordis, hes vttered sic slanderous tailes prejudiciall to my honore, and be content to repair my honour accordingle, in forme as effeiris, incas I obtaine victorie over thé; whair of I haue no doubt, be the grace of God, who knowis my querall to be just. And vpoun thir conditiones I fall, God willing, meit thé in the feildis at the day appointed. Subscryuit with my hand, at the castell of Edinburgh, the 5 day of Julij, 1571.

(*Sic subscribitur*) WM. KIRKCALDIE.”

[*Cartell by the Laird of Gairleis, younger, to the Laird of Grange, in reply to his fourth Cartell.*]

“Be thy lettre, daited at the castell of Edinburgh the 5 day of Julij infant, thou seames in the begyning to schaw thy vnwillingnes to wissil wordis in our querall, as that thou thoughtis evill of the dryving of tyme; and yit multiplieing superfluous wordis, makis a lairge discourse of the ground of thy querall, as thou fallie and liandlie wold pretend, through ane proclamatioune fet out be the kingis maiesties darrest guidfchire, as regent of this realme, which proclamatioune thou wrytis, that thou directlie anfuercit be ane vther proclamatioun, published at Edinburgh: In

all which poyntis thow manifestis thy naked vntreuthis, lies, and excufes; still shifting to faue thy felf from the tryall of thy vnjuft querall be the law of armes: ffor, as it is trew, and falbe verefiet befor the world, that thow hes not onlie professed and avowed the obedience of the authoritie of the king, myne and thyne fouerane lord, fo hes thow writtin, named, and acknowledged the erle of Lennox, his hienes guidfchire, as regent of this realme, wha occuppieing that chaarge, and perfaueing not only thy defectione from thy promised faith and alledgance be thyne a  iones, in raising of men of weir againft the lawes of the realme, attoure the boundis of thy proper power and chaarge, which is weill aneughe knowin; but als, finding be thy lettres, apprehendit at Dumbartane, a pruiſe of thy befor ſuſpected treafone, his grace, in making and ſetting out of the ſaid proclamatione, prohibeiting men of weir to ferue th   in thy treafonabill interpryſes, then kything thaim felues in deid, did nothing but that which the weill and preſervatioune of the king our fouerane lordis eſtaite and dewtie of his office requyred: And thow, in making thy ſaid alledgit anſuer, ſhew in effect, in write, but that whiche of befor thow had gane about indire  lie, to pra  tife by reaſoun againſt thy faithe; vainlie and preſumptuouſlie vſurping vpoun th   to counterpace the king thy ſoveranes proclamatione, and in wordis to mak equalitie, and compair th  , being of a baſe conditione, to his hienes darreſt guidfchire, tutour, and regent.

“And for the brutes ſpread, and ſlandrous wordis ſpoken, of the which thow ſeimes to mak the occaſioun of the directing of thy firſt cartell, call them brutes or ſlanderis as thow pleaſes, they ar no lies, which all the world may eaſilie judge, comparing thy ſubſcriptiones with thy leat a  iones. And ſen thow was not ignorant nor in ſuſpence, as thow woldeſt ſeame to be, the fetteris out of the ſaidis trew proclamationes and letteris, but directed thy ſaid cartell vpoun a vaine bragg and oſtentatioune, to daſh men with the opinione of thy fechtin, whair no ſic intentione was in thy filthie and corrupted thoecht; I, not as a campione for the reſt, as thow writis, but as a trew gentlman vndeſeamed, tuike vpoun me as ane to anſuer thy generall cartell, as ane hundreth befydis me, gentlmen of bloud and armes (althoght thow hes made na exceptione), will offer and make the lyke chalenge againſt th  , having ſo guid ground and querell, when-

euer thei fall sie licklieheid, on thy pairt, to performe thy pairt thair of. Thow shifted not for the circumstances depending on thy persone in the first bragging cartell; becaus then appeirandlie thow had not opinione to find thy matche. Thow said not in thy first cartell, that thow excepted men degenerat from the ancient state of thair hous, but thy lettre importis, without exceptione of ony persone or estaite, of what estate, degrie, or qualitie quhatfumeuer he be; be which wordis, as thow schew thy arrogance, not excepting the kinglie bloud and cheif nobilitie, to whom thow can nowayis compar thy self, so hes thow first denudit thy self of all exceptione against the persone of ony whatfumeuir qualitie (wryt as pleises thé now of my motheris father, for a shift and subterfuge), howbeit, I in all respectis, praised be God, am in honore to be preferred to thé, except that thow wald challenge the betraying of that the kingis house, and vsing it to ane vther end nor thow receavit it, for to be a preferment, and thairin I give thé place as a traytoure; so mynd I neuer to contend with thé in treatone, whairwith thow art swa spottted and practised, bot to leive thé to reslaue the reward and fruitis of thy deserving. And as thow wrangly detractis my motheris father, in matching, as thow sayis, with ane preiftis dochter, that woman that thow meanis of, hes brocht in moir auld inheritance to me and to the posterities of my house, nor thow hes of propertie of ony landis hauldin of the kingis of this realme, as is notourly knowin; for it weill appeiris thow hes litle assuirance of honestie and gudnes of thy owin querall, in that thou shamefully and cowardly (as thow haiftis) shiftis and delayis to abyde my chalange in the newtrall and vnsufpectit place be me appointed; whairin thair can no inequalitye appeir, it being midway betwixt the tuo townes, whair the forces now remains, and within the shot of the cannone of that castell.

“ Haue I not offered to enter to thé thrie of this fyde, equall in degrie, blude, and (rent) with me, as pledges; I refaueing the lyke for the suretie of thé, and thy assistaris, during the tyme of our medle? And now thow to apoynt the ground to be the barrace, bewast the Waft port of Edinburgh, as place accustomed, as thou writtis; and none to come with me but xij gentlemen, to sie that I haue fair play, with a band of the nobilitie of that partie, and thy owin band, for our fovertis. It may appeir to



all the world, that in that offer thow feikis but fubterfuge, shifting, and delay: ffor when the faid barrace was place accuftomed, the caftell of Edinburgh (vnder the wall and danger whair of it lysis) was in the keeping off the obedient fervant to the king and auctorite for the tyme, and the toun of Edinburgh frie, vnopprefsit, or vnder tyranny: and now the caftell is in the power of thé, a notorious traytore, and the toun is garnesed with men of weir reafed vnder thy traift; what reafone or equalitie is it, that onlie xij in my cumpany falbe present the tyme of our medle, without prefcription of number for thy pairt? Or what fuiretie can thy band or promeis be to me, thow having alreddie violate thy band and fubfcriptione gevin for thy obedience to the king our foverane lord, therby tacking on thé the fpot of infamie for euer?

“ Whair thow fayis that I am the perfone whome my lord regent, and the kingis constant obedient fubiectis (which thow termes his adherentis), hes fet out as thair campione to tak the querall on hand, thow lies thairin to thy throat; ffor as lyke as the regent and the kingis iustice hes not to contend with thé, but be iust executioun of paines of the lawes, and his hienes authoritie, whairvnto thow hes fubjeet thy felf againft them, for thy manifest treafone and vntreuthis, fa I, movit be thy fchameles and bragg-ing cartell, offering fa proudly to fight for thy tint and fpoyled honore againft ony, without exceptione of perfone, could nocht, nor can nocht, but directlie anfuer thé as I haue done, and fall alwayes doe, whither thow rather anfuer my chalenge or els confes thy treafone and turpitude. And thairfoir, yit againe I offer to meit thé hand to hand, in a place newtrall, being of equall diftance betwixt thir townes of Leith and Edinburgh, ony day thow will apoint (or that fame day gif pleased thé), betwix and 25 day of Julij instant, agriable to the day of thy laft cartell. I fall enter fuch oftages for the fuirtie of thé, and thame that accompanies thé, as thow will enter for the securitie of me, and thame that accompanies me. I de-fyre na mea freindis to behold play on my pairt, nor thow fall haue on thy pairt. I fall bring with me fic armore as thow fpecifices in thy laft cartell, to the place of our mellie. I fall arme my felf as thow prefcryves, my armore being equall to thyne. I fall procure that armore, horfe, and vtheris thingis neceffaire for the combat, falbe fufferit be the kingis pairtie to be convoyed to thé without impediment, with fic freindis as thou woldeft

defyre to be with thé that day; thow procurand the lyke to me for that pairtie. Gif heirvpoun I fall not refaife thy plaine, direct, and resolute anfuwer in write, betwixt this and the fyftene day of this instant, then will I luike for no farther anfuwer at thy handis, but will remit thy refuife and delay to be judget be all indifferent perfones. Subfcryuit with my hand, at Leith, the tent day of Julij, 1571.

(*Sic subscribitur*) ALEXR. STEWART of Gairleis, younger."

[*The Laird of Grange's fift Cartell, addressed to the Laird of Gairleis, younger.*]

" I haue reflauct thy lettre, datit at Leith the 10 of this instant Julij, whairin I find no sufficient anfuwer to the most pairt of the heidis contained in my lettre of the 5 of Julij; but speciallie to tuo heidis, which being most substantiall, I may not overpas: the one, twiching the avowing of thé to be the campione for these perfones who has hes fet thé out to take thair querall on hand; the vther, twiching the place which I requyred to be vn-suspect for me, not fameikle for the respect of my persone (which is weill knowin, and speciallie to that cumpanie), I haue neuer spaired, but hes bene liberall aneughe thairof, when euer the defence of my cuntrie, my awin honore, the weill of my freindis, or of sic as was familiare with me, or oftymes caufes of les consequence, did requyre it. As for the respect of the charge whairvnto I am bound, which makis me against my owin naturall to be more circumspect then euer I haue bene heirtofore, vtherways wald be, or will be heirefter, when with my honour I may be frie thairof; and that in respect of the practife which, I am able to proue, hes, both directlie and indirectlie, bene devyfed, and fet a warke to betray me and this hous, whairvpoun gritter thingis dependis than a thowfand tymes the lyves of sic as ony of vs tua may contraveale. The cair I haue and takis for faife keeping thairof, hes beime, and fall in the end manifestlie prove to the world to be, for better caufes, tending to the libertie of the cuntrie and commoun wealth thairof, then the aëtionis of that pairtie which thow followis do import.

" Thy offer of hostages to make the place vn-suspect I esteime worth nothing, and no better then gif I fould come to the place appointed be thé without hostages; for it is weill knowin, hostages, in equal number and

degrie, enterit on eather pairtie, can import no furtie mair nor gif ther wer none at all, in confideratioune that the one will ever contravaile the vther, and in all eventis releive the vther. I haue be my letter of the 5 of Julij, offered vnto thé reafone aneughe, gif thow haue a defire or ony will to perfew thy chalenge, which offer I fall faithfullie performe in all poyntis. To farther conditiones presentlie I will not yield, in refpect of the chairge of this hous; whairof I wiffe to God, I mycht with my honour, and without prejudice of the publiēt caus (which I man refpect), difburding my felf presentlie. Gif fo ware, thow fould in effect perceive how litle I esteime thé, and that I wald litle fticke vpoun eather ceremony or circumftance of tyme and place that mycht hinder our meitting; affuiring thé, that whither thow presentlie infist or not in in the perfuite of thy chalenge, I fal put thé in remembrance thairof fo foune as I may by ony meanes put my felf to libertie, which I hoip falbe moir fhortly then thow belieues, at leaft founer then thow, God willing, fall haue caus to be glaid of.

“ I will remit the confideratioune of my offer to the judgment of the world, wha wilbe privie to our proceedingis on both pairtis, and fo will indifferentlie judge. And accordingle, lat me know befoir the xv day of this instant, whidder thow will fatiffie the defyre of my laft letre of the v of this instant or not; ffor vtherwayis I will luike for no anfuer, while the tyme that I fall of new put thé in remembrance of thy dewtie, whilk affuire thy felf I will doe, as faid is. Subferyuit with my hand at Edinburgh Caftell, the xij of Julij, 1571.

(*Sic fubfcribitur*)

WM. KIRKCALDIE.”

[*Cartell by the Laird of Gairleis, younger, in reply to the Laird of Grange's fifth Cartell.*]

“ I refaued thy letre of the dait of the xij of Julij instant, wifland and multiplieand wordis, as hes bene thyne accuftomed maner, without certaintie: Whairvnto in few wordis I anfuer, that as in the firft proude and arrogant cartell, fet out in the defence of thi pretendit and fpottit honore, thou nather exceptis the perfone of ony that wald anfuer thé, of quahatfumeuer eftaite or qualitie, nor made fhift and excufe in refpect of that the

kingis hous (traytoroufflie abufed be thé), nor yit focht ony vther place then it, which was newtrall and vnfufpect, as the barrace vnder the caſtle wall can nocht be thocht be nane indifferent; fo is thair now no place left vnto thé to vſe ony of theſe naked and ſchameles ſubterfuges, without thou wilt revoike and directlie gaineſay thy former wrytingis in this matter. I have ſufficientlie and directlie anſuerit till thy wrytingis, and principally in my laſt anſuer of the tent of this moneth, whairin I haue condifcendit vnto all thy preſerued devyſes, ſaving onlie the place equall and indifferent, with equal number of attenderis.

“Now, thairfoir, I take thy laſt letter as a reſuiſe of my cartell, and as thy confeſſione of thy owin treaſonable turpitude; and when euer thou rememberis me of ony challenge, without it be with praẽtiſe of trefone (as thy cuſtome hes bene), thou ſhall, God willing, find na advantage thairin. And this for anſuer to thy laſt lettre of the xij of this moneth; wiſhing rather thou wald give me preſent and direct anſuer, nor vainelic to bragge that thou ſhall put me in remembrance, which I can not beleive to ſie. Subſeryuit with my hand at Leith, the xiiij day of Julij, 1571.

(*Sic ſubſcribitur*)      ALEXR. STEWART, etc.”

[*The Laird of Grange's ſixth Cartell to the Laird of Gairleis, younger.*]

“I haue reſaued thy lettre, daited at Leith the xiiij of this inſtant; whairin I find no direct anſuer to myne of the xij, nor yit appeirance that thou wilt inſiſt in thy chalenge, vnles I will condifcend to thy deſyre twiching the place; whairvnto I will nawayis preſentlie yeild, in reſpect of the conſideratiounes conteaned in my former letteris of the 5 and 12 of this inſtant. I haue in the ſame requyred na conditiones, but ſic as I traift the world, and all indifferent judges, ſhall eſteame both reſſonabill and neceſſar; wha will judge according of both our proceedingis. I take thy not acceptioun of my offeris as a reſuiſe of thy chalenge; which nocht theſe ſhall ſerue thé of nothing, for I hoip ſhortly (as before I write) to put thé of new in remembrance; when as I ſhall not ſlike vpoune ſic circumſtances, as now for dewties ſaike I am conſtrayned to doe. At Edinburgh Caſtell, the 25 [15?] day of Julij, 1571.

(*Sic ſubſcribitur*)      WM. KIRKCALDIE.”

*Ther is a coppie of the Kingis Majestie Proclamatioune, gevin out the vj of Aprile, 1571.*

JAMES, be the grace of God, king of Scottis, to our loutis, John Inglis, messinger, our schereffis in that pairt, conjunctly and feuerally, speciallie constitut, greiting. Forfameikle as it is vnderstand to vs and our darrest guidfehire, Mathow erle of Lennox, lord Darnlie, our lauchfull tutour and regent to us, our realme and leigis, that albeit proclamatioune being laitlie maid at our mercate croce of our burcht of Edinburgh, makand mentioun how sir William Kirkcaldie of Grange, knycht, captane of our castle of Edinburgh, had leviat and takin vp within the bowelis of our realme, a certane number of waged men, without leive asked or obtineit of us thairto, expres contraire our actis of parliament; for nothing elis, as mycht be supponit, then to dispossess us, gif he may, of our royall estate and authoritie, trubling of the commoun quyetnes of the cuntrie, and bereiving us of our lyfe and croun: howfoeuer, be his colored meanes, he fould give the world vtherways to vnderstand. And thairfoir, fraite charge and commandement was gevin to all our lieges and subiectis, which ignorantlie had taken wages of the said captane, not knowing the danger in the estaitte of ane man of weir, and tuke armes at his command, to leive the famyn: And also, that none fould take wages of him thairefter, without leive obtieint thairto, vnder the paine of deid; as the said proclamatioune at mar lenth proportis. Nochtwithstanding, the said captane, efter the same was proclamet, in contempt thairof, caused strek the dryme out throw our said burcht, not only conveaning thaim he had alreddie vnder wage, but also defyred vtheris to cum and take wages, vnder the charge of captane Meluing. As also, thairfter, treasonable enterit within our place of Halyrudhous, and Sanct Geillis steiple, within our said burcht, and garnished the same with men of weir: And to make manifest his tressonable dealing, hes appointed ane conventione to be haldin shortly within the famyn; and directed his lettres, not only to fundrie our trew leigis and subiectis, desyring them to convene thairto; but als declaired traytouris, murthereris of our darrest father and vncl, and vtheris naughtie perfones knowin, that, to eschew unpunitie of thair wicked lyfe and libertie to doe

ewill, will adjoyne with him in his treasonable doings; sua that, altogether, he is bent to heip vp mischeif vpoun mischeif, eather without feare of God, or regaird to vs, his natiue prince and fouerane lord. It is not neidfull to make long discourse of his bypast lyfe, being notorlie knowin to all men in what maner he hes behafed him self, first and last, to thame whose service he did profes, and whome of he did receive, althocht vnworthilie, mony benefites, which made him to misknow him self.

And feing it hes pleafed the Almyghtie God, of his gudnes, to rander in our handis our castle of Dumbartane, be the diligent labouris and painis tane be our saidis darrest guidfchire and regent, whilk hes bene tressonable deteaned against us this tyme bypast; we vnderstand, be fundrie of the saidis captanes wrytingis apprehendit within the same, what mischeif and truble he hes pretendit to doe in this afflicted cuntrie, and what hid treason and traytorie hes bene devyfed and conspired by him. Bot as God hes alreddie circumvenit, and made patent his wicked purpofes (by expectatioune of men), by randerung our said castle in our handis, as said is; sua we doubt not but the same God will continow, to the glory of his name, comfort of this puire cuntrie, and confounding of all our aduerfares. And to effect that, sic as is desyred, or that heirefter be perfwadit and desyrit be the said captane, to joyne and assist with him in his treasonabill inventiounes fall pretend ignorance, but that thai fall haue sufficient warning to forbeir,—Oure will is heirfoir, and we charge yow straitlie, and commandis that incontinent thir our lettres sene, ge pas to the mercate croce of all our burrowes of our realme, and vtheris places neidfull, and thair be oppiu proclamatioune, in our name and auctoritie, command and chairge all and fundrie our leiges and subiectis, of what estate, qualitie, or degrie that euer thai be off, that nane of thaim tak vpoun hand to rise, concurre, assist, or menteane the said captane, in ony of his purpofes or devyfes, or convene at his command, be his letteris or vtherways, to whatfumeuer part; or ony wayis support, beir communicatioune, to haue intelligence with him or ony of his adherentis, or of his factioun, vnder whatfumeuer cullore and pretence, vnder the paine of treason: Certefeing them that difobeyis, they falbe reput, haldin and esteimed, and demaynet as traytoris, and the proces of dovme of foirfalore falbe

orderlie led against them, conforme to the lawis of our realme and actis of parliament. As ge will anfuer to us thairvpoun. The quihlk to doe, we committ to yow our full power. Gevin vnder our signet, the 6 day of Aprile, 1571.

*Kirkaldie against this Proclamatioune.*

To all and fundrie noblemen, gentlmen, and vther leiges, ouerthrow all Scotland: I, fir William Kirkcaldie of Grange, knycht, captane of the castel of Edinburgh, makis manifest and declairis: That forfameikle as Matthow erle of Lennox, having vnlawchfullie intrufed him self in the regiment of this realme, hes laitlie caufed publishe fundrie letteris, at diuersie borrowes of the fame, full of calumneis, injuries, and vntrew reportis against me, be perfwafione of certane factiouned perfones, enemeis to thair natiue cuntrie, and to all sic as tendis to the libertie thairof; and in effect commanding and chargene, on his pretendit maner, all men, and specially my freindis, fervantis, and men of weir whome I had conduit for the preservatioune of the said castell, to abandon and leif me and my service; to the end, as cleirly may appeir, that he mycht the moir easilie betray and suppres the famen, thairby to continow in his detestable tyranny, to the vtter subuersioun of the estaitis, lawis, and libertie of this our natiue cuntrie: ffor what crueltie, reif, hearfchipsis, oppreffione, destruccion of policie, he and his factiounes hes vsit and done this tyme bygane, I leive to be judged of your wisdomes, as nothing (is) mair notorly knowin.

And albeit, I am provokit be his saidis letteris to make plane demonstratioune of all my proceedingis in tyme past, and that for defence of my honore, yit I will differ the same to a tyme mair convenient; at what tyme I intend, God willing, to make knowin to the world my true and honest meaning, first towards my God, and libertie of this realme: Yit could I nocht omit, in the mein tyme, to make ane summare anfuere to sum mentionet in the famyne lettres, and namelie, whair he alledges that I haue devyfit cheif treafone and conspiracie against this my natiue cuntrie, as letteris of myne apprehendit within the castell of Dumbartane beiris. I am affiured that neuer he, nor na vther man, is able to let sie sic letteris of myne; ffor I am content to avow all letters writtin be me befor the

whole world, which falbe fund honest and profitable for this my natiue cuntrie, and falbe at all tymes anfuerable to the lawis, at the command of the lawfull magiftrate, for ony treasone that can or may be laide to my charge be him or ony of his adherentis; ffor I haue hafardit my life for the defence of Scotland when he was againft it: And gif ony gentlman vndefamed, of my qualitie and degrie, of his factiōne, or perteing to him, will fay the contraire heirof, I, ane true Scottifman, will fay he will fpeike vntrewlie, and lies fallfie in his throt; and denounces be thir presentis to quhatfumeuer will take the faid querall on hand, that I falbe reddie, according to the law of armes. Farther accopt of my doingis I will not give to the faid erle of Lennox, wha hes vfurped regiment; I never did acknowledge him, nor yit intendis to doe, bot rather opposed my felf fra the begyning, and euer fenfyne to the fame.

How I have behafed my felf, in keiping and vſing of the faid caſtell without violence or injurie, and how vprychtlie I meine anent this realme and pacificatiōne of the preſent trubles, I call God to witnes, maiſt ernestlie, and all vther gentlmen within Edinburgh, and vtheris within the reich of this hous; requyring heirfoir all true guid ſubjectis, and them that trewlie feiris God, without hypocriſie, as thai tender the libertie and weilfair of this thair natiue cuntrie, to concurre and aſſiſt with me in keiping and defending of the faid hous againſt quhatfumeuer perfone ſhall happen to invade me, my freindis, or partackeris, or the faid caſtle; as I falbe reddie to menteane and defend everie one of thame, incaſe thei be invaded be ony vnlawchfull meanes, for that cauſ or for ony vther cauſ, vnder cullour of it. Certefeand at all ſic as will nocht concurre with me in the cauſ and querall foirſaid, that I wilbe thair vnfreund at my power, diſchargene my felf to thame be thir presentis. The which I thoct guid to certefie all the guid ſubjectis of this realme: Proteſting, befoir God and the world, I meane nothing but to menteane the trew religione eſtabliſhed within this realme, and the commoune weil and libertie of my cuntrie, without ony particularitie of my awin. So be it, xiiij Aprilis, 1571.



*Heir followis a true copie of the Mutual Band betuixt the Castell and Towne of Edinburgh, contractit in the obedience of the kingis maiestie, our fouerane lord, publeshit that all men may the better persæue how the Laird of Grange, against his faith, honour and promise, is, and hes bene, the instrument and occasioun of the present vnquyetnes and bypast vastatioun of the Town, to the suppressioun of the exercise of Godis trew religione, the hinderance of justice and polycie, and calamitie of the whole commoun wealth.*

At Edinburgh, the viij of Maij, the yeir of God of 1568 zeiris. It is apointit, agreit, and finallie contractit and bundin vp betwix the rycht honorable fir Williame Kirkcaldie, of Grange, knycht, captane of the castell of Edinburgh, for him self, kin, freindis, servandis, assistaris, and pairtaikeris, on that one part; and the rycht honorable Symon Prestoun of Craigmillar, of that ilk, knycht, proveist of the burcht of Edinburgh, for him self, the baillies, counfall, and communitie, and whole inhabitantes of the said burcht, on the vther pairt, in maner, forme, and effect, as efter followes: That is to say, fforfameikle that it is not vnknowin to thame how that the queine, our fouerane derrest mother, with certane of the nobilitie, hir assistaris and pertackeris, feikis, be all meanis, force and power, they may, to depose our said fouerane of his auctoritie royall; and, for mair haillie performeing therof, ar alreddie convenit in armes for the invasioun of our said maist vndoubtit foueranes regent and governor, James erle of Murray, etc., and all vtheris his pertakeris and assistaris, townes, castellis, cities, and whole leiges of this realme, quhilkis will not obey and affist thame in thair vnnaturall and vngodlie proceedingis; ffor eschewing whairof, fortificatioun, menteaning, and defending of our said vndoubtit fouerane, now in his tender aige, and his regent foirsaid, the saidis captane and proveist, for thame felvis, and taking the burding vpoun thame for the vtheris aboue writtin, according to thair bundin dewtie, and aith of fidelitie gevin to thair most undoubted and natiue soverane, for mentenance of him and his auctoritie royall, ar bundin, obleist and sworne, be the faith and treuth of thair bodies, lykas be thir presentis they bind, obleis and sweris, be thair grit oathes, in all tymes cuming, to tak afald,

true, and plane part together, for defence of our said foverane, his auctoritie, and perfon royall; and ather of thame, with thair whole force, substance, and power, to fortifie, assist, and menteane vtheris, with thair bodies and guidis, and to concurre and pas together, at all tymes, and to all places neidfull; not only for the defence of the said castell, toun, leigis, habitatiounes, and substance thairof, bot also for the mentenance, ayde, and defence of our said foverane, his auctoritie royall, and regent foirfaidis, against all and fundrie that fall pretend to invaid, molest, or perfew thame, or ony of thame; and to ayde and support vtheris with whatsumeuer thingis necessar in thair possessiounes, or falbe possible to thame to doe for the defence of vtheris, as neid fall requyre. And forder, that nather of thame fall heir, sie, nor acknowledge the damage or hurt of vtheris, in thair personis, landis, or guidis, bot fall incontinent wairne vtheris thairof with all haist possible, lat, stop, and mak impediment to the samyn, at thair vtter powar: And finallie, fall nowther contract, compone, tacke appointment, or make agriceance by vtheris, but fall with their whole poweris fortifie, defend, and mantene vtheris in the caussis abouewritten, but feinye or diffimulatioune, contrair and against all that leivis or die may, that fall happin to pretend to truble or molest our said foverane, in his auctoritie royall, his said regent, assistis and pertakeris, this toun, castell, leiges, and whole inhabitantes therof, for the caussis foirfaidis. In wites of the quhilk, to thir present lettres, and inventoris, and contract, subscryuit with our handis, our signet is affixt; at the said burcht, day, yeir, and place foirfaidis, befor thir witnessis, sir Williame Maitland of Lethingtoun, gounger, knycht; Mr James M<sup>c</sup>Gill of Rankelore-nether, clerke of register; Mr Archibald Dowglas, persone of that ilk; and David Forrest, general [of the mint,] with vtheris dyvers.

(*Sic subscribitur*)

WILLIAME KIRKALDIE.

CRAIGMILLAR, knyht.

Tuyfday, the xij of June 1571, the castelis parliament began, and the lordis came doune vpon thair fute fra the castell to the tolbuith, to wit, the duck, lordis Huntlie, Home, Maxwell, the bischop of Athenis, lord Claud, Coldinghame, and the abbot of Kilwining, with diverse vtheris

lairdis, as Pherniherst, etc.; whair ane lettre was presentit be Garthlie from the queine (devyfed in the castell of Edinburgh, as was judged) to the lordis thair assembled, declairing how shoe was compellit to demise hir autoritie for feare of hir lyfe; and how euill shoe was and is entreated of her subiectis; thairfoir defyred thame, as hir true faithfull subiectis, to restoir hir to hir former autoritie, seing thingis done be contraint and compulsion can not stand, &c. Whilk requiest the lordis then present thocht guid, and thairfoir made all the former proceedingis of the kingis coronatioune null, and of nane avail, which was voted fo amonges thame. Bot my lord Somerwell, that was writtin for, being asked of his voit, anfuerit, that he was a man of small judgment; and, thairfoir, he behuiffit to advyse befoir he fould so rashlie pronounce to depose a crowned king; and so refused for that tyme, whairof he tuike ane document.

Within tuo horis and a half, or thairby, quhilk was about xij horis, they come furth of the tolbuith, ryding in order; ffirft Pherniherst, nixt lord Claud, then Coldinghame, after him Maxwell. Then followed the honoris; me lord Home beiring the fword, Huntlie the ceptour, and the ducke the crowne.

IN PARLIAMENTO S. D. N. R. *tento in pretorio burgi de Edinburgh, xij die mensis Junij, anno Domini 1571.*

“The quhilk day, anent the Supplicatioune gevin in to the estaitis of parliament; whairof the tenor followes: ‘It is not vnknowin to the whole nobilitie and states of this realme, how the queinis majestie, being by birth and lawes of the realme your vndoubted fouerane princes, was a long tyme detained captiue within the loch and fortlice of Lochlevin; during the which tyme of hir imprisonement, thair was presentit to hir hienes, vpoun the suddane, a lettre, conteaning a certane forme of dimiffione of hir crowne; bearing also hir consent to renunce and overgive the same; with a commissioun to certane perfones, specifeit thairin, to receaue the said renunciatioune and dimiffion in favouris of hir majesties derrest sone; and efter the receiving, to plant, place, and inaugurat him in the kingdome, and with all ceremoneis requisite to put the royall crowne

vpoun his head, etc., as at mair lenth is specifieit in the saidis letteris of procuratioune or dimiffiōne: Quhilk lettre sho was requyred, and with grit instance preiffed to subferyve. And albeit, finding her self suddanlie affaulted with a motion of fo grit consequence, when as scho was by ftrait guardis fecludit from all intelligence of the maift pairt of her nobilitie and faithful counfallouris, sho at the first requyred fume delay and tyme to be avyfed vpoun fa weghtie a caufe; yit, it behoved hir to yeild to force, whairvnto sho was not able to refift, for sic threatninges and feirfull languages was vfed to hir, accompanied with a vehemencie and awfull countenance of them who had the charge to deall in the matter, that it apeired weill in what danger hir moft noble perfone ftude, gif sho fould feime repugnant to thair moft vnreffonabill defyres: Quhilk opinione was alfo confirmed in hir hart, be fecreit aduerteifment fend to hir at that fame tyme, be fum noblmen and trusty perfones, wha wer privie to the extremitie intendit againft hir gif scho fuld refuife, and yit wer, according to thair dewtie, cairfull for hir prefervatioune; be whome sho was avifed to make no difficultie, as sho tenderit hir owin lyfe, and wald efchew prefent death. The fame advyfe alfo was brocht hir from fir Nicolas Throgmorton, knyght, being then in this realme, ambaffadore for the queine of England, hir majesties guidfifter, being directed hither purpofely to comfort hir vpoun hir said guidfifteris behalf, and to vfe all guid offices poffible for procuring of hir libertie; wha (as is probable), be frequent conferences, and difcourfing with hir principall aduerfareis, had difchypheret ther wickit intentiōne.

“Quhen as sho had a litle mufed with hir self vpoun the dangeris imminent, and cafting hir eye to vewe the place whair sho was for the tyme, being fo fmall a compas of ground, environet on all pairtis with the barbare eliment, the watter; and thairwithall considered vndir whois rewle, keiping, and fubjectiōne sho was, being perfones lyk aneugh to put thair cruell minaffings to executiōne, having had experience by fome vther thair aētiōnes, that thei mycht weill find in thair hait to fhed bloude, and how litle reverence thei buire to hir royall perfone; it is na mervell that, being borne to impyre, and from hir cradle-birth brocht vp in commanding, and fwa not accuftomed to obey, namelie, fic as God had constitute hir

subjectis, finding hir estait so suddanlie changed, and the order of nature invertit, that now shoe most be rewled be hir owin vashalis; being also destitute of all worldlie comfort or hoip of releif; speciallie, being a woman; it is, I say, no mervell gif hir hart was stricken with a suddaine feir, yea, sic as mycht fall in a constant man; by which feir, hir majestie was inducit to subscryve the said lettre, and vtheris, beiring the establishment of a certane kynd of regiment during the minoritie of hir sone.

“Vpoun how waike a ground the faide dimiffione is foundit, may appeir be the narratiue of itself, conteining so vaine and frivole causses, as neidis litle declaratioune of the contrarie; ffor all that knowes, or has spoken with hir majestie, can beir record that (praised be God) hir body, spreit, nor fenffis, ar not so febled and decayed, that shoe wes not able to discharge hir self of the office God had called hir vnto, as sufficientlie as ony whome thai desyrit to be placit in the rowme: And ridiculus it had bene to lay vpoun the shuldearis of ane infant in the credill, a burding quhilk hir bake could not beir; beand knowin to be of so grit pregnant wit, and quicke ingyne, brocht vp in the most frequent theatre of the world, continowallie exercised in the tred of princelie effairis, indewit with sic wisdome and vther naturall giftis for a prince, that hir most malicious enemeis come neuer to that impudencie, that thei durft argue hir of insufficiencie to beir rewle. Whither the erle of Lennox bake be able to carie the heaive burding whilkis hir waike shulderis could nocht beir, lat the world judge, specialie sic as ar naturally acquentit with his naturalitie, and hes guid pruiße how gravelie he can discours in materis of estaite. Vpoun this pretendit dimiffione, subscryvit as said is in the place of her imprifonement, and extorted be just feare of present death, is grundit, and consequentlie followed the coronatioune of hir darrest sone, and the name of his autoritie abufed be a few personis, wha hes clad themselfis with the coverture thairof, the mair easilie to overthrow the whole estaite.

“ ‘It is not to be past ouer with silence, in what maner the privie feill was appendit to that lettre; how it (was) violentlie and be force rest out of the keiparis handis, as may appeir be autenticke documentis; fwa as hir majesties subscriptione was purchaffed be force, so was the feale extorted

be force. It is also to be considered, what probabilitye thair is that hir majestie wald haue, of hir owin motive, gevin ouer hir crowne to hir sone, beinge ane infant in the credle, without provisioun of her owin estate, or reservatioun of ony part of the revennous of the crowne for the maintenance of her princelie pairt. Attoure, it is not to be neglected of what validitie a dimission of the crowne mycht haue bene, albeit na compulsion nor feir had intervenit, the same beand a privat act, done without all solempnitie; speciallie, without consent and authoritie of the states of the realme, wha hes speciall entres, in respect that without thame materis of les wecht can nocht be valiable by the lawis of the realme: for how mycht the queine, without the authoritie of parliament, annaillie the whole realme, when by the law shoe may nocht annaillie the leist tenement of land within the realme, annexit to the crowne, without the advise and consent of parliament? Sa founne as it pleist God, of his mercie, miraculously to delyuere her majesties persone furth of that thraldome, and that by his providence sho escapit furth of Lochlevin, immediatlie efter hir cuming to Hammiltoun, in presence of her nobilitie thair assembled, of whome a guid part had bene deceivit vnder coulour of that fumesed dimission, sho gaue her bodilie aith that the same dimission and renunciatioun was not of hir owin frie motive, bot (as said is) compellit, and that sho was thairvnto inducit be just feare: And so made solempne revocatioun, be avyfe of Mr Johne Spens of Condie, her advocat, as done in prisone and by dredore.

“ ‘ It is thairfoir requyred, vpoun hir majesties behalf, that ge, the nobilitie and states, presentlie assembled in parliament, will examine the ground whairvpon the pretendit authoritie, vsurped be some vnder the name of hir sone, is foundit; and gif ge find it laid vpoun the said dimission and renunceatioun, for the reasons foirsaidis and vtheris to be considered be you, is not nor neuer was valiable, nor can, be the law of nature, God, or man, be susteined, that ge will decerne the same, with all that followit or dependis thairvpon, to be and have bene null from the begynning, void, and of na force nor effect, and so to be repute and haldin heirafter: And so, consequentlie, the said coronatioun, and the pretendit authoritie set on be hir darrest sones name, to ceis, and have no farther effect during

hir majesties lyfe; and the whole subjectis of this realme to acknowledge thair naturall band of alledgance to hir self, and to ferve and obey her majestie in all tymes to cum as thair fouerane, lyk as the said pretendit dimiffione and procuratioune, with all that followed thairvpoun, had neuer bene devysit, pat in vse, nor yit had bene *in rerum natura*. According to justice: And that ze will heirvpoun make ane act of parliament, and fet out proclamatioune in forme as effeiris.'

“THE Lordis spirituall and temporall, and commiffioneris of burrowes, presentlie assembled, being with the said Supplicatioune ryplie advysed, It is statute and ordained be the auctoritie of the parliament foirsaid, that the said pretendit dimiffione, renunciatioune, and overgiving of the crowne, and, consequentlie, the coronatioune of hir [majesties] darrest sone, the regiment and vsurped auctoritie thairvpoun depending, with all that folowes thairvpoun, for the ressones specifeit in the said Supplicatioune, and guid confideratiounes notore to the whole estaites, ar, wer, and from the begyning hes bene, null in the self, void, and of na force nor effect; and so ar to be repute and haldin of na validitie in all tymes to cum, but to ceis, and to haue no further effect during hir majesties lyfe: And that the whole subjectis of the realme ar bound to acknowledge thair naturall bond of alledgance to hir majestie, as thair only vndoubted foverane, lyk as the same pretendit dimiffione and coronatioune, with all that followed thairvpoun, had neuer bene devysed, nor git had bene *in rerum natura*, the same notwithstanding; according to the desyre of the said Supplicatioune: And that letteris be direct therypon in forme as effeiris. Attour, it is statute and ordanet that no man tak vpoun hand to alter, change, or innovat, or pervert, in ony fort, the forme, or religioune, and administratioune of the sacramentis, publictlie professit and establisshed within this realme, that the evangle, sinceirlie preiched, may haue cours and be propogat, without lat, hinderance, and impediment, to the honour of God, and comfort of his kirke: And that all superintendentis, ministeris, exhortaris, and reidaris, in publict prayeris and supplicatiounes, make thair prayer in a decent forme, namelie, for the queines majestie, our fouerane ladie, and hir darrest sonne the prince, and for hir hienes counsall, and whole bodie and staves of this commoune wealth.”

Weddinfday, the xij day of June, thei made thair proclamatioune, declairing, in effect, the whole proceedingis of the queine, efter thair maner, to make it knowin to the people how evill sho was done vnto be hir subjeētis, and how vjjustly sho was depofed, &c.; and thairfoir, thei made null the kingis authoritie, and reftoired hir to hir former rume. Also, in the fame proclamatioune, was ane charge to all men, only to acknowledge hir as foverane, and none vther. Laft, that all minifteris, fuperintendentis, &c. fhuld pray for hir in thair opin fermondis; although it was nocht concludit in that parliament.

This fame day the caftell lordis fent to Mr Craig, defyryng him to cauf the kirke to be affembled, and redd this lettre vnto thame, fent from the lordis, wha convenit at thrie horis efter noune. Efter the reiding of the lettre, the bifchope of Galloway and fir James Balfour come in, requyryng, in the fame manner, in the lordis name, wha had fent thame to the kirke, that thei wold pray for the quenis maieftie, thair foverane, and for the prince hir fonne: Whilk thinge the lordis befocht thame, with all gentlnes and fubmiffione, to doe; bot it was denyed of the whole bretherin: Whairat the tuo meffingeris wer not content, and difcharged them to preich, gif they wald nocht pray for the queine.

This fame day, afternoune, captane Culan and Mr James Kirkcaldie went to fee-burd with a vij<sup>xx</sup> of men, or thairby, to wait for captane Weymis [wha] was to cum ouer with a band of men of weir to the lord Mortoun; wha being aduerteifed of thair fchipping, come to Leith in the dawing, vpoun thurifday, whair was gottin fome of the caftell fuddartis, about 16 or 18. At the full fea, captane Culane cuming to land, was aduerteifed be one on fchoir, and fo efcapit. The caftle alfo fhot to give them aduerteifment.

This day, they tuike ane boit, whairin was 27 of captane Weymis company; and himfelf narrowly efcaped (being in ane creare) be guid failing. This thurifday, in the nycht, Culan and his men landit at ane craig befydys Crawmont, where they waide to their weftis befoir thei come to dry land; and fo convoyed thaim felkis faillie to the toun, nochtwithftanding of the lord of Mortones watche allonges the coast fyde.

Friday, the 15 day of June, the Merchell, wha was cumit againe, and



propofit certane Articles; which (as was judged) wer devyfed in the caftell of Edinburgh be the heid of wit, Lethingtoun, as efter followes:

*Instructiounes gevin in be the Merchell of Berwicke, in the Queine of Englandis name.*

1. A defyre of fourceans of armes may be had, on both the fydis; fo the fame may be beneficiall to the kingis partie.

2. That the perfone of the king be conteaned in faittie; and the aduerfarie partie fall nocht, be force, or be ony vther meanis, obtaine him in thair handis.

3. That both parteis wilbe content to fend to hir maieftie fufficient perfonis, authorifit to treat for all materis in contraverfie, alweill privat as publiēt; which the laird of Grange and Lethingtoun haue be lettres alreddie offered to doe.

4. The laird of Lethingtoun and Grange, be thair letteris, haue alreadie compleaned that you haue fpoyled the landis of Lethingtoun and his fatheris guidis both, and of mony vtheris; and that now, be your leat parliament, Lethingtoun and fundrie vtheris ar foirfaltit, being concludit be the erle of Mortoun and his colligis, at thair departoure from hir maieftie, that in the parliament to be haldin in Maj laft be him for the king, a chuiſe ſould be made of fufficient perfonis to treat of the difficulties betwix the king and his mother; and that alfo it was then movit, that no vther thingis, as foirfaltouris of fundrie perfonis, wer then concludit; but of the chofe of the commiffioneris we heir no word, whairby the aduerfare partie taketh grit advantage, calumniating the regent and the erle of Mortoun, that thei onlie meinēt by hauling of the ſame parliament to privat revenges.

5. By lettres from Grange and Lethingtoun, in name of the queines partie, to remit all thair materis, both publiēt and privat, vnto hir maieftie.

6. Thought the queines maieftie had hitherto be perſwaſiones ſtayed the cuming of force of men out of France, that ſho can not find in honour ane reaſone to procure ane ſtay of the queine of Scottis revenous growing in France, vpoun hir drewrie; but that the fame may be lawfullie ſent and difpoſed by her to menteane hir owin part.

7. That, by mutuall accord, all armes ceafe, fafeing in this fort, that the regent, for defence of his perfone, may be permitted to haue fome reffonabill guard to tend vpoun him; and that alfo the erle of Marre may haue fome defence for the prefervatioune of the young king.

The Merchell travelled for to haue thir heidis granted vnto be thame of the kingis partie, but all in vaine. Come foirth at efternoume.

Settirday, the 16 day, both the pairteis vpoun the feildis. The Merchell earnestly labored for ane abstinence; but thei approaching ilk ane neirar vther, he labored that thair mycht be no bloud fched that day; which was not the lord of Mortonis mynd, becaus he had fend away a band of his fuddartis to Dalketh, which maid the vther moir bauld: 3it, he promiseid, gif thei would retein bake, none of his fould perfew thame. But, in the meine tyme, the castlmen brocht fourth tuo peice of grit ordinance, and made thaim for battell; which the lord of Mortone perceiving, and his cumpany wald be no longer put off be the Merchell, who feing he culd do no guid, depairtit out of the feild; and sua the pairteis ioyned: bot the castle horfmen fled (who befor wald nocht first retein for nothing the Merchell could speike), and thair futmen, after a litle recounter, gave bakis lykwayis; and so all fled in to the toun. Ther wer slaine about a 30 perfonis, or thairby; and thair wer tane the lord Home, and Kilwyning, wha died within ane hour after he come to Leyth; and vij or viij<sup>xx</sup> of fuddeartis, with the tuo peice of ordinance, were tane. Captan Culan alfo taken, who was fund in the Canogait, hidd within a meit almerie. Vpoun our fyde thair was but one simple fuddart slaine, and captane Wymes evill shot (fa ferceely perfewing) at the Nidder bow; whairof he died within ten dayis after. Albeit the castle saw this, God working againft them, 3it they aserveye the fame to chance rather then to Godis providence, who thus mercifully wald call them to repentance, befor his vtter vengeance ftryke with ony; which, no doubt, fall not fail, gif this obstinatlie thei continow in thair rebellioune.

The foday being the 17 day, the bifchope of Galloway preichit in the toun of Edinburgh, in St G. [Sanct Geillis] kirke. His fermont 3e haue hard befor, at his entering in the toun, being the viij of June, 1571.

Settirday, the 23 of June, 1571, the laird of Drumlangrike was tane; who befor was defyrit to ryde home for effairis betwixt him and the lord Hereis, and vther who wer at variance: The lord Hereis, tryfing to meit him at the fame place, whair the laird of Wormestoun had ane ambufche waiting for him; and fo tuke the faid Drumlanerike, with thrie or four of his fervantis, his fone efcaping very narrowly, as alfo did young Apilgirth. When he was brocht within the caſtle, the captane faid he was welcome, and wold haue propyned him drinke. But he faid he wold nather eat nor drinke till he knew the eſtaite of his fone; and thairfoir callid for paper and inke, and caufed one to wryt on this maner: "Willie, Thow fall wit that I am hail and feare. Send me word thairfoir how thow art, whidder deid or livand! Gif thou be deid, I doubt not but freindis will let me know the treuth: And gif thow be weil, I defyre na mair, etc." Which bill he ſchew vnto the captane, and the reſt that pleiſit to reid, within the place; and prayed thame that his boy mycht be fauelie convoyit fourth of theſe pairtis with the lettre vnto his fone. In the meantyme he quyetly gaue his purſe vnto the boy, and bad him give it to his fone; and fo by that meanis faued his purſe.

This day, or a day befor, Johne Cockburnes ſehip come in out of Flanderis, whairin wer thrie kiſtis of kalliveris, in ilke kiſt 30 or 24 peices; four or fyve laſt of powder, with ſome money in firkinis. Whidder it apperteaueth to the merchantis or not, I referre to thame that knowis better then I.

All this tyme thair was ilk day pricking; ſome tane, hurt, and flaine, on both fydis.

Weddinſday, the 27 of June, young Drumlanerike and captane David Home, lying at the kirke of Libbertoun, waiting ſome folkis cuming in to the towne, Pherniherſt comes out of the toun to ryde home, vnknowing to thame; whome thei chaſed into the toun againe, and Pherniherſt very narrowly eſcapit himſelf: And wer not the horſe wer within the kirke ſa that thei could nocht come furth haiftilie, ther had not a man eſcapit; zit, as it was, thei lowſit tuo of Drumlanrikis men, that wer tane the day befor with the laird, whome thei purpoſed to haue tane with thaim.

Settirday, the laſt of June, Johne Cheſoure come home in John Dow-

nies schip, wha landit his coffer at the Weymes; but aftir was tane be the diligence of the lord Lindfay, and his kift, with all that was thairin. The gold that was in it, I referre to the receaveris; but it was thocht to be the thing the queine mycht furneis of hir drewrie of France. The schip was also tane, whairin thair was a last of powder, four or fyve hundreth hagbuttis and culveringis, with sic furneingis aperteing thairto.

On Twyfday, the 3 of Julij, anno foirfaid, Andro Lundie beand at denner with my maister, in a place of the laird of Abbothallis, callit Falfyde, opinlie affirmed for treuth, that when the queine was lying in jeasing of the king, the lady Athole lying thair lykwayes, bayth within the castell of Edinburgh; that he come thair for fum buffinefs, and called for the lady Reirres, whome he fand in hir chalmer, lying bedfast; and he asking her of her defeafe, schoe anfuert that schoe was neuer so trubled with no barne that euer schoe bair, ffor the lady Athole had caffin all the pyne of hir child-birth vpoun hir.

What was done betwixt the captane of the castle of Edinburgh and the laird of Garleis, wha offerit to fecht with the captane, that he was ane manifest traitore, I referre to the cartellis that passit betwixt them; be the which everie man may judge whidder Grange be sic ane or not; as is faid befoir, the xij of June, 1571.

On Weddinfday, the 4 of Julij, thair come in ane French schip, with mony hagbuttis and culveringis, and corflatis, with some money; which the regentis folk gat. It was he that was tane befoir in Dumbartane, called Mon<sup>r</sup> Viracke. Thair was meikle saltpeter, and mony wrytingis, &c. Drumwhaifill, vnknowing of the regent and the counfall, touke out, of the corflatis and of the hagbuttis, and of the best of the calleveris, to the number of ane hundreth of ilk ane, with some of the saltpeter, and send it to Striveling: Bot the captanes folkis getting knowledge thairof, went to the quenis ferrie, and got ane boit, and tuike Drumwhaifillis boit, and careit so mony of the corflatis as calleveris with them as thair culd carry; the rest thei cust ouer in the sea. This we sie cumes of covetoufnes.

Settirday, the 7 of Julij, the induelleris of Edinburgh, sic as remained in the toun, come furth with thair new baillies, &c. about a 3 or 4 hun-

dreth men, with tuo enfigneis, Patrike Thomfoune beiring one, and ane tailyeore, called Dewar, ane vther; which thai of Leit' feing, come fourth also; bot the vtheris shorthlic reteired in againe. The captane shot thrie shot or foure of cannone; whidder for blythnes of the tounes furthcuming or not, I can not tell. Also ane dowbill falcon being vpoun the stiple heid, which the fuddartis had baptized Knox, being shot the same tyme at the men that come furth of Leith, brake in peices, and flew twa that was befyde, and hurt vtheris. This thei gat for thair mocking of Godis servantis!

Twysday, the tent of Julij, the men of weir of the toun come furth about Mowtrayis on the hill, with horse and futmen; at which tyme the dwellaris in the toun of Edinburgh came out at the Nidder-bow to the abbay, purposing, gif thai mycht, to haif cuttit thaim of: Bot the fouldi-artis vnder captane Michaelis charge, with thair captane, met them half gait, and chafed thame in againe.

Fryday, the 13 day, in the nycht, they come furth of Edinburgh at the Neather-bow, to assalgie the abbay; which, perceavit be thair fentrallis, schew the captane, wha forbad his to shute quhill thei wer very neir, that thei mycht be fuire to hit: And continowed together with grit sehouting on both fydis a long tyme; so that thei that wer dwellaris in the Cannogait wer feared that thei fould haue gottin the abbay. Bot thair travell was in vaine, and to thair paines also: ffor ane of captane Mitchallis fuddartis devysit to open ane litle yeat or wicket, which thai made at the grit vtter port of the abbay, to traine thame in vnto the clofe, and so to inclofe thaim; which wicket captane Bruces page perceaving to be oppen, cryes, "They ar all fled! The wicket is open!" Whair thei enterit: But they of the abbay waiting, flew tuo or thrie at the enterance, and hurt fundrie; so that thei wer compellit to take the flight, and so pat them in againe at the Bow.

This same day, or elis this nycht, the lordis sent to captane Michale ane copie of summoundis, with thair names that wer summound to the parliament; desyring him, be sum meanes, to haue convoyit it to the toun. This same nycht, after this fact, the said captane caused his owin page gae with the letteris to the point, as thocht he had come fra Phenuherst,

and cryed at the wallis to opin (to) a boy of the faid lairdis, wha was come with wrytingis; to quhom thei opened the pointis, thinking the boy wold haue entered: But he givand the letteris to the first he gat, ran bak againe, calling thame traitouris, and schawing that it wes the copie of the summondis, which thei fould give to the lordis; and in ane anger, thei come furth of the port to overtakin the boy. Bot captane Michael having a certane appointed, dang them in againe; and fo held them waikand all that nycht on this maner; fa that at 5 horis in the moirning, on the morne, the faid captane, with ane clerk apoynted, proclaimed the faidis lettres at the croce of the Cannogait, in thair despite, having certane hagbuttaris lyand aboue, betwixt and the bow.

The 17 day, captane Culan was beheadit, wha befor was tane out of the amerie.

The same day the lord Lindfay, or the day preceeding, was let at libertie, vpoun a fowme of money.

The day after the executing of Culan, Robert Cunynghame, Johnc Hariot, Mungo Fairlie, who was baillie, and Thomas Broun, burgeffis of Edinburgh, wer apprehendit and put on ane pannall with ane Douglafs, who come in to Edinburgh with tuo leid of quheit, whome thei condempned for the slauchter of a man that he had done 9 or 10 ȝeiris past, but he was not executed. The vther four wer accused for the bringing of the Englifmen in Scotland, and for the burning of Hammiltoun that same tyme, for the hanging of the shuldartis at Brichen, and for befeidgene of the towne at the parliament. Thrie come in will, but Robert Cunynghame wold not; and thairfoir was condempned be ane alyfe of Liddifdail men, for the most pairt, etc.

About this tyme ane purfevant being fend from the new erected auctoritie in Edinburgh, to proclame the same in Jedburgh, was sufferit to reid his letteris till it come to this poynt, "that the lordis assembled in Edinburgh had fund all thingis done and proceidit against the queine null; and that all men fould obey her only," etc. When, I say, he had redd this farre, the provist called . . . . . caused the purfevant cum downe of the croce, and caufit him eat his letteris; and thairefter lowfit

downe his poyntis, and gave him his wages vpon his bair buttockis with a brydle; threatning him, that gif euer he come againe he fould losse his lyfe! Whairat Phernherft being not a lytle displeasid, boisted the whole toun; wha gaue him defyance.

On fonday the 22 day, at efter noune, they come out of the toun both on horse and fute, whair thair was grit skirmishing on the Gallowley. They wer chafed to the toun, but no slaucher. As thai wer about the Gallowlie, ane cumis towardis the castell, crying, "Shute heir! Shute heir! Ꝛc shute your owin men!" Of whome they slew one.

The 24 day of Julij, Mr Cassa, the vnder merchell of Berwicke, come to Leith. Na comfort be him to menteane the caus. A desyre of abstinance from armes, without libertie to Edinburgh to suspend the parliament, for all vtheris causis, saving to name commissioneris on both sydis, to meit Englis commissioneris at Berwicke about the 5 or 6 of August, to treat alweill of the contraverse of the eroun as vtherways.

The 25 of Julij, ane grit cannone and ane grofe culvering was tane out of the castle, doun to the Blackfreir wynd, to sehut at the Abbay, as they did the samy day, abovt a 15 or 16 fhot; but within thrie or foure dayis they war carryit agane to the castell for fear of tacking.

Thurisdai the secund of August, efter thei come furth of Edinburgh, thai wer chafed in againe. The horfmen wer chafed about the castell till Sanct Cuthbert kirke, and the futemen in at Leith wynd; where tuo of the regentis suddartis wer tane of thame of Edinburgh, as thei wer breking vp doures for to spoile.

On the morne, thair was ane skyrmeis, and mony straikis gevin on both sydis, betwixt the horfmen. But at lenth the castle men wer chafed athort Hækkerstounes croft and till Sanct Cuthbertis kirke, whare was ane band of hagbutteris for thair releif. Bot yit thair wer taken ten or twelf horfmen. The principallis that wer taken, Garthlie, Mr Johne Gordoun, Robert Bruce, sone to the laird of Arthe, ane of Carnokes, called Ramsfay; fundrie horse both hurt and slaine. All the tyme of thir skyrmissis, the castell never ceases the ringing of hir cannones; which hes done no harme to ony of the kingis folke, albeit there bullatis wald licht amoges the myddis of the cumpanies; whairin we sie the grit worke of God.

The fezt of Auguft, Monsieur Viracke, the French man, wha befoir was tane, come to Sanct Androis to be wairdit or to remaine.

The Generall Affemblic of the kirke held in Striveling the fyft of this moneth; but the maift part of the effairis thair of wer continowed to the parliament, which alfo was continowed till the 28 of this moneth, to be in Striveling.

Thuirfday the 9 of Auguft, 1571, there fould haue bene a fight betwene Apilgirth and Wormeftoun, 25 on the fyde; bot Wormeftoun refuited to fecht in thair aëtion, but requyred gif Apilgirth had ony aëtion againft him; and fo it flayed.

Fryday the x day, Apilgirth was taken.

On Monunday the 13 day, iijj or v<sup>xx</sup> of men of Edinburgh wer foirfalded be the cafile.

Settirday the 18 of Auguft, the reëctore of Sanct Androis, called Mr Johne Douglas, was maid bifchope of Sanct Androis.

Thuirfday the 23 of Auguft, the lord Lindfay was chofen lievtinent, in Leith, till the Regentis returne fra' the parliament; quha read out of Leith the fryday the 24 of Auguft.

Setterday the 26 of Auguft, Coldingknowis with the horfmen convoyed 30 hagbutteris to Jedburgh.

Twyfday the 28 day, Monsieur Virack, wha was left in Sanct Androis vpoun his awin promeis and aith, was tane from thence be the laird of Wormeftoun, with Robert Balfoure, and tuo brether of the laird of Clatteis, to the number of a 20 hors, whair of 6 or 8 come about this toun, and receaved the faid Viracke, who went out with ane hauke or meryellone, as thocht he had bene going to hauke. Some of thir horfmen went to the Struther, whair thei tuike 3 fair gealdings of the lord Lindfayis, and wer in the laird of Clatties place all nycht with the faid horfe; whairfoir it is thocht that his brether wer the takeris of thame.

This fame Twyfday the 28 of Auguft, 1571, was the firft day of the parliament in Striveling, whair the kingis grace in proper perfone was prefent, and fpake thir wordis with his owin mouth: " Me lordis, and the vther trew fubjectis, we ar convenit heir, as I vnderftand, to minifter juft-



tice: And becaus my aige will not fuffer me to exerce my chairge my self, be reafone of my youth, I haue gevin power to my guidfchire, as regent and tutore to me, and yow to affist him thairin, as ge will anfuer to God and me heirefter."

They of the caftell, or of Edinburgh, lykwayis appoynted thair parliament about this fame tyme; and made thair foirfaltouris as thei pleifit, both vpoun lordis, lairdis, gentlmen and burgefifis, a grit number.

About this tyme, the 27 of Auguft, the lordis within the toun fent a lettre to William Harlaw, minifter; the tenour whairof followis:—

" My lordis lievetennentis, and lordis of fecreit counfall, ordaines ane meaffour, or vther officer of armes, to pas and charge William Harlaw, minifter at Sanct Cuthbertis kirke, to pray for the quenis maieftie, our foverane lady, in all and fundrie his fermendis and prayeris, after the forme and tennour of the Act of Parliament made thairanent; with certificatioune to him, and he contraveine the famyne, he fall incurre the panes conteined thairintill, and be puneift with all rigore.

(*Sic fubfcribitur*) JAMES. HAMILTOUN. HUNTLY."

Vpoun this fame day, the horfmen of Edinburgh, to the number of 200 horfmen or thairby, and about a hundreth foutmen hagbutteris, went to the lord Lyndfayis place, the Byiris, and touke all his cattell, about iiij<sup>xx</sup> queye and oxin, with fome pur menis horfe and vtheris beaftes; which wer brocht in to the towne of Edinburgh: At which tyme, or elis within fowre or fyve dayis efter, they went agane, purpofing to demolis the faid place; but it being provydit with fome hagbutteris, as they approached, fun left thair carcafes behind, and vtheris were tane, wherby that interpryfe come not to pas.

Thuirfday the penult of Auguft, about tuo or thrie eftir nyne, they of Edinburgh come furth, horfe and fute, having vij or viij<sup>xx</sup> of horfmen; and thai of Leith alfo forted; and after fome fkyrnifhing, thair wer but fmall fkyath on eather fyde; but the towne men wer put, be force, in to Edinburgh. They of Leith, hoping for no farther for that nycht, reiteired; and as thai wer at the entering in of Leith, they come all furth againe out of Edinburgh, being encouraged be a new frefche cumpany, who wer

evin then come with Pherniherft and Balcleuche, to the number of viij<sup>xx</sup> hors or thairby, wha come downe vpon thame of Leith for thair new entres. After confultatioune, the lord Lindfay, with the advife of the captanis, put thame felues in order; and the fuddartis, after thair flakis wer filled with powder, which a litle befor thei had all fpendit, went forward with thair horfmen, wha were but a 45; and after thair fpeirmen, whair they met at the calfey-end, and fkirmifed till the powder of the fuddartis was fpent; and after joynit the tuo battelis, whair thair was no litle fight, till at laft God caufit [thame of] Edinburgh turne bakis, and fua wer chafed in at the portis. And tuo enfeinyies of Leith come to the Nather bow, whair captane Lambie was almoft tane, and releivet be William Harlaw: alfo the tutor of Pitcurre, who is coronare, was tane at the port vpon horfbake, thinking that his owin cumpanies wer following; who being fo weirrie, and alfo fo darke nycht, mycht not fie, for it was weill half howre to nyne befor thei had endit thair chafe. Thair wer tane of Edinburgh, about iij or iiij<sup>xx</sup> of fuddartis, and ane dofone of horfmen or gentlmen; and fa the tounis men were halilie come furth, and a great mony flaine. Some alledges that fir James Balfour alfo was tane; but I hard no word of it of fuirtie, thairfoir I omit it. Ane Storie, the ranckeft theif in Annerdaill, was taken and thrie with him; wha confeffit that he had tane ane laid of butter and ane of cheife fra a puir man not tuo houris befor. The fame Storie confeffit that about 8 dayis befor, he tuike at the Houfe of the Muire, or thairabout, ane horfe of a puire man, wha, defending him felf and his horfe, he flew; and being perfewed and followed be ane vther young man, he fo trayned the young man be fair wordis, faying, that gif the hors wer a pure manis, that he wold rander him againe; and fo caufit him come into ane houfe; whome efter he tuik, and cariet him to the caffell of Edinburgh, whair he lyeis in ironis. This I write, that men may know what ane houfe that is now become, to wit, ane refett of all mifcheife, reif, and fpoile!

*The Gentlemen, Barrouis, and vther Protestantis within this realme, to the Regentis grace, wifhis to him and his honourabill counfall all felicitie, with the fpreit of richteous judgment.*

“ We doubt not but your grace and honourabill counfall has found and

findis fault with us, that we haue bene absent fra the kingis service in our owin persones, at thir appointit quarteris at Leith; whairtill our owin conscience wald accuse vs, vnles we had a sufficient defence afor God and man, which is, that we dar not joyne our selues in hafarde with the professit enemies of Christis evangle. We call not only such as by oppin hostilitie makis warre against the frie preiching of the fame, as now a dayis the traytoris that occupie the castle and toun of Edinburgh; but enemies to Christ Jesus we call all such as, directlie or indirectlie, goe about to deface the ministrie of his blissed evangle; off which cryme, in our conscience, we nether can nor dar excuse your grace, nor git your counfall; ffor what can be a more reddie way to banish Christ Jesus from us, and from our posteritie, nor to fameis the ministeris present, and tyrannicallie so to impyre above the pure flocke, that the kirke falbe compellit to admitt dymb dogis to the office, dignitie, and rentis appointed for sustentatioune of preiching pastoris, and for vther godly vses; in which cryme the whole world may see your grace, and the nobilitie joyued with yow and with the kingis service, sa drowned, that suche as luike not for a suddaine plauge (vnles speidie repentence prevent Godis judgmentis), ar moir nor blind. For as tuiching the conditiones of our ministeris present, it is moir miserable nor the conditione of a beggare; ffor beggaris haue fredome without reppruise to begg over all! But our pure ministeris, bound to their charge, ar compelled to keip thair hous, and with dolorous hartis, see thair wyfes, childrene, and familie, sterve for hunger; and that, becaus your grace and greadie courteouris violentlie reafus and vnjustlie consumes that which just law and guid order hes appointed for thair sustentatioune, to wit, the thridis of benefices, which ar now so abused that God can nocht lang delay to powre furth his just vengeance for this proud contempt of his servantis, whairof we crave suddaine and haistie redres.

“The secund caus that moves us that nather we can joyne with your grace nor yit with your counfall, is, that we see sic a corruptioun begunc and apeiring to proccid, that vnles it be stayed be tyme, we fall give just occasioun to our posteritie to curs our negligence and silence, ge to curse our barbarus crueltie committed against them: ffor what fall our childrene judge of us, whome God hes illuminate miraculousslie, vndir whois seit he

hes tred downe Sathan, with idolatrie and the menteaneris of the fame; and hes granted to us such licht and libertie of his blifsed evangell, as never realme nor natione received the gritter, ze not the lyke, since the dayis of the Apostles of Jesus Christ? Gif we (we fay), to whome God hes sehawin such graces and benefites, fall ather envy thame to our childrene, or yit suffer thame to be suppreffit in our default, can we ather be excused of rebellione against God, or yit be absolved of crwell murdering of our owin childrene? God commandis, that the fatheris teache the true feare of God to thair childrene and posteritie, and nature craves that we haue ane speciall cair of thair temporall and eternall saluatione. Our felues we know mortall, and suddanlie tending to the grave, and so vnable to remaine to sehaw to our childrene the wondrous workis of our God sehawing in our dayis: And your grace and the nobilitie (fightand with you against traytoris, we grant), goe about to cut off from our posteritie, the fontane of leving wateris, the true and frie preiching of the blifsed evangle of Jesus Christ; flor, whillis that erles and lordis becumis bifchopis and abbotis, gentlemen, courteouris, babes, and perfonen vnable to gujde thaim felues, ar promoted be you to sic benefices as requyre learned preicheris: When sic enormities ar fostred, we fay, what a face of a kirke fall we louke for, or it be long, within this realme!

“We, without boasting of our felues, man speike the treuth befor God, your grace, and the whole world, which is, from the begining of this aëtionne we haue feruit without fute of vther reward, then to haue the puire kirke of Christ Jesus fet at fredome, and so to remaine to our posteritie. Whair-of perceaving our felues to be vtterly disapointed, we dar not promeis feruice, as heirtofoir we haue done; flor we ar not ignorant of the mutuall contract that God lies placed betwixt the supreme power and the subjeëtis. Befeikand thairfoir your grace and counfall to haue sic respect to the foirsaidis enormities, that just occasionne be not offered to us and vtheris to be moir cauld in the kingis maiesteis feruice, then heirtofoir we haue bene. And your graces anfuere maist humblie we befeike.”

*Ane vther Lettre, writtin to the Generall Affemblic.*

“Beloued bretheren, Thinke it not strange althocht we frequent not

your assemblies, publick or particular, as heirtfoir we haue done! Sua long as onie esperance rested, that, be you and your faythfull laboris, vice fould be brydled, vertue menteaned and promoted, we never irked for ony paines. Bot perceaving corruptione so fast to grow (which to your felues is not hidd), we haue rather chofen in secreit to murne, and absnt our felues fra all conventiounes, then to be present with you, whair nather our voite can stay the corrupt affectiones of men to take place, nor can our counfall further ony guid aëtion; but rather we haue espyed that our perfuite with you in some Assemblies, especiallie in this last haldin at Striveling, hes bene a patrociny to cloake the impietie of sic as, neuer meaning weill to the kirke, in the end fall destroy it, and the fredome of the fame. And thairfoir, gif ze find fault with our absence in tyme to cume, blame your selves, that banishe from you these men that most earnestlie haue desyred, and yit desyre, your prosperitie in God."

And so at this parliament, becaus the petitiones of the kirke wer contemptned, and the ministeris called proud knavis, with other injurious wordis, be the lordis, for futeing of thair libertie, zit the poure regent approvet their petitionis, and acknowledgedit thame to be most ressonabill, and was willing to further the fame: But the lordis, Mortoun in speciale, who rewled all, said he fould lay thair pryde, and put order to thame, with mony other injurious wordis.

The superintendent of Fyfe inhibited the rector of Sanct Androis to voit as ane of the kirke, till he fould be admitted be the kirke, vndir the paine of excommunicatioune. Mortoun commandit him to voit (as bifchope of Sanct Androis), vndir the paine of trefone.

Certane Articles wer sent from England to the lordis, to send sum commissiouneris to Berwicke to treat vpoun thaim, &c.

The fourt of September, they of Edinburgh, horsmen and futmen, and, as was reported, the most part of Cliddifdail that perteinie to the Hamiltonis, come to Stirling, the number of iij<sup>e</sup> or iiij<sup>e</sup> men on horse bake, guydit be ane George Bell. Thair hagbutteris being all horfed, entered in Striveling be fyve horis in the moirning, whair thair was neuer one to

make watche, crying this slogane, "God and the Queine!" "Ane Hammiltoun!" "Think on the bifchop of Sanct Androis!" "All is oures!" And fo a certaine come to every grit manis ludgene, and apprehendit the lordis Mortone and Glencairne; but Mortounis hous thei fet on fyre, wha randerit him felf to the laird of Baleleuch. Wormeftoun being appointed to the regentis hous, defyred him to come furth, which he had no will to doe; 3it be the perfuafione of Garleis and vtheris with him, thought it beft to come in will, nor to byde the extremitie, becaus thei fupposed thair was no refiftance. And fwa the regent come furth, and was randered to Wormeftoun, vnder promeis to fave his lyfe.

Captane Crawford being in the toun, gat fum men out of the caftell, and other gentlemen being in the toun come as thei mycht beft to the geat, chafed thaim out of the toun. The regent was fehot by ane captane Cader, wha confeffit that he did it at comande of George Bell, wha was commandit fo to doe be the lord Huntlie and Claud Hammiltoun. Some fayis that Wormiftoun was shot be the fame shot that flew the regent; bot always he was flaine, notwithstanding the regent cryed to faue him: but it could not be, the furie was fo grit of the perfewaris, who following fo faft, the lord of Mortoun faid to Baleleuche, "I fall faue you, as 3e favit me;" and fo he was tane. Gairleyis and fundrie vtheris wer flaine, at the port, in the perfuit of thame. Thair wer ten or twelf gentlemen flaine of the kingis folk; and als mony of theris or mae, as was faid; and a do-fene or xvj tane. Tua speciall fervantis of the lord Argyles wer flanie alfo. This Cader that fhot the regent was once turned bake of the toun, and was fend againe (as is faid) be the lord Huntlie to caufe Wormiftoun retire; but befor he come againe he was difpatched, and had gottin deidis woundis.

The regent being shot, as faid is, was brocht to the caftell, quhair he callit for ane phiftione; ane for his foul, ane vther for his body. Bot all hope of lyfe was paff, for he was shot in his entreallis. And fwa, after fome thingis spooken to the lordis, which I know not, he departed in the feir of God, and made a bliffed end: Which the reft of the lordis that thocht thame felues hieft, and lytill regardit him, fall not make fo bliffed ane end, unles thei mend thair maneris!

Upon Twyfday, the first day of the parliament, the king, sitting in his chaire of honore, and his rob royall vpoun him, luiking up aboue his heid, and seing ane hole in the tolbuithie, faide, "Thair is ane hole in this parliament!" Whilk, allace! wes over fuir verefeit, in the end.

Vpoun fonday befor this tumult, Mr Johne Row preiched; quha in plane pulpet pronounced to the lordis, for thair covetufnes, and becaus thei wold nocht grant the just petitiones of the kirke, Godis heastie vengeance to fall vpoun thame; and said, moirover, "I cair not, my lordis, your displeioure; for I speik my conscience befor God, wha will not suffer sic wickitnes and contempt vnpunished." Bot he was called a railer, and vther injurious wordis; whilk neuer man wald thinke that sic speichis fould proceed out of the mouthes of thame that had anes professed Christis evangle. Bot how God wrocht vpoun the Twyfday after, ze have hard. When God takis away the greine tries, lat the widdered bewar!

Within ten dayis after, the lordis went and chofed ane new regent: And there was put in leitis, Argyle, Mortone, and the lord of Marre, wha be moniest voitis was chofen regent; and so continowed the parliament.

*The names of theis that were ffoirfalded, the penult of August, 1571:*

James, ducke,	Johne Hammiltoun of Kilbowy,
George, erle Huntlie,	The bishop of Dunkell,
Adam Gordoun,	Abirdeine, Murray, and Galloway,
Sir William Kirkcaldie of Grange,	bifchopis,
knicht,	James Borthuike, sone to Michael
Sir James Balfour,	Borthuike,
Gilbert and Robert Balfoures,	James Bothuike of Colila,
Robert Meluing of Cairny,	George Barclay of that ilk,
Dauid and Andro Meluing,	Johne Cranstoun of Morstoun,
Dauid Seatoun of Parbroth,	William Baillie of Carnstoun,
Alexander Crichtoun of Drylay,	Dauid Spens of Wormistoun,
Thomas Ker of Pherniherft,	Johne Maitland of Achingashill,
Johne Hammiltoun, comendatour of	younger,
Arbrothe,	

Thomas Hammiltoun of Preift- feild,	Harbart Maxwell, burges of Edin- burgh,
Thomas Ker of Kavert,	Mr Johne Mofcrop and his fone Pa- trieke,
Mr Alexander Hammiltoun, viccar of Kilburny,	Robert Gurlay, the duckis fervant.

On fryday the laft of Auguft, 1571, efter the floirfaltore, come in to the parliament the lordis Argyle, Caffilis, Montgomrie, Boyde, and fche-  
reff of Ayre, vtheris fundrie lairdis of thair retinow. Vpoun this day the  
kirke gaue in thair Articles; the effect whairof were, (1). That all bene-  
fices fould be gevin to qualefeit perfoneis; which qualeficiatioune fould  
be tryed be the kirke: 2. That it fould nocht be leifume to fet, in few,  
gleibes and manfles; but that thai fould be difponit and occupit be thaim  
that preiches the word: 3. That inceft and vtheris grivous crymes fould  
be punithed, &c.

The next fonyday, beand the 2 of September, Mr Johne Row preiched  
(as is faid), and was opprobriouflic vfed, and called ane realer, a fediti-  
ous knaif; and the reft of the minifteris, for trew dealing in the kirkis  
effairis, were baptifed with the lyke or worfe names.

Upon Tuyfday the 4 of September, Godis hand ftruike, as faid is, the  
fillie regent flaine; beand fhot be ane called Cader, captane of the en-  
fignie to the Hammiltone band, be command gevin befor fo to doe, be  
the lord Huntlie and Claud Hammiltoun; which he confefled befor he  
was put to death, bot ftill denyed that he fhot the regent, till a fmyth  
proved it in his face, and then he confefsit it.

Two or thrie dayis after the regentis flaucher, the lordis prefent for  
the time in Striveling elected the lord of Mar to be regent; who being  
in leittis with Argyle and Mortoun, be pluralitie of voitis was elected re-  
gent.

The 7 of September, and the laft day of the parliament (which the  
lordis endit furth, nochtwithftanding the regentis death), the king, in pro-  
per perfone, come to the tolbuith, and be the twiching of the fceptore did  
ratifie all thingis done befor.



Vpoun fattirday the 8 of September, Petir Donaldfone, a suddart and man of Edinburgh, was hanged in Leith; wha had conspired to betray the toun, and was tane as he was going to Edinburgh.

The 10 day my lord of Mar, being now made regent, come to Leyth, to put order to the effairis thair (whair the lord of Mortoun was proclaimed cheife lievetennent), and returned againe to Striveling the 15 day.

The xj day captane of Halybruntoun fould haue bene executed in Edinburgh, had it not bene that the lord Lindfay, who getting knowledge thairof be ane lettre sent to Johne Brand, minister, tuike the proveist of Sanct Androis, and the laird of Munwhanyie, who befoir had bene fummoned to Leith, for being absent fra the readis; and, as God provydit, come the nycht befoir that the said Haliburton fould haue suffered.

*The copie of the bill send to Johne Brand, minister.*

“Brother, Efter my commendatiounes in the Lord Jesus, this is to lat yow wit, that I am delyuered this day in the lord of Huntlies handis; and the morne I traift fume scharpnes fall be vsed towardis me: Thairfoir I pray yow, in the name of the Lord, that ze wilbe heir in the moirning, that I may haue some spirituall comfort, befoir God fall call me to his mercies out of this tranfitorie lyfe. Referring the rest to your cuming, I committ yow to God. At Edinburgh the 10 of September, 1571.

(Thus subfcryvit)                      JAMES HALYBURTOUN.”

About this tyme word comes to the regent and lordis, being in Leith, that the ducke of Northfokis secretar was tackin at New-castle, cuming to the castell of Edinburgh with a 25000 crownes; be whome the conspiracie against the queine of England was revealed. Vpoun the which the said ducke was put againe in the tour of London, and our queine mair straitlie keipit. It is spocken, that the duck has ane vilat that the castle of Edinburgh fould haue bene put in French menis handis, or to be keipit to thair behoue; in pledge whairof the said duckis sone fould haue gone to France, as is thocht that he is agatwardis, gif he be not thair alreadie: ffor the whilk, the Frenchis fould furneis thame of Edinburgh of mony; and for this purpose, Mr Viracke come in Scotland, and takis

money fra some merchantis heir, to be payit beyonde the sea. God confound the devyfes of the wickit!

Efter the ending of the parliament, proclamatiounes wer made through the realme to cum to Leith with fourtie dayis victuall, to feige the toun of Edinburgh: Quhilk knawin to the toun, they spoyled the cuntrie about, and brocht in some cattell thei could get about the toun. This thei did vpoun fonday the 23 of September.

Twyfday the 18 of September, George Auchinlecke come to Kinghorne, and went aburde on Williame Sibbatis schip, whair thair was the young laird of Trabrowne, and ane vther called Borthuikie, sone to Michael Borthuikie, that is floirfaltit, who were bound to France; but he tuikie thame and thair wrytingis also. The said Sibbat fould haue bene puneift for fals hardheides.

*The Nobilitie and Estaites of this realme of Scotland, presently convenit in Parliament at Striveling, in the feir of God and the lauchfull obedience of the King our souerane lord, to all persones now remaining in the burcht and castell of Edinburgh, the vij of September, 1571.*

“ Albeit we might lay furth befor your eyes particularly, how evill ge haue defervit of the commoun wealth of this our native cuntrie, whairin ge wer borne, in that ge haue bene very instrumentis and occasioun baith of your awin truble and punishment, and also of the grit calamitie of your whole cuntrie and pure people thair of, hes, and daylie dois sustene, throw this vnnaturall and civile discorde; git, not meaning to irritate yow be repetitioun of thingis vnpleasand, whilk to our greif ar over money, and quhair of we doubt not bot your awin consciences accuses yow; bot rather intending, be giving yow this holsome admonitioun, to discharge us, first to God, and nixt befor the world, that we haue focht yow to be wyn, whairthrow in caise, be your owin obstinate wilfulness, ge taift the vttermoist of the plage and punishment, it may be rychtly adjudged to be in your owin default. This consideratioun hes movit us, be this lettre, to requyre yow to confidder your felues in commoun, and every one in particulare, the ground and circumstance of the caus and quereall that ge pretend, your owin present conditione, with whom it is ge contend, and what

probable mon be the end of all. The ground is twiching the deprivatione of the king our fouerane lord from his crown and royall authoritie, diverse tymes intendit be some of you; and yit, be Godis prouidence alwayis disapointed, for the caus amonges yow ar men that wer als earnest to promote it as ony vtheris; and be the same dyverse of yow acquyred honour, guid report, and benefite. Bot sen ye rejected his hienes obedience, ze haue fund your rewaird, reproche, obloquie, and skayth, and your intentis oftymes frustrat. As to your oppreffione in that toun whair the feat of justice fould remaine, for the weill of the whole subiectis, ze haue not only thairby depauperat the inhabitantis of the toun, bot hes made your felues contemptible to this whole natione; and now ze haue to lay your compt, whidder the few number of you remaining thair fall conqueist and overthrow vs all, or gif be liklieheid we be not more able to make you conformable. Your contentione is for displeaffing of the king our fouerane lord, some of yow being the cheife instrumentis of his promotione, and the greatest part of you all having promiseit and sworne obedience to him. He is, ze sie, the ryfing starre, and shortly wilbe able, God willing, to discern this querall him self, be course of aige; and the end mon be, ather he to be obeyed, and peace and justice restored in this commoun wealth, or then the force of yow now compassed within that toun and castle mon vndoe him, whois subiectis we profes our felues to be; and so, consequentlie, to exterminate us and our posteritie. What grund ze build on in your enterprife, or what certaintie ze can luike for; or the cours ze ryn, lat every ane of you consider be him self; and luike vpoun the inconveniencis of this weir, gif it will continow; and of the fruitis that peace and justice wald bring. Call also to your remembrance, the desoluciones that hes bene in vther regionis of Europe nixt vnto us thir leat yeiris, throw weiris alswell forrane as intestine, and yit ar the same at this day for the most part quyeted and peace restored, ather be victorie or ellis the waikest hes yieldit to tollerable conditiones. Take heid whidder ze menteane that caus be your owin proper force or not, or what habilitie ze had to contend in it, gif the kingis houe and munitiones wer not at your devotione. To be schort, this realme may no longer susteine this contempt, rebellione, and confused steat: bot ather man the king our fouerane lord

and his authoritie be obeyit, that toun of Edinburgh fet at libertie, and the feat of justice restored, to the uniuersall commoditie and ease of the subiectis, or then mon we give our lyvis and imploy our substance and freindis in the querrall; and as we haue orderlie proceedit heirtfoir be law agaiust yow, sa befor the just executioun thair of, which we can not nor may not leive vndone, we have thought meit to give yow this admonitione, that ge may in tyme eschew the eminent perrell and danger approaching. Which advise and ge follow, then will we travell so farre as in us lye fall, for your reliefe and favetic; and gif our admonitione beis rejected, then we protest, that as ge your felues hes bene and at the occasion of all the evill and extremitie that hes followed your obstinacie and contempt; so, quhatfoeuer harme or inconvenience happin to ony of us in prosecutione of this just caus, that our bludes and ikaithis be requyrit at your handis and posterities."

This bill was delyuered in the castle, and gevin in Lethingtounis awin hand, in presence of thair counfall, the 27 of September, be Robert Dowglas, brother to the laird of Whittinghame, and fervand to the lord of Mortoun. After dener, the said Robert returned to Leith, and within tuo or thrie houris efter tuke bed, and on the third day departed this miserie. Lat men judge whidder ony Italian craft hes been vsed or not!

*A copie of a Lettre gevin in be the Minijsteris and Toun of Edinburgh,  
to the Secreit Counfall within the Castell.*

"Vnto my lordis lieutenentis and lordis of the secreit counfall, humblie meanis and schawis, the ministris, elderis, and deaconis of this burcht of Edinburgh; That, quhair Robert Cunnynghame, burges of the said burcht, hes bene certane yeiris bygane our collectore for the vptaking of the annual rentis and freiris rentis of this toun, gevin be our soverane lady for the sustentatione of the ministrrie; and hes the evidentis of the saidis annualrentis in his keeping, and is now to depart off this toun: Whairfoir we besike your lordships, that we may haue ane charge to the proveist and baillies to call him befor thaim, that compt and rekoning may be

made, and sic order put thairto, on his departing, as apertenis: And your lordshippis anfuer maist humblie we befeike.

“*Apud Edinburgh, 26 Septembris 1571.*—The lordis lieutenentis and feereit counfal ordanis the proveist and baillies of Edinburgh to take sic order with Robert Cunynghame as accordis to refstone, conforme to the defyre of this bill. (*Sic subscribitur*) HUNTLE.”

The next day, or shortly thairefter, was tane Monsieur Virackis fervand, with ane Hammiltoun; and thair wrytingis wer gottin, that wer fend to the king of France, declairing the steat of the castle and toun, and of the factiones amongis them; defyryng that tuo hundreth hagbutteris mycht be sent thame: Bot yit, said Virackis lettre, he knew not how thair mycht be convoyed faillie, nather how thair lyves fuld be preservit gif thair wer thair. Also he schew how that thair fleet was rather worse than better, becaus of the regentis slauchter; with diverse vther thingis small to their profite.

The 29 of September, Phernihertis wyfe, with Mr Johne Mescropis wyfe, ryding furth of Edinburgh, being convoyed with 14 or 15 men, whais names efter followes, to the place of Phernihert, meittis the laird of Carmichael, who had with him bot 9 or 10 horse at the most; and perceiving the castle men better horst nor he was, thoct best to charge them first; bot the vtheris thinking Carmichael had bene far mae in cumpany, tuike the flight; wha luiking baka saw thaim felvis chasit with fa few, turnes and chairges vpoun Carmichael and his cumpany, and so continued till speiris wer all brocken and dages discharged on ather fyde; and after liehted and faucht on fute till thair both rested thaim vpoun thair swordis; callit ilk vtheris traytoris. Bot tuo men be chance cuming neir by, wha wer of the kingis partie, and kuawing Carmichael, wha as some allegit was almost randerit, cryed with a shout, “Fye, lay vpoun the traytoris!” And so the vther wer randerit; few or nane on ather fyde vnhurt; the most pairt evill woundit.

*The names of thame that were tane:*

Alexr. Sandilandis, sone to Johne Sandilandis of Midlrig,

Robert Meluing, fone to the laird of Carneby,  
 David Meldrum, brother to the laird of Segie,  
 Robert Hammiltoun, cutlare in Edinburgh,  
 Edward Johnstone, feruitour to the lord Home,  
 James Oliphant, which with the former wer lat goe to Edinburgh to  
 be cured, vpoun promeis to enter againe,  
 David Swintoun, fervant to the lord Home,  
 Harie Creichtoun, fone to the laird of Newhall,  
 Robert Robertoun, the laird of Ernockis fone,  
 Patrik Ogilvie, fone to Archibald of Bagavie,  
 James Borthuikie of Colelaw,  
 Mathou Dair (Adair), fone to the laird of Kinhilt,  
 David Robertfone, fervand to the captane of the castle.

Ane or tua efcapit by flicht, the rest wer brocht to Dalkeith, and fo to  
 Leith.

Befoir that Carmichael had yockit with the foirfaidis, he chaunced to  
 meit ane English man, wha faid he was feikand fervice; to whome Car-  
 michael faid, "Yonder our enemeis! Gif thow fall prove thé man, thow  
 falbe rewarded:" Who bure guid hand and did his pairt, and fwa get ane  
 prifoner at his entres; who confeffit he neuer faw a thing fo strongly  
 foughtin on both parties, as this meitting was.

Ane day or tuo befoir this, Robert Dowglas that dwelt with my lord  
 of Mortoun, and broder to the laird of Wittinghame, and efteamed the  
 best and trewest to the king of that hous, went to Edinburgh, convoying  
 the faid Pherniherftis wyfe; and efter denner in the castle, returned to  
 Leith, tuik his bed, and within tuo dayis died. Whither he gat a poffo-  
 die or not, God make it knowin, for he fwellit efter his death!

The fourt of October, 1571, the regent come to Leith, accompanied  
 with 4000 men. The artailgerie come be fea furth of Striveling. God,  
 for his fone Chriftris fake, blis thair enterpryfe; and put that puire toune  
 to libertie, oppreffed with murtheraris and traytoris, both to God and man,  
 and to thair awin cuntrie!

The viij day, the pioneris begouth to caft the trinches: fome vpoun

Craigengaite; some about the Waft port. And so the nyne day the feidge begouth.

Mononday, which was the viij day, came in captane Caife, and ane captane Bricoll, who is thocht to be a man earnest in this cause, and beiris a guide will to the advancement of the kingis part; with whome thair wer letteres fra the queine of England to the castell, thus in effect:—That the Secretar and the lairde of Grange had writtin to hir for knowing of hir vtter mynd, whither sho wald plainelie take vpoun hir in mentenance of the king, in this caus, or not? Senfyne sho hes labored, be all meanis possible, to haue had the queine reponit to hir formare steate, be aduise of the nobilitie for the kingis part, and to thair contentement, gif it were possible: Bot in the meantyme, sho hes perceaved the Scottis queine to vse sic pernicious practises with the pope, and vther forane princes, as with hir owin subiectis of England, as tendis manifestlie to the subuersiōne of the kingis esteat, his nobilitie, and religione of this realme; and also to the pulling of the croun off hir owin heid, and subuersiōne of the whole estait and religione of the realme of England: Sa that sho can not, nor will not, no longar travell in hir caus; but will menteane and assist the king of Scottis, his croun and caus, as sho will doe hir owin. And thairfoir, desyris thame to rander the castle and toun to the king and his regent but delay, vtherways sho will schortlie he'p to recover it be force; and sho hir self wilbe obleist to be thair fuiretie for thair lyves, landis, and rentis. And also, that sho had writtin hir anfuere and excuse to the king of France.

This being delyuered to the castle on Twyfday, the anfuere was delayed till Thuirfday. In this meintyme, James Cunynghame, brother to the laird of Drumquhaiffill, who befoir was sent to England efter the regentis slauchter, comes from London with a fair bill from the queine of England, direct to the regentis grace, praising God of his electione to the regiment; assuiring hir self thair culd be none vther chofen thairto that the whole nobilitie culd all so weill agrie with. Therefter, accuses the ingratitude of the Scottis queine, in the same termes almost as in the former lettre; declairing lykways to him, that shoe will menteane the stait of religione heir as sho will doe hir owin crowne, stait, and religione of

hir owin realme; and to that effect nathing fall want that fall seame necessar thairto: And that tyme fall not be protracted be long journey to Londoun and court, thoe hes send downe hir coufigne the lord Humfiddoun, governore of Berwicke, to remaine thair, sufficientlie instructed with hir resolute mynd, in all thir materis.

Maister Caife receauct his ansuer dilatore fra the castles behalfe, that the nobilitie assistand to thair pairt wer not present, and thei that wer thair, the ducke and the erle Huntly, had not thair counfalloris and freindis present; without whome thei could nocht resolue in sa wechtie a mater: Bot how sone thei mycht be gudlie had, with tyme, thei suld direct ansuer. With this Mr Caife depairted to Berwicke, on Fryday thairefter; and with him the said James Cunynghame, for men, money, and munitione.

All this tyme thair was no small truble in the north pairtis, betwixt them that susteined the pairt of the king, and thaim that wer for the queine, whilk was Adam Gordoun, Huntleis brother, and his assisters, and all that wald do for the lord Huntlie; wha assembled all thair forces thei mycht be, to invade the Forbesses, who was for the king, and (as was reported) to cum vpoun the Mernes, as thai haue done befoir, and so to Dundie, to truble all the kingis trew lieges, that wald not assist to thair factiōne; to the end they mycht skaile the feige about Edinburgh. Bot the Forbesses gathered to the number of 300 men or thairby, at the place of [Tullie Angus]; and the Gordones being about 1000 men, cumand fordward, caused but a part of thair men to appeir, to caus the vtheris to cum fordwart mair bauldlie, and put the rest in ambusche. And so Arthure Forbes, me lordis brother, principall vpoun that pairt for the tyme, seing the enemies sa few (not confiddering the ambusche), joynes with the formest; and thairefter the vther cumes fordwart, and so pat the Forbesses to flicht; whair ware slaine the said Arthure, and xij or xvj mae; and William, the lordis second sone, tane, with vther xvj mea. Of the vther wer slaine 22. This was done on Weddinfday the 17 of October.

In this meantyme, the regent, with the rest lyand about the toun, at the fowth wall, whair thei dang downe 40 or 50 fute of it; bot in the



nycht it was ranforced and filled vp againe be thame of the toune: And so remaining till the 21 of this instant, they retereid agane to Leith efter mydnycht; whairof mony was affrayed, becaus of thair suddane lifting of the camp; for it was spocken that theiould haue brashed the wall quhair thair batter was made. Bot the peices within the toun, stellit in Sanct Geillis kirke garde, and vpon the Kirk of Feild, condemnit the ordinance without; so that they caufit thame retere thair ordinance, and shot throw the regentis pavillione, but (praied be God) did no hurt. Thare was flaine in the campe not passing ten or twelve. In the towne I know nocht; bot, as was reported, twyfe almfonie. Cuthbert Ferguffell, of the Canogait, was the principall on the kingis syde that was flaine.

Whidder for laike of gros powder, or ane lettre that come fra the queine of England, was the cause of the suddan retere, I am vncertane; but it was affirmed, that sho send a lettre to the regent, desyryng him not to hafard the noblmen vpoun thair suddartis within the toun; but that sho wald provyde, and that soner then they beleivet. Lord Humisdale was turned againe to the court; and come not to Berwicke, as was promised befor. O Lord put furth thy hand, and wirke thow thyne owin worke; for vaine is the help of man, unles thow prosper, and say amen to it!

On Twyfday the 23 of Oetober, captaine Caife returned againe fra Berwicke, and delyuerit thir heidis vnto the castle, subscryvit be the queine of England; whilk befor they alledgit was nocht, and thairfoir could nocht credite thaim, as was reported.

*Thir ar the Heidis send to the Castle from the Queine of England.*

“Whairas ye desyre to know the queinis maiesties pleisoure what sho will do for appaissing of those contraverfies, and thairwith hes offerit your selues to be at hir commandement, twiching the commoun tranquillitie of the whole ile, and the amitie of both the realmes.

“Hir pleisoure is in that behalf, that ge fall leive off the mentenance of the civile discord, and gif your obedience to the king, whome sho will menteane to the vtermost of hir power.

“And in this doing, sho will deale with the regent and the kingis pairtie,

to receive you into favore, vpoun reffonabill conditiones, for securitie of lyfe and levingis.

“Alfo sho fayis that the queine of Scottis, whair that sho has practifed with the pope and vther princes, and alfo with hir owin fubjectis of England, grit and dangerous treflones againft the eftait of hir cuntrie, and alfo the diftruccion of hir owin perfone; that sho will neuer beir auctoritie, nor haif libertie, while feho leivis.

“Giff ge refuis thefe generall offeris now offerit vnto zow, sho will prefentlie ayde the kingis partie with men, mwnitione, and vther thingis neceffar to be had againft yow.

“Whairvpoun hir maieftie defyris your anfuer with fpeid, without ony delay.”

Weddinfday the 24 of OOctober, the proveift of Sanct Androis come home, vndir foverties.

The penult of this moneth thair was ane combate betwixt Cambell on the kingis part, and ane Smyth, a leivtennent or ferjand within Edinburgh, for thame. But Campbell ftruke him twyfe throw the body, without bloud drawin vpoun himfelf, except a ferape vpoun the thombe.

The laft of OOctober, 1571, landit at Abirdeine 50 hagbutteris out of Edinburgh, be the lord Huntly. They shipped at Grantoun craigis. Mr James Kirkcaldie, Granges brother, come with them; who is to pas to France and to Rome for fupport, &c., as is fupposed.

James Cunyghame, Drumwhaiffilis brother, who a litill befor was fent to the queine of England fra the regentis grace and the lordis, returned againe to Leith the 2 of November; and that becaus he had mett with the lord Hunifdail at Stamford, who caufed him come bake, be reffone the faid lord Hunifdail that he had sic commiffione and power to treat with us heir, in the queine of Englandis name, his maiftres, vpoun all heidis, as gif sho wer present; yea, and to fatiffie the kingis partie, to thair contentment.

The faid lord Hunifdail come to Berwicke the fettirday thairefter; who fent in captane Caife, who come to Leith vpoun Tuyfday the 6 of November; who alfo went to the caftle with fome thingis to propone vnto

thame; whilk as yit I know not, bot I hard fay he departed without ony anfuere. They fend with him Andro Meluing, who, as wes reported, fould mak thair anfuere.

Twa dayis after this, thair come in fra Berwicke 40 barrellis of powl-der; which is the begining of the preparatioune for the feige that nixt fuld be, gif the queine of England may, and be not not impedit be infur-rectione within the realme.

Thuirfday the 8 of November, and fryday thairefter, was the inhu-mane handling and fchamfull dealing of the lord Borthuikie, with Thomas Davidfone, his owin guid-brother.

About this tyme thair went captane Chifme out of Leith towardis the north, be the procurment of the maifter of Forbes, who alfo raifed a band of fuddartis in Dundie, to refift the invafione of Adam Gordone, who playis king Herrot in the north, vpoun the kingis freindis and guid fub-jectis; bot in fpeciall vpoun the Forbeffes, whois rowmes he is going about to deftroie with fyre and fword, as he hes done pairt alreadie.

About the x or xij day of November, was the tutor of Pitcure delyvered; vpon what conditiones I knaw not, but it was allegit to be vpoun a band.

About this time certane letteris wer proclaimed in Sanct Androis, be the regentis grace, difchargene the collectouris, becaus (as the lettres fpecifeit) of the complent of the pur minifteris that wer not payit, and be-caus that the kingis houfe was not provydit nor payit of that which was appointed vnto it of the thridis.

It was thocht that thir letteris wer reafed be the erle of Mortone, vnto whome the rector of Sanct Androis had writtin, fchawing that the col-lector wald not fuffer him to take vp certane dewties perteing to the bifhoprike, as the faid rector had allegit, who was appointed and made bifhop of Sanct Androis be the lord of Mortone, without ony confent, affent, or admiiffione of the kirke: Which lettres were difcharget againe be the regent, be meanes of the laird of Dun, who had writtin vnto the regentis grace certane lettres, quhilk followes:—

*The copie of a Lettre send be the Laird of Dvn to the Regentis grace.*

“I haue thocht expedient, in writ, to lat your grace know my judgment in thefe articles and heidis conteaned in your graces laft wryting.

“As to the penfoune befor appoynted to the regentis houfe, as I vnderftand litle difficultie wilbe thairin, your grace doand your dewtie to the kirke; of the quhilk, I pray God your grace doe. As to the provifione of benefices, this is my judgment: All benefices of teindis, or having teindis joyned or annexit thairto (which is taken vp of the peoples labouris), hes the offices joyned vnto thame, which office is the preiching of the evange, and miniftratioune of the facramentis; and this office is spirituall, and thairfoir belongs to the kirke, wha only hes the diftributione and miniftratioune of spirituall thingis. Sua, be the kirke spirituall, offices ar diftributed, and men receaved and admitted thairto; and the adminiftratioune of the power is committed be the kirke to bifchopis or fuperintendentis: Whairfoir to the bifchopis and fuperintendentis pertenis the examinatioune and admiffione of men vnto benefices and offices of spirituall cuire, whatfoeuer benefice it be, alfwell bifchoprikis, abbacies, and priories, as vther inferiour benefices. That this pertenis, be the fcriptoris of God, to the bifchop or fuperintendent, is manifeft; for the Apoftle Paull writtis in the 2 to Timothie, 2 cap. 2 verfe, ‘Thea thingis that thou hes hard of me, mony beiring witnes, the fame delyuer to faithfull men, which falbe able to teach vtheris.’ Heir the apoftle refers the examinatioune to Timothie, of the qualitie and habitie of the perfone, whair he fayis, ‘to men able to teache vtheris;’ and alfo the admiffione he referis, whair he biddis delyuer to him the fame that is ‘able to teache vtheris.’ And in ane vther place, 1 Timothie, 5 cap. 22 verfe, ‘Lay handis on no man fuddanlie, nather be partacker of vther menis finnis; keip thyfelf pure.’ Be laying on of handis, is vnderftand admiffioure to spirituall offices, the which the apoftle will not that Timothie doe fuddanlie, without juft examinatioune of thair maneris and doctrine. The apoftle alfo, wryting to Titus, bifchope of Creit, puttis him in remembrance of his office, which was to admitt and apoint minifteris in every citie and congregatioune; and that thei fuld not do the fame rafhlie, without examinatioune, he expreffed the qualities and conditiones of fome men as fuld be admitted, as at lenth is conteaneth in the firft chapter, in the epiftle foirfaid. The deacones that wer chofen in Jerufalem be the whole congregatioune, wer receaved and admitted be the apoftles, and that by laying on of thair handis, as Sanct Luke wrytis

in the 6 chapter of the Actis of the Apostles. This we haue exprest plainelie, be scriptoris, that to the office of ane bischope pertenis examinatione and admiffione into spirituall cure and office; and also to overfithame that ar admitted, that they walke vprychtlye, and exerce thair office faithfully and purly. To take this power fra the bischope or superintendent, is to take away the office of ane bischope, that no bischope be in the kirke; whilk wer to alter and abolishe the ordore that God has appointed in his kirke.

“Thair is ane spirituall iurisdictione and power, quhilk God has gevin vnto his kirke, and to thame that beiris office therein; and thair is ane temporall iurisdictione and power gevin of God to kingis and civile magistrates. Both the powaris ar of God, and maist agrieing to the fortifeing one of the vther, gif they be rycht vsed. But when the corruptione of man entiris in, confounding the offices, vsurping to him self what he pleiffis, nothing regarding the guid ordore apoynted of God; then confusione followes, in all estaitis. In the 1 of the Kingis, 12 cap., it is writtin, that Jeroboam, king, in presumptione of his autoritie, made preistis in his realme, expres against the ordor that the Lord in these dayis had appointed, twiching the priesthould, wherevpoun followed destructione of that king and his feid; and lykwayis of all vther kingis that followed him in that wickitnes.

“For the better vnderstanding of this mater, Christ hes gevin furth ane rule, which aught to be weayed of magistrates, and of all people, saying, ‘Give to Cesar that pertenis to Cesar, and to God that pertenis to God!’ The kirke of God shuld fortife all lawfull power and autoritie that pertenis to the civile magistrate, becaus it is the ordinance of God. But gif he pas the bowndis of his office, and enteris within the sanctuarie of the Lord, medling with sic thingis as apertenis to the ministeris of Godis kirke, as Vzziah the king of Judah did, (2 paral. 16), entering in the temple to burne incens, the whilk perteineth nocht to his office, then the serbandis of God fuld withstand his vnjust interprife, as did the bischope that tyme withstand the king of Judah; for so ar thei commandit of God. The serbandis of God, when sic wickitnes occures, fuld nocht keip silence, flattering princes in vaine pryde, bot withstand and reprove

them in their iniquitie; and wha dois vtherways is vnworthie to beir in Godis kirke ony office. Ane gritter offence or contempt of God and his kirke can no prince do, than to fet vp be his autoritie men in spirituall offices, as to creat bishopsis and pastoris of the kirke; ffor so to doe, is to conclude no kirke of God to be: ffor the kirke can nocht be, without it haue the owin power, iurisdictione, and libertie, with the ministratioune of sic offices as God hes appointed.

“ In speiking this, twiching the libertie of the kirke, I meane not the hurt of the king or vtheris, in thair patronages; bot that thei haue thair privileges off presentatioune, according to the lawes; provyding always, that the examinatioune and admiffioun perteine only to the kirke, off all benefices haueing cuire of foules. That it fuld nocht apeir that the pastoris of the kirke seikis, of avarice and ambitione, to haue possèssione of grit benefices, your grace fall vnderstande, that the kirke hes continowallie futed (of auld alswell as now), as thair articles concludit in the generall assemblie, and consentit and subscryvit be the most pairt of the nobilitie, which is to be produced, beiris; and was proponed to the queine, the kingis maiestis mother, to wit, that when euer ony of the grit benefices vaked, having mony kirkis joynd thairto, that all the kirkis fuld be devydit and feuerallie disponit to feuerall men, to serue everie one at his owin kirke. Of the whilk mynd, all that beir office in the kirke continowis; whairby it may be knowin, that thei seik nocht of avarice sic promotion, as is alledged; and I doubt not gif vtheris of the nobilitie were alswell purged of avarice and vther corruptione as the ministeris of the kirke, thei wald aggrie to haue fulfilled that thing which thair subscryvit with solemnpned oath: and as yet the kirke maist humble fuittis of your grace and counfall to haue the same fulfilled. Bot gif this can not be granted, I meane the dismembering (as thair call it) of the grit benefices, I traift, in respect of this confused trubulous tyme, the kirk will consent (the benefices and offices joynd therevnto being gevin after the ordore befor spokken, that the privilege and libertie of the kirke be not hurt), to assigne sic proffitis as may be spaired aboue the ressonabill sustentatioune of the ministrie of the kirkis of sic benefices, to the mentenance of the auctoritie and commoune estairis, for the present, while farder order may

be tane in thea matteris: ffor the kirke contendis not for warldlie proffeit, but for that spirituall libertie whilk God has gevin vnto it; without the whilk be granted, the fervantis of God will not be satisfiied, but will oppone thaim felues againt all power and tyranny whilk presuppone to spoile the kirke of the libertie thairof, and rather to die than to live vnder that miserable bondage. Thair lyves ar not to thame so deir as is the honor of God and libertie of his kirke. I heir say, sum man bragis and boastis the puire ministeris of God, to take thair lyves from thame; bot I wische that sic men conteaned thaim felues within bowndis, for thei ar not fuire of thair owin lyfe: and to run that race will mak it moir sehort. Off auld the papistis called the treuth heresie, and now some callis the treuth treafone. We may perceave, in all ages and tymes, Sathan wantis not his fervantis to impugne the treuth!

“As to the questione, Gif it be expedient ane superintendent to be quhair ane qualeseit bischope is? I vnderstand that ane bischope or superintendent to be but ane office; and whair the one is the vther is. But having some respec̄t vnto the caise whairvpon the questione is movit, I ansuer, the superintendentis that ar placed aucht to continow in thair offices, nochtwithstanding ony vther that intrufes thaimfelues, or ar placed be sic as hes no power in sic offices. They may be called bischopis, but ar no bischopes, but idoles (Zachar. the 11, cap. vi), saith the prophet. And thairfoir, the superintendentis, which ar called and placed orderly be the kirke, hes the office and iurisdictione; and the vther bischopis, so called, hes no office nor iurisdictione in the kirk of God, for thai enter not be the doure, but be ane vther way, and thairfoir ar not pastoris, as fayis Christ, but theivis and rubbaris.

“I can not bot lament, from my verie hart, that grit misorder vsed in Striveling at the last parliament, in criateing bischopis, placing thame, and givand thame vote in parliament as bischopis, in despite of the kirke and hie contempt of God; having the kirke opposing itself againt that misorder. They wer not hard, bot boastit with threatenings; but thair boasting was not againt man, bot againt the eternall God, whois ordinance public̄lie they transgressed: What followed thairvpon is knowin. God hes powar to destroy and to faue! He is ane mychtie Lord, able to

preferve the innocent, and caſt down the pryde of the mightie! I heir that ſome wer offendit with the commiſſioneris of the kirke at that tyme, but without cauſ, for they paſſed not the boundis of their commiſſione; and the whole kirke will affirme thair proceedingis, and will inſiſt farder in that mater: ffor gif that miſordered creatione of biſchopis be not reformed, the kirke will firſt compleane vnto God, and alſo vnto all thair bretherin, memberis of the kirk within this realme, and to all reformed kirkis within Europe. Some counſallouris thinkis now guid tyme to conqueis fra the kirkis (being now, as thei judge, weake and poure), privileges and profetit to the temporall auctoritie: bot gif thair wer no vther particular reſpectis nor the auctoritie, I judge thai wold nocht travell fo buſſilie. But what reſpect focuer thai haue, thair unrychteous conqueiſt and ſpoilye of the kirke fall not profite thame, but rather be ane cauſ to bring plague and deſtructione, both vpoun the heid and counſallouris of ſie ambitione. Becauſ the ſervantis of God ſpeakis in this mater, reproving menis corruptione, they ar called proud, that miſknowis thair owin place, and knowis not with whom thai deale, as thoecht thei wer Godis and yit ar bot fleſhe. Lat ſie men vnderſtand, of whatfocuer eſtair thei be, that the miniſteris of Godis kirke has receavit ane office of God aboue thaim, whairvnto thei aucht to be ſubject and obedient; and hes reſſaued ane richter treaſure nor thei, thoecht it be in earthen vaſſellis, as ſays the apoſtle Paull, 2 Cor. 4 cap., 7 verſe, and hes receaved ane power of God to caſt down and deſtroy the pryde of man, and to bring in ſubjectione all thingis that exaltis the ſelf againſt God, 2 Cor. 10, 5.

“The Lord will not that his ſervantis, in executeing and vſing thair office, ſeir men, how mightie and potent that euer thai appeir to be; and as it is written, Eſaij 51, cap. 7, ‘ſſeir ge not the reproch of men, nather be affrayed of thair rebukis and threatningis, ffor the mothe fall eate thaim vp lyke a garment, and the worme fall eate them lyke woll; bot my rychteouſnes ſalbe for euer, and my ſalvatione from generatioune to generatioune.’ The ſpreit of God entering in the hart of his ſervantis, gives thaim ſie ane teſt of his power and maieſtie, and ane ſicht of his judgmentis, that with thame the enemies of God and his kirke are nothing regarded, but compted as duſt befor the wind, and as wax befor



the fyre vnable to stand, but to perishe in the day of the Lordis visitatioune. They will, according to thair dewtie, reprove vngodlines and withstand all iniquitie; and as to the malice and truble reafed against them be the wicked powaris of the world, to thair owin dampnationne, thei will patientlie indure; ffor thairin consistis the patience of the sanctis, ffor thei sie a glorious end to follow thairvpoun.

“Some men in thair corruptione, as thair wordis hes declaired, purposfes in tyme of truble craftelie to handle the kirke, whill all thir troubles be pacifiet. Lat sic men vnderstand, that sic euill purposfes makis the troubles to continow the longer! Bot thocht the troubles wer pacified, and thair confederat with Ingland, France, and Spaine, and all vther earthlie kingdomes, yit fall thair not be able to distroye the kirke of God, and libertie thair of; for the mychtie Lord, that hes bene ane protectour of his kirke in all aiges, and hes destroyed and cassin doune great impyres and kingdomes that made battell against his kirke, fall vse the same judgmentis against all men, that in thir dayis intendis the lyke: ffor he beiris to his kirke ane perpetuall loue, and is ane perpetuall defence and protectione to it, in this tyme, and for euer.

*“Ane admonitione of David to Kingis and Magistratis.*

“ ‘Be wyfe, O ze kyngis; be warned, ze that are judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with feir, and rejoyse befor him with reverence. Kis the Sonne, leaft the Lord be angrie, and so ze pereis from the rycht way; ffor his wraith falbe shortly kendled!’ Off Montrosse, the 10 of November, 1571.”

*The copie of ane vther Lettre sent to the Regent, fra the foirsaid Laird of Dvn, 14 November, 1571.*

“I being in Perth this Weddinsday, having thair ane affemlie of the kirke of Stormonth and Gowrie, being vnder my cuire, I receaued ane wryting fra your grace, twiching the conventionne to be in Leith of the fuperintendentis, the 16 of this instant; specifeing also ane inhibitioune that nothing sould be anfuert to the collectouris of the kirke. It is the first inhibitioune gevin to that effect, and I wisse at God it had not begune in your graces handis. The pure ministeris ar not conuict of ony cryme

or offence, and yit thair leving is commandit to be hauldin from thame. I persuaue the kirke so farre dyspyfed, that no wrong can be done to it. It may apair most iustlie to all men, that the destructione of the kirke and ministrie thair of is fought: ffor benefices ar gevin, and bischopis ar made at menis pleifoures, without consent of the kirke; and the puire thing apoynted be a law to susteane the ministrie is inhibite to be anfuert. Gif this hes procedit for obtaining the pensioune assignit to the first most godly regent, that mycht haue bene handled vtherwayis, moir ressonabill: ffor I know the mynd of the kirke, willing to haue satisfiet your grace thairin. And that mycht haue bene obtaned be a guid writting. Bot it feames to me that men intendis to bring the kirke vnder slaverie and vile subjectione: bot the grit Lord wilbe enemie to thair purposos, and bring destructione vpon the heidis of sic as so intendis, of whatfoeuer estait thei be, and will preferue his kirke in libertie.

“ Perceaving sic proceedingis, I sic no caus qubairfoir ony that bearis office in the kirke fuld come to Leith; for thair counfall will nocht be refused, nather suffered to resson frielie, as experience hes teachet in tymes past; and the counfall of the enemies of God and his kirke followed: yit dyspyfed Israel is comforted in the Lord! He caires for his people, and will deliyuer thame from the opprestione of tyrantis, and gif thame honour and libertie, when thair enemies fall suffer confusion and schame!

“ Gif your grace will consider the mater weill, ye will call bake the lettres of inhibitioune: gif ze will not, the kirke will haue patience, and luik for help at the handis of the Lord. The kirke fuld enjoy hir owin, and nocht begg at men. I haue slayed the Superintendent of Fyfe, whill my cuming to Sanct Androis the morne, whill we know farder your graces mynd, gif it be your pleifoure, with this beirare.”

*The copie of the Regentis Lettre to the Laird of Dun, Superintendent of Angus and Mernes, for discharge of the lettres of Inhibitioune.*

“ Rycht traillie cowfine, Efter maist heartlie commendatiounes, in place of your self, whome we haue long luiked for, we haue receaved this day tuo lettres of youris, one from Montros the tent, and the vther from Perth the 14 of this moneth, containing vther effect and matter nor our expect-

tatioune was; in consideratioune of our guid meaning to haue travillit, be all possible meanes, for the quyeting of sic thingis as wer in contraverfie, that the ministeris of the kirke mycht haue fund some ease and repose, and we releavit of ane fashious burding that we haue, in default of a certane forme accordit vnto the dispositioun of benefices, great and small.

“Our said meaning we perceave is vtherwayis tacken, which we vnderstand to proceed from vther private fontanes then your owin guid nature; and so will we not preis to contend meikle with you in writte, be reafone of this mater, as the wecht and gravitie thair of requyris. We haue bene very desyrous indeid to speake your self, specialie, sen we wer burdenet with this charge of regiment; and your awin presence, peradventure, mycht haue supplied sum thingis that your lettre findis fault with. Bot seing materis tacken as thei are, that all occasioun of ground may be removid for ony thing done be us, we send yow heirwith againe a discharge of the inhibitioune laillie gevin: for as we have livet heirtofoir (praisit be God) honorablie on our awin, so fall we forbear to crave the collectouris, whill this mater be better considerit of: And yit, when indifferent men fall luik vpon the wordis of the inhibitioune, the intencion quhairfor it is gevin, and for how short a space it fould haue lasted, we traist they fall thinke that it aught not to haue bene tane in sic pairt as we sie it is tacken.

“Gif collectouris be subjectis to the king (of vtheris we will spare to speike at this tyme), they mycht compeir when thair are chargit, and nocht write, in contempt. Lat almonie charges pas as pleis, thei will obey none; and this we meane of sic as be most ewest. What the vther regentis had intendit to be takin vp, and that we falbe frustrat thair of, which yit was nocht the grittest occasioun why we desyred sum of the superintendentis to haue bene heir at this tyme. Bot thir mater is twichid in our lettre send yow, whilk albeit we sent it for your privat informatioun, git being stanfed, we sie rather extremitie meanit to stoppe the helping of the mater, nor vtherwais ony mentioun of quyeting or ordering of thingis amifs; as trewlie our meining it was, and is still, to procure the reformeing of thingis disordered, in all fortis, als farre as may be, reteaning the privileg of the king, crown, and patronage.

“The default of the whole standis in this, that the policie of the kirke

of Scotland is not perfyte, nor any folide conferrence amonges godly men that ar weill willed and of judgment, how the same may be helpit; and for corrutione which daylie increffis, whensoever the circumstancs of thingis falbe weill considerit be the guid ministeris, that ar nather buffie nor owre defyrous of promotiones to thame and thairis, it wilbe found that some have bene authoris and procureris of thingis that no guid polycie in the kirke can allow: Whairanent we thoct to have conferred speciallie with your self, and to haue yeildit to yow in thingis reffonabill, and crave satisfiactiōne of vther thingis alyke reffonabill, at your handis, and be your procurement.

“Gif ge sie no caus that ony that beiris office in the kirke of God shuld come to Leith, I mon tak patience, and deferre the mater to the convention of the estaitis of the realme, be whome I was burdened with this office; and will mak them, and all the godlie in Christiandome, judges betwixt them beiring office in the kirke ge wryt of and me, whidder I haue not focht thair satisfiactiōne, or gif thei haue nocht neglected the meanis and occasiōnis that was maist appeirand to bring quyetnes to the pure ministeris of the kirke. And in the meime tyme I will ansuer no farther to the speciall poyntis of your lettres, but will keip the same to my self, while tyme and better advise worke effectis.

“Gif ge of your self only haue writtin, then thair is one way to be considered of; gif be commoune consent of ony number of thame bearing office in the kirke, then ar they to be vtherways ansuerit, as tyme and place seruis. And so far for this tyme suffering, and ceising to mak longer lettre, committis yow to the protectiōne of the almightie God. At Leith, the 15 day of November 1571. Jouris assured freind,

JOHNE, *Regent.*”

The 17 of November, the lord of Mortoun departed furth of Leyth towardis Berwicke, to speike and conferre with the lord Hunisdale, wha returned the last of the same. Of his buffines done thair, we referre to this lettre of Alexander Hayis, and to the end of the proceedingis thair of, which God bring to his glory! Bot few godly beleivis that ony comfort fall come to his kirke be the lord of Mortounis meanes, wha mair feikis

the destructione of the kirke, in depaupering of the same, then ather he feikis Godis glorie, or the weill of this present caus, &c. Tyme will try all thingis !

*Alexander Hayis Lettre.*

“Sir, I ressaunt your writting of the vj of this moneth fra the superintendent, not long befor Johne Brand delyuerit to me Richard Bannatynes lettre of the 14 of November, which I had not sene quhen himself was heir. I had no commoditie to write at the depairture of the superintendent, nor knew not certainly his dyet. As to the lettres writtin be you to my lord the last regent, now resting with God, I can not certainlie affirme whidder I haif it or not; bot gif it be in my handis, it is in Striving, whair I fall searche for it, at my passing thither; and gif I haif it, I fall send it to you.

“I haue no farder certantie of the Englishe resolutiounes, toward our estait, nor I had at my last wryting to you, for no ansuer is returned from the court. The lord Hunifdailis dealing is nocht pleifing: whither his owin imperfectiones of nature, or commandement, is the occasione, I will not judge yit. They haue set out in England our queinis lyfe and proces, both in Latine and Englis; whairin is conteinet the discourse of hir tragicall doingis, the proces of the erle of Bothuelis elengeing, hir fonetis and letteris to him, the depositiounes of the persones execute, and cartellis efter the kingis murther. In apeirance they leive nothing vnsett out, tending to hir infamy, and to make the duke of Northfolke odious, wha hes a grit benevolence of the people. But thair slaw resolutiounes in that cuntrey dois us grit harme heir, and is lyke aneughe, in worldlie apeirance, to prove incommodious to thame seluis at lenth. We may not command, and swa necessarily man suffer.

“Be commone report of some comed from Flanderis, we heir the newis of the Turkis overthrowe affermed; for the which fyres wer made in London: That thair hes bene a counfall at Bruxellis, and aid of money, men, and munitione granted to our aduerfaries, at the lord Seatonis procurement. He was twyfe on the sea, and constrayned be tempest to returne. It is said the cardinall of Lorane was at the same counfall; and

that the prince of Oriange, with some vther princes of Germany and noblemen of France, wer come to the fronteiris of Flanderis; ffor resisting of whome, duke D'alva has drawin his men of warre from all the tounis whair thai lay in garayfoun, and fend them to the fronteiris: That thair is a guid number of schipis at Dover-raid, and vtheris the narrow fies, vnder the name of the prince of Oringe, whilkis hes taken mony of the buscheis and thair wachteris; and that thir shippis of the prince of Oreinge hes oversicht to make sale of thair weiris in ony part of the king of Frances dominions; which apeiris strange, gif it be trew, on the vther part, that the cardinall was at the counfall in Bruxellis.

“ It is reported also that the admiral is returnet to his houe, and the cardinall of Lorane returned to the court of France; that the marriage haldis forward betwixt the prince of Nawarre and madame Claud, the king of Frances sifter; and that the same prognosticatis a warre betwix France and Spaine. The admiral hes gottin the kingis licence that the protestantes may contribute amonges thaim selues, for payment of the money borrowed fra the queine of England during the tyme of the weiris; and the toun of Deip has elis payit fyve thousand franckis, as ane part of that contributioune. As I gett knowledge farder in forane materis, ꝛe fall, God willing, be made participant.

“ Thair hes bene some conference betwixt some of the superintendentis and ministeris, and my lord regentis grace, and the counfall, for agriement in materis twiching the policie of the kirke and dispositioun of benefices. The mater is differit till the viij of Januar. It seimes to defer rather in circumstances nor in effect; and, to speike treuth, I find the regent willing and desyrous to haue a forme agriet vnto, whilk I traift heould performe for his enterest. The stay of the aggriement in this hinderis alsweill the cause of the kirke as of the estaite, whairof I wald withe your habilitie mycht trie the best and the worst. Gif ꝛe haue with you the buike I fend yow when I come from England, intitulat *Leges ecclesiasticæ Anglicanæ*, or *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*, which is the worke of Johne Fox, I will pray yow fend the same to me with this beirar; and I fall doe gudwill to fend yow some vther buike to supplie the place of that, while I return it, gif ꝛe thinke it worth: ffor sic thingis being in

my handis as wer meit to decoir the historie, I asked of yow befoir what were the thingis you thought meit, for I have findrie thingis in my iudgement not vnmeit for that purpose? And therefore, that I fall not be put to extraordinary paines to copie thingis that ye have alreddie, let me know gif ony of the thingis heir after noted be convenient, and may serue your turne? Sic thingis as are newlie fett out, in print, I traift be not neidfull to be written; as the discours of the quenis doingis, hir lettres to the erle Bothwell, the proces of his clenging and cartellis, all which are fet out bayth in Latine and Englis; in the end of which Englis buik thir sentences or conclusiones are written, whilkis I thought not gude heir to slip:

“ ‘ Now judge, Englisemen, gif it be gude to change quenis,

O vniting confounding!

When rude Scotland has vomited up a poysone, most fyne England lick it vp for a restortive,

O vyle indignitie!

Whiles your quenis enemie liveth, hir danger continoweth; disperat necessitie will dar the vttermost.

O ambitione, fed with prosperitie, nurished with indulgence, irritate with adversitie, not to be neglected, trusted, nor pardonit!’

“ I have, bot thei ar in Striveling, the tuo processe of divorce betwix the erle Bothwell and his wyfe.

“ Some proclamatiounes about that tyme.

“ Instruktiounes gevin to the bifchope of Dumblane to excufe that mariage.

“ Band of the lordis befoir that mariage.

“ Declaratioune of the queine, that sho was at libertie efter her re-veiffing.

“ Proclamatioune and bandis at the kingis coronatioune and afoir.

“ Conditiones of the randering of Dumbar.

“ Some band maid about the parliament, in December 1567.

“ Proclamatiounes efter the feild of Longfyde.

“ Negotiatione with England thairefter, while we past to Yorke; and all the publiēt proces we had in England.

“ Articles at Glasgow, in Merche 1561

“ Ordour for the theives at the Bordecouris.

“ Articles of agriement with the erle of Huntlie, lord Ogilvie, erle of Crawford, Mackyntofche, laird of Grant.

“ New band of thaim with relapfe.

“ Projectis brocht hame with Mr Johne Woud, whairon followit the anfuer at the conventione at Perth.

“ The order tacking with the theivis, in October 1569.

“ Proclamatiounes be the erle of Suffex, twiching the rebellione in the north of England.

“ Actis and doingis efter the murther of the erle of Murray, regent.

“ Proclamatioune at the incuming of the Englifmen to Hammiltoun.

“ The constitutione of the erle of Lennox, regent.

“ And finallic, all sic comone thingis as past regifteris ar in my handis, and falbe at commandement how fone I haue commoditie to be in the rowme whair thei ar; and mon haue thame copeit out of the buikis, or whair thei ar in ferollis, fall fend the ferollis.

“ Thus having to long trublet yow, efter my maift heartlie commendatiounes, committis yow in the proteccion of the Almychtie God. At Leyth, the xiiii day of December, 1571.

“ Jouris affiuiredlie to vse and command,

(*Sic fubfcribitur*)

A. HAY.”

*Ane vther of his Letteris; which fuld have beine befoir this vther.*

“ Sir, Returning yifternycht to Leith, I met with Richard, be whome I thoct meit to fend yow thir few lynis, with my maift heartlie commendatiounes. I wald be glaid to write to you guid newis in our expeditiounes at this journey; but I know weill ge layke not to be abufed with vncertanties and vntreuthis: git according to my knowledge and opinione, ge fall vnderftand as I can lerne. The lord Hunifdaill had ample commiffiounes; but, as now appeiris, fa reftriected be inftructions, as he could do nothing but minaffe thame in the caftle, and heir what on our part was craved and offered; and fwa to adverteis the queine and counfall. The merfchell was in full reddines to pas to the court, when we come from Berwicke this laft Weddinfday. He hes with him the writtis of baith, and



is to give informatioun of the fait of this cuntrie; whairvpon it is thoct resolutioun falbe tacken anent the fending out of ane armie, whair of thair is alreddie some lickleheid, bot no sic fordwardnes as our necessitie craves. The matter is apparent to continow in suspence, while the mercchelis returning, who hes not only the informatioun of both pairties in Scotland, but the opiniones of the captanes and best experimentit men of warre in Berwicke, how the enterpryse may be performed. He luikis to haue the conducting of the forces; yit vtheris judges that men of gritter calling falbe imployit in that service, and that whensoever the power cumis, it falbe gritter nor we haue requyred or yit luikis for. The first assay that the castle hes gottin is be boasting and perfwaciones; it is thoct nixt it falbe perfewed be offering silver for it; and lastly by force; and in cais it be recoverit be ony of the last meanes, men doubtis that the queine of England fall not be content to want it hir self, for hir suirtie, at this hand. Sua I can not tell what to say, but to behald what it falbe Godis pleifour to worke. The cauldnes of the dealing of England puttis mony in a brangle: and yit I feir they laike nocht reafone to give for the fassione of thair doing; for thei ar aquentit weill aneugh with our natures, and ar not ignorant of our fetches, as thei dissemble not in thair speiking, as I lament thair is sa just caus: ffor gif it wer ather peace or weir, some resonabill order of leving wer for men. Bot as it is, all true and honest men ar wreakit, every noblman having his particular intelligence, and ane at leif to whome he is patrone, althocht it be of the cheifst enemies to the kingis obedience and commone caus. When England findis us craving ayde to suppres the aduerfareis in generall, and yit every noblman to procure the favetie of ane of the cheifst in particular, na doubt thair smell our doingis, and ar the mair flaw to resolue in ony thing tuiching us. Now I wearie you, and sua will mak ane end.

“ I was defyred be the guid wyfe, the clerke of registeris wyfe, to fend you the copeis of some thingis, according to a memorie left with Richard; whair of I haue part, and vther part ar not in my handis. My absence this whyle hes stayed that I could not satisfie yow; but alffare as I can I fall fulfill that memorie, and sic thingis farther as ge thinke worthie, being in my handis, vpon your aduerteisment I fall travell to feike thaim. Thus

after my most heartlie commendatiounes, I committ you in the proteccion of the Almichtie. At Leith, the first of December, 1571. Jouris affluireddy to command,

(*Sic subscribitur*)      ALEXANDER HAY."

About the viij or ix day of November, 1571, captane Clifme went with his band of ane hundret men out of Leith to pas to the north; and efter come to Dundy, whair captane Wedderburne tuike vp ane vther band; wha altogether, with a certane horfmen vnder Alexander Campbellis charge, past forward to the north, and met with the maister of Forbes, wha was thair cheif procurirer for the former defeat he got be Adam of Gordoun, wha a little befoir had not only defeat the Forbeffis, as befoir is said, bot also went to the hous of Touny, whilk he brunt, and 24 perfounes in the fame; nener one escaping but one woman that come through the cornes and hather whilk was cassin to the hous fydis, whairby thei wer fiored. This was done vnder assuiraunce; for the lard of Toweyis wyfe being sifter to the lady Crawford, and also died within the hous, send a boy to the laird in tyme of the trewis (whilk was for the space of xij hours), to sie on what conditiones thai fuld rander the hous. In the meintyme Adam Gordounis men laid the cornes, and tymber, and hather about the hous, and fet all on fyre. The foirfaid companies, with the maister Forbes and his freindis, and certane bowmen of the lady Crawford, come fordward with the maister of Merfchell and the laird of Drvm; bot vpon weddinnsday the 9 of November, the maister of Merfchell and the lard of Drvm come bake, and left the maister of Forbes, becaus the regent had writtin a lettre to the maister of Merfchell to come to Leith: Whidder becaus the said maister Forbes wold nocht follow his counfall, till caus his company retere till Adam of Gordounis company were scalet furth of Abirdeine (wha wer thair for the tyme), or whidder he was not willing to enter in battell against the said Adam, I know not; but alwayis he went backe, and the suddartis wald nocht stay, but wold gae fordwardis. For tuo dayis befoir thai wer very scairee of victuallis; and so vpon tuisday the 20 of November, they come with the maister Forbes and his company, within a myle to the toun of Abirdeine. Adam Gordoun having

his men freshe, come furth, and (as said is) had no will to medle with the vther, becaus thei wer thrife so mony hagbutteris as he was; bot our fuddartis, seing the enemie, foulisilie wold gae vpon thame and skyrmise; and so thair powder being spent, the vther with his horsmen and bowmen come vpon thame and gaive thaim the defait; whair captane Chifme and a grit number of his best fuddartis died. The maister Forbes was tane, and fundrie of his freindis slaine. The maister of Forbes bowmen gaue backis, and did no guid.

Be meanis of this victorie, Adam Gordoun thinkis now to play the king; and gois about and takis all gentlemenis places that will not obey the queine; and sua rewles he all the north, at this present, as he pleifes. God schorten his tyme! He maid no little seiking and searche for the lady Forbes (who now beiris the blame of all the wrake of the Forbessis), whome, gif he had gottin (as was reported) nothing suld haue fauet her lyfe.

Efter the lord of Mortonis homecuming, lettres wer direct to ansuer the new bishope of Sanct Androis, Mr Johne Dowglas, rector, of all the fruitis of the said bishopricke.

The 25 day of November thei had a fast in Edinburgh: "Therefoir," said the bishope, "God hath hard thair prayeris, as experience declaired be the victorie last in the north!"

Thuirfday the fext of December, Mr Johne Dowglas and the superintendent, Mr Johne Wynname, departed out of Sanct Androis towards Leith; becaus the laird of Dvn, at the regentis defyre, had writtin for the superintendentis, and sum vther commisioneris of the kirke, that some order mycht be tane about the provisione of the kingis hous, of a part of the thriddis (as the lettres befoir direct specified), and for creating of the said Mr Johne Dowglas to be bishope of Sanct Androis; whairof mair will enfew.

The tent of December was captane Hakkerstoun tane againe, and 50 fuddartis with him; and vij or viij slaine. Captane Mitchale also was tane, and vj or vij with him (following the chaife), within the Kirke of Feild

port; for that carnise was about the Borrowmuire (called the Lowfie law), whair Hakkerstoun was tane about the loche. Some thinkis that gif our suddartis had done thair dewtie, thair had bene mac of the vtheris gottin, and a gritter vantage also. It is suspected thei bair with vther, for gif the warres ceise they will get no moir vages.

The maner of captane Hakkerstounis tacking and his cumpany was— Certane horfmen wer vpoun the muire, casting doun coils and vther laidis cumand to Edinburgh, whilk causit Hakkerstoun come furth; and sua the horfmen trainis thame als far of as thei could fra the toun; and being a guid space of, ane that was apointed vpoun Salisberrie, maid ane signe to ane ambuſche, which was laid in the Abbay, and so come vpoun thame and tuike thaim, as said is.

In this fame weike the fuldeartis of Edinburgh come to a manis hous of the Cannogait, and shot the man with a pistolet that he died, and spoiled his hous. The lyk did thair befoir to ane guidwife in the Deine, whome thair shot with culveringis, becaus shoe wald not oppin the houſe doure vnto thaim; which woman was with childe, and had fyve or sex vtheris befydes. O Lord, confidder and behauld sic crueltie, and revenge the fame!

*The copie of ane Lettre fend to Mr Robert Pont, Commissioner of Murray, whairby may be vnderstand the doingis and intreatingis of the puire faithfull Ministeris in the North. [Mr Robert Pont was in Sanct Androis, and come out of Murray for the same troubles.]*

“ Ryght honorabill, After salutations in the Lord Iesus, this present is to adverteis yow that the bretherine of the ministrie within the bowndis of your commiffione are evill handlet, and rigorouſlie entreated; ffor laitlie, vpoun the 13 day of this instant of December, ane certane number of thame were called befoir the laird of Achindowne, and the schereff of Murray, and thair deputtis, in ane lievetennent court, to vnderly the law for treasonable defectione from the quenis autoritie to the kingis; and for geving obedience vnto him; and for praying for him and his auctoritie; and for brecking and contraveining of the act of parliament made in Edinburgh be the quenis commiffioners, chargene all the superintendentis,

comiffioneris, and minifteris, to pray for the queine, hir authoritie, and lievettentis, in thair publiēt fermondis and prayeris; and for blafpheming of hir hienes maieftie, in calling hir idolatres, adulteres, murtherere, and Jefobell. Be reffone of which, fome hes drefsed and componet privatlie, as this beirare will fehaw yow; vtheris are fugitive; fome are come in will, whilk will is declaired to be this—to renunce the kingis auētoritie, and to give obedience to the queine and hir auētoritie, in tymes cuming; and to pray for hir and hir lievettentis in thair publiēt prayeris and fermondis; the quhilk thei haue promifed, and hes fet cawtione to doe the fame: And vtheris, fic as the perfone of Duffois, Robert Keth, William Pet, and my felf, defyring continowatioune vnto the tyme we mycht confult with yow, the minifter of Abirdeine, his minifteris, and the learned men amonges whom ȝe refort; the which thai haue refufed to grant, but hes forced vs, for the very feir of our lyves, instantlie to fet fovertie and cawtione to vnderly the law in Abirdeine, the tent day of Januar nixt. Whairfoir we defyre yow moft effectuouslie, as ȝe tender the prefervatioune of our lyves, and as ȝe wald behaive ȝour felf, gif ȝe wer in our place, to lat vs haife your advife and confultatioune, and of the faythfull bretherin in thea pairtis, how and in what maner we fould behaive our felues in this behalf, for efchewing of thir inconvenientis: ffor ane of tuo thingis are offered vnto vs; to wit, death, gif we be conviēt of treafone; or elis obedience to the quenis auētoritie, and praying for hir. Referring all vther thingis to you, and guid anfuere anent the premisses with the nixt faithfull perfone that comes betwixt; and gif neid beis, that ȝe hyre ane and fend to us, vpoun our expenffis, with all expeditione. The quhilk we dout not bot ȝe will doe, as our lipning is in yow: And the Lord God haue yow in his proteētioune. From Elgyne, the 15 of December, 1571. Be your brethir in Chrift, at command,

ALEXANDER WYNCHESTER, minifter at Elgyne, &c.”

Dyvers vtheris wer compellit befoir to leive the cuntrie, becaus thei wold nocht pray for the queine, etc.; but none were fummoned, be ony order of pretendit law, till now.

About the 10 or 12 of this Decceber, come home ane fchip of An-

fruther, whairin was gottin of Spaines ryallis about 11000 lib. or thairby. Whidder it was merchant menis, or for vther purpofes, tyme will try. Always it was fend to Leith to the regent, etc. that tryall fould be tane.

About the 24 or thairby of December, was apprehendit ane that keipit ane hoafflare at Brechin; who befoir, at diuerse tymes, had murdered fundrie that come to ludge with him; the wyfe beand also als buffie as the man, with a mell, to fell thair gheastis fleijping in thair beddis.

The beginning of Januar thair come a drvm from Edinburgh to Leith, demanding, Gif they wald fight 50 of Leith against als monie of thame? Bot when thei offerit to fight for the kingis aëtion whilk was in debait, the vtheris refused, as Grange befoir did Gairleis.

The first of Januar come in to Leyth one Mr Carie, sone to the lord Hunnifdaill; who went to the castle, and defyred thaim to make the toun patent to the kingis subjeëtis, as Mr Cafe did of befoir. Giff thei help not to delyuere that toun, and to hearie that nest of the castle of Edinburgh (which is the caufe of the trubles that wer in England, and yit fall make moir againe), they fall drinke the dregis that hes bene browin within it!

About this tyme, to wit, the 5 or 6 of Januar, Johne Law, the poft of Sanët Androis, being in Edinburgh, and also in the castle, ane demaundit, Gif Johne Knox was baneift Sanët Androis, and gif that his fervant Richard was deid? Who, knowing no sic thing, confeffit the treuth. But the ladie Home and vtheris wald neidis thraip in his face that he was banift the said toun, becaus that in the yarde he had raifet some fanëtis, amonges whom thair come vp the devill with hornis; which when his fervant Richard saw, ran woude, and so died. O Lord, heir thow thir blafphemeis spoeken against thy fervand, for speiking of the treuth, and for declairing vnto them of that hous that thy justice man neidis puneis thair crewell murtheris and oppreffiones!

Giff this had bene thair first inventit lie, I wald neuer haue bleckit paper for it; but that the world may know thair invennowmed myndis against thaim that speikis against thair impieties; whome, when thei can not vtherways be revengit of, according to thair wicked and devilishe

myndis, thei goe about thus to slander and misreport, to thair owin schame and confusione.

At this tyme, to wit, the 6 or 7 day of Januar, ane Anderfone, ane corporall or serjant to captane Mitchales band, that lay in the Abbay, being at singulare combate vpoun Craigengate with ane suddart of the toune; who being overcome be the said Anderfone, and perceavit be some of Edinburgh suddartis, ane went privileie behind sum dyke and shot the said Anderfone, against all law of armes or honestie, etc.

The parliament that was befor at Striveling, in August last, was continued to the fyftein of Januar to be in Leyth, and so to rune from dyet to dyet as thair pleis; and now dois it run to the last of Februar.

Befor the dyet of this parliament (quhillis runes as said is), till the 26 of Februar, thair was ane assemblie of the kirke, thinking that the parliament shuld haue haldin, to the end the kirke mycht haue asked sic thingis as apertained to the liberties thair of, etc. off the regent and counfall: Whairat the waster part being convenit, as thair were befor warned to doe, defyrit the thingis that wer thair done, at this assemblie, mycht stand in effect of ane generall assemblie, in respect that thair being warnit to this, could nocht come to Sanct Androis at the 6 of Marche, whair the assemblie was appointed, becaus of the trublfumnes and dangeris be the way: And thairfor this assemblie satisfies thaim of the west quarter for ane generall assemblie; whilk yit nochttheles fall hauld at the 6 day of Marche, in Sanct Androis.

The thingis done at this assemblie, be the commissioneris that wer apoynted to treat with the regent and counfall, ar to be reported to the assemblie at Sanct Androis, to begin the 6 of Marche nixt; whilk ar contained in ane buike maid for that purpose, of the ordore of electione of bischopis, &c., for ane interim.

At this tyme Mr Archibald Dowglas, as was reported, gat a tollerance of the kirke to bruike his benefice, while befor the kirke refused, becaus he was found vnmeit, when he was examined at Striveling, in August preceeding. Sic doingis causes the godly mislyke thair proceedingis, whilk will at lenth prove Godis plagues, seing sic corruptione fa founne to enter into the kirke.

In regifter it was apointed to be put the exercife made be the Mr Archibald Douglas, made at Striveling in the affembly, in Auguft 1571; who, being commandit to prepare him felf for the fame be the kirke, fend Mr Walter Gourlay, to bid him be reddie againft the morne (as he was apointed befor to that day), fand him playing at the tables with the laird of Bargany; and efter he had receavit the kirkis charge, in wrait, fra the faid Walter, anfuert, "Why not? Ze may fay I am at my fudy!" On the morne, when he come to the place of examinatioune, wanting a pfalme buike, and lukiug till fum guid fellow fuld len him ane, Mr Dauid Weymis bad give him the Greicke teftament (per Ironiam); but he faid, "Think ye, fir, that everie minifter that occupeis the pulpit hes Greik?" And when he had gottin the pfalme buike, after lukiug and cafting ower the leives thereof a fpace, he defyrit fum minifter to mak the prayer for him; "ffor," faid he, "I am not vfed to pray." Efter he red his text, quhilk was the . . . chapter of . . . Efter he fayis, "ffor the connexion of this text, I will reid the thing that is befor," and fua red a guid fpace, till he come whair he began; and fwa continowed his exercife with mony hoiftly nofes, &c. Ze may perceave it was fruitfull, feing he could nocht pray at the beginning!

O Lord, what falbe faid whan sic dumb dogis falbe sufferit to mock the miniftrie of thy word, and the treuth thairof, on this maner!

At this tyme wer commandit to waird 20 or 30 of the principall lairdis of Lowthiane and Fyfe, that wer favoreris of the caftle; fome to Ayre, Irwing, and Wigtoun. Among the reft, the laird of Weymis being charged, wha befor had bene feike, departed this lyfe.

Ther wer fummoued of Edinburgh to compeir at Leith the laft of this moneth of Januar, to the number of ten or twelf feoir of perfones, to vnderly the law, &c.; whairof a grit pairt fand fovertie.

Mr Thomas Maccalyene,  
Cuthbert Ramfay,  
Hew Lader,  
Peter Marteine,

Mr Thomas Martine, his fone,  
Dauid Crofbie,  
William Nifbett, merchant,  
Patrik Thomfone, potinger,



Williame Craike,  
 George Heriot, goldfmyth,  
 Mathow Aikman,  
 Allane Dickfone,  
 Williame Dickfone, his fone,  
 George Wachop, merchant,  
 Johne Wilfoun, maltman,  
 Edward Kincaid, maltman,  
 Johne Young, tailyeore,  
 James Forret, fkyner,  
 Thomas Mitchelfone, tailyeore,  
 James Cowper, tailgeore,  
 James Carmichael, merchand,  
 Adame Dickfone, potinger,  
 Andro Hammiltoun, merchand,  
 Johne Palmer, merchant,  
 Johne Clavie, candlmaker,  
 Williame Henderfone, bloud-  
 rodd,  
 Thomas Baffendene,  
 James Dalyell, elder,  
 Alexander Corbie,  
 Williame Flemyng,  
 Walter MacCaiky, couper,  
 Adame Allane, merchand,  
 Johne Grahame, drepere,  
 Johne Spottifwoud, merchand,  
 James Spottifwoud, drepere,  
 George Johnftoun, wax-maker,  
 Johne Ritchefone, fadler,  
 George Blyth, fkyner,  
 Williame Rea, cutlare,  
 Niniane Baty, merchand,  
 Mungo Fairlie, merchand,

David Fairlie, his brother,  
 Johne M'Gow, merchand,  
 Johne Henderfone,  
 Williame Fifchar,  
 Andro Fifchare,  
 Williame Fifchare, his fone,  
 Patrike Porteous,  
 Niniane Porteous, his fone,  
 Thomas Chrichtoun, meffinger,  
 Johne Spens, litftar,  
 Johne Guarden, litftar,  
 Stevin Ballendene, litftar,  
 Johne Cochrane, maltman,  
 Johne Wilkie, maltman,  
 Johne Reid, maltman,  
 Johne Forrefter, maltman,  
 Thomas Tullo, litftar,  
 Johne Wat, fmyth,  
 James Hunter, fword flyper,  
 Andro Paterfone, maltman,  
 Richard Paterfone, merchand,  
 James Aikman in the Over Bow,  
 Johne Thomfone, litftar,  
 Johne Calderwoud, fadler,  
 Arthour Grange, merchand,  
 Williame Anderfone, candl-  
 maker,  
 Williame Mudy, his fone-in-law,  
 Williame Deware, tailyeore,  
 James Henderfoun, maltman,  
 Thomas Andro, walker,  
 Thomas Alexander, tailyeore,  
 Johne Wilfoun, pewderer,  
 George Smyth, tailyeore,

- Robert Paterfoun, merchand,  
 Andro Robefone, skynner,  
 David Thomfone,  
 Walter Biniug, painter,  
 James Rynd, merchand,  
 Michael Rynd, goldfmyth,  
 Robert Muire, stabular,  
 Alexander Ramfay, stabular,  
 Alexander Ramfay, tailyeore,  
 Alexander Eleis, merchand,  
 Alexander Peerie, maltman,  
 Jolne Mudie, maltman,  
 Johne Mainie, merchand,  
 George Rynd, goldfmyth,  
 Johne Gilchriff, fmyth,  
 Williame Smyth, blackfmyth,  
 Williame Bricar, fmyth,  
 Mathow Smyth, blackfmyth,  
 Patrick Edzair, merchand,  
 Williame Symfone, litfar,  
 Robert Wealfhe, merchand,  
 Alexander Tennent, merchand,  
 Mr Johne Frude, advocat,  
 Johne Horne, skynner,  
 Williame Liddell, merchand,  
 Johne Watfon, fmyth,  
 Robert Dunlop, merchand,  
 James Norvell, tealyeore,  
 Andro Bartane, merchand,  
 Lawrence Symfone, tailyeour,  
 Thomas Paterfone, merchand,  
 Williame Fiddes, baxter,  
 Andro Darling, baxter,  
 James Mathefone, baxter,  
 Cuthbert Murray, merchand,  
 Cuthbert Mathefone, webfter,  
 Patrike Fulertoun, cordiner,  
 Guilliam, the French fmyth,  
 James Ogilvie, maltman,  
 The French futare,  
 Johne Bell, feidman,  
 Thomas Rowand, merchand,  
 Williame Layng, merchand,  
 Johne Elder, meilman,  
 Robert Ellane,  
 Johne Gevelocke,  
 Johne Gray, fafchman,  
 Williame Staiker, goldfmyth,  
 Alexander King, advocat,  
 Mr Johne Crawmond, his fervand,  
 David Lawtie, wryter,  
 James Adamfone, wryter,  
 Hew Adamfoun,  
 Jolne Reid, wryter,  
 Jolne Reid, wricht,  
 Alexander Stevinfoun, mer-  
 chand,  
 Johne Seleatar, meilman,  
 Williame Stewart, wryter,  
 Alexander Herrot, flefhore,  
 Johne Johnftoun, flefhore,  
 James Dobie, flefhore,  
 James Flemyng, flefhore,  
 Williame Dickfone, flefhore,  
 Thomas Hog, flefhore,  
 Williame Dobie, flefhore,  
 Johne Anderfoun, flefhore,  
 James Vr, flefhore,

Mr Johne Stoddart, merchand,	Mr Richard Millare, butterman,
Alexander Haiftie, mylwrycht,	Bartie Meane, couper,
Alexander Roger, meafone,	Johne Kyd,
Sincler, meafone,	Williame Joly,
Andro Newtown, barboure,	Patrik Murtho, fword flyper,
Johne Weddell, barboure,	Nicoll Blythman,
Walter Wawen, tailyeore,	Johne Blythman, flefchore,
Johne Coutis, wryter,	Dutche Hannis,
Williame Paterfone, baxter,	Alexander Burnet,
Johne Crechtoun, baxter,	Hercules Arnote, baxter,
Johne Cunynghame, wricht,	Johne Borthuike, baxter,
Johne Kennedy, wricht,	Johne Weymis, merchand,
Williame Purves, potinger,	Williame Craig, maltman,
Johne Scot,	Bernard Kellie, stabler,
James Robefone, lok-fmyth,	Johne Millar, fkyenner,
Andro Bartane,	James Hammiltoun, fkyenner,
Johne Steill,	Frances Bell, fkyenner,
Williame Watfone, drepere,	James Roger and his fones,
Johne Corfure, wryter,	George Lauder, maltman,
Alane M'Calla,	Williame Courtes, fkyenner,
Robert Borthuike, wryter,	Thomas Strugeon, baxter,
James Tailyeifeire,	James Sandelandis, merchand,
Williame Liddell, fmyth,	Johne Kid, worfet maker,
Johne Corfoure, merchant,	Williame Davidfone, fone and
Johne Heriot, litfter,	air to vmquhile Johne David-
Stevin Loche, glafin wricht,	fone,
Dauid Bynning, glafin wrycht,	Alexander Haiftie,
Alexander Bartilmo, burnman,	Johne Mewros, wrycht.

On weddinfday the penult of Januar, Claud Hammiltoun come to an hoflar hous, whair the laird of Wafterhall was, and auld Carmichall; wha, efter the hous was brint, randerit thaim felues, vndir conditione to haif thair lyes faif; and fwa thairefter come furth. But after thair armore

was tane fra thame, the said Claud sehoutis Wasterhall with a dag; and sua the rest dispatched him: The vther thei carie away prifoner.

The 28 of Januare, the lord of Mortoun come to Sanct Androis, for the chousing of ane new archbifchope; ffor the which purpose this edict was affixt vpoun the kirke dure, and also vpoun the abbay yeat, the 3 of Februar, being fonday.

*The copie of the Edict.*

“ Forfameikle as our soverane lordis lettres, vnder his hienes grit feill, ar directed to the deane and chapter of the metropolitan kirke of Sanct Androis, grantand thaim licence to chuse ane vther archbifchope and pastore; the feat now vacand, be the naturall death of the last archbifchope thairof, requyring us to chuse sic one, in name of the bifchope and pastore of the same, as falbe devoit to God and to his hienes, and to his realme profitable and faythfull: And to the effectis that the said electione may proceid to the pleifoure of God, and to the weill of the king, the kirk, and the realme, the sext day of Februar nixtocum is apointed: Requyring and chargene heirfoir all the godly ministeris nominat and apointed to represent the chapter in the reformed kirke, that thei be present at Sanct Androis the said day, to doe and performe that whilk to thaim in the said electione apertenis. Subferyvit at Leith, the 24 of Januar, the 5eir of God 1571” (2).

*The Ministeris that ar nominat to be present.*

The pryour of Sanct Androis, deane; the pryour of Portmouke.

The Ministeris of

Edinburgh,	Kinghorne,
Leith,	Linlithgow,
Perth,	Striveling,
Carraill,	Dumbar,
Cowpar,	Hadington,
Anstruther,	Dumfermling,
Dyfert,	Aberbroth,
Kirkaldie,	Fettercarne,

Dunce,	Lucheris,
Methwen,	Darfie,
Eglifgreig,	Kingair,
Forgone in Mearnes,	Lathriik,
Long Forgone in Gowry,	Marchinghe,
Roffie,	Scoine,

Maister John Wynrome, (Superintendent of Fife).

The second of Februar, post come to the lord of Mortoun, as he was depairted off the town of Sanct Androis to goe to Dundy, that the duck of Northfolk was beheadit, in the Toure of Londone, with 24 with him or thairby; which efter was knowin to be a lie.

The 6 day of Februar, which was weddinsday, Mr Johne Douglas, rector, gave specimen doctrine (as thei terme it), in the oppin pulpet of Sanct Androis, the lord of Morton beand present; and thairfoir sic as wer named in the former edict, so mony as wer present, war desyrit to conue in the abbay for the electione of the archbifchope, etc.

Vpoun fryday thairefter, Mr Patricke Cousting preiched; which day the perfones foirnamed conuenit in the abbay, whair meikle reffoning was about the chosing of the bifchope. In the end, the said rector was chosen archebifchope, notwithstanding that mony of the godly ministeris wer against it; and George Scot, minister of Kirkaldie, tuike ane instrument that he condiscendit not, etc.

Sonday the 10 of Februare, Johne Knox preiched, the lord of Mortone being present. He refused to inaugurat the said bifchope, which the superintendent of Fyfe did; who, efter the fermond, enterit in the pulpet, and made an exhortatioune to him that fould be elected, tane out of the first chapter of Titus, of the office of a bifchope. His exhortatioune endit, he followed the ordore which is vsed in electione of superindentis; whilk the superintendent demandit, and the rector anfuert, haueing thaim writtin in a papeir, reading his anfuertis efter everie questione. Mr Williame Cocke, baillie of Sanct Androis, anfuert it in the name of the whole people. And when all was done, the bifchope of Caitnes, Mr Johne Spottiswoud, superintendent of Lowthiane, and Mr Dauid Lind-

fay (which thrie, with the rector, sat befor the pulpet on a furme, the tyme of the fermond), laid thair handis and embraced the said rector, Mr Johne Douglas, in taiken of admiffione to the bifchoprike. Being asked, Gif any fimoniacall pactione was made or yit to be made with ony? Anfwered, That none was nor fuld be made. Being requyred, Gif he fould be obedient to the kirke, and that he fould vfurpe no power over the fame? Anfwered, That he wald take no moir power nor the counfall and generall affemblic of the kirke fould preferyve.

On the morrow, the lord of Morton departed the toun of Sanct Androis, towardis Leith.

Tuo or thrie dayis befor his departoure, word comis to him that Dalkeith was brint by thame of Edinburgh; for thei had bene in it, and brint 20 or 30 houffes, flew thrie men out of hand, and crewellie hurt and fpoyled diverfe, and fa meikle till thei wer repulst to the toun and the cattle.

The fame tyme word come that Pherniberst, with a cumpany of hag-butteris, war departed Edinburgh to burn Jedburcht, as thei wer indeid; bot the regent fent for refkew of the toun, the lord Ruthwen, with horfmen and foutmen; who, vpoun fettirday the ix of Februar, come to Jedburcht, the abbot of Drybruch being in his company. But Pherniberst, wha was in Hayke or thairabout, waittand vpoun the rest of his cumpany, hearing tell of his cuming, fent Balcleuch to take fome midis, that no bloud thuld be shed. The vther said, it fould be against his will gif ony bloud fuld be spilt; and fwa pat him off. Then the lord Ruthwen, and thei that wer with him, efter consultatioune taken, thought best to perfew the vtheris, and to be the first onfetteris; whilk thei did, and departed Jedburcht vpoun foday at thrie houris in the moirning, and fua come to Haike. Bot Pherniberst, and thefe that had horfe, fled; but thair wer tane of the fuddartis that come to compt iij<sup>xx</sup> and x. Thereftir thei tuike the houffes of Pherniberst, and pat men in thame. And thairefter the lord Ruthwen and Drybruch come to Leith home againe.

The 15 or 16 day of Februar, the lord Hereis come to Edinburgh;

and on the morne come to Leith, and spake the regent, and doeth what he can for ane agriance; ffor the quhilk purpofe, the merchell of Berwicke, Monsieur la Crocke, Frencheman, and Mr Randolph, fould come in to further the fame. God preferue us from gritter treafone, whilk iuftly may come, gif men credite faithles men! Maifter Randolph, who befor had departed out of Edinburgh the firft of Januar 1571 (2), with the merchell of Berwicke, come to Leyth the 21 of Februare; ffor they come befor to Dalkeith.

The fonday foirfaid that the archbifchope of Sanct Androis was inaugurat, fome mirrie heid pat vp this pafquile vpoun the New Colledge yett, and vpoun the kirke doure:

*Infomnium.*

Dum fecum æthercam gestans Ariadna coronam  
 Post Phœbum thecas pellit ad alta truces,  
 Miranti in fomnis, fubluftri nocte potentis  
 Munere Naturæ, mens agitata fuit.  
 Intuitus cœlum; cœli eft mihi vifa moveri  
 Nutu pollentis machina tota die.  
 Machina, fyderiis pulchrè variata figuris,  
 Vifa eft impositas accelerare vices.  
 Non aliter diftinéta fuis elementa moventur  
 Sedibus ætheriis, fub regione poli.  
 Subfidens gravitate folum, domus ampla legendis  
 Pifeibus oceanus, quam dea noctis agit,  
 Quadrupedum genus, et fcindentes acra pennis  
 Propetibus volueres, quæque animata vigent,  
 Singula proficiunt, nullo fine murmure, partes  
 Natura impositas, grataque vota canunt.  
 Lumina dehinc verteus Mariana palatia verfus,  
 Regales animi, celfa virùmque trias,  
 Occurrunt; Vulpes, pellax, vultuque tremendus  
 Muftaffas, cuius Protea dextra tenet.

Obstupui tria monstra videns, quæ terra profundo  
 Respirans gremio pignora chara tulit.  
 Et procul: O rerum juvenes! deuotaque diris  
 Pectora! Quæ tantæ vos tenuere moræ?  
 En triadem vocat horrifonis vlulatus ingens  
 Tartarus, inque suo aluio [mandat] adesse sinu;  
 Singula namque suas peragunt animantia partes;  
 Vos tamen imbelles actio nulla movet.  
 Muneris immemorem triadem dant pingua mensæ  
 Fercula, visceribus non tribuenda suis.  
*Vulpi.* An tibi fœmineæ sunt hæc concessa terendo  
 Inguine? Sic mandant alma statuta patrum?  
*Proteo.* An tibi pampineâ prælargum academia lymphâ?  
 Et dedit vt madidis contegerere comis?  
*Musiassæ.* An tibi vitales, quo viscera fœda repleres,  
 Imperij partes rex Mariana tulit?  
 Hæc pateris rector? Num te, cum pauperi scepro  
 Muneris oblitum, grandia ferre putem?  
 Quin caudam opponis Vulpi, quin cornua Baccho,  
 Quin deus adjungens vbera lata bonæ?  
 Efficis vt tandem triadis pigmenta patefcant,  
 Nostra quibus longe lumina decipiunt.  
 Sic ego, sic fessis fomnus me linquit ocellis;  
 Claraque processit, nocte abeunte, dies.

This pasquile cumeing abroad, it was not a litill displeasing to Mr Robert Hamiltoun, Mr Williame Skene, and Mr Archibald Hammiltoune; quha tuike the fame as put vp for thaim, in speciall; which I referre to him that knowes the fame.

Mr Randolph and the mercshell of Berwicke come in, about the 19 of Februar, as commissioneris from the queine of England, to treat vpoun agrieance betwixt the castle and toun of Edinburgh, and the kingis lordis, that wer in Leith in this trubulous tyme.



*The copie of the Lettre.*

“ This pacificatioune proponed be them, feames to tend to litle effect; ffor the aduersaries hes geuin a refusall to yeild thair obedience to the king, or to allow of the present regiment. Whilk tuo poyntis ar first proponet be the queine of England; and it apeiris now that sho is driven to come to that cours, for the saiftie of hir owin esteate; and persuadis the king of France to the lyke, be hir embassadour, sir Thomas Knycht. It is thocht, sho and France is agriet to the same end, and that Monsieur la Crocke is on the way repairand hetherward. The queine of Englandis liberalitie is not so extendit as the necessitie of our caus craves; whairthrow we ar put to no small hafard and strait with our men of weir—a dangerous people to haue to do with. Corruptione amonges our selues makis the weir long. The lord Flemyng had v<sup>c</sup> men, to come in Scotland, enrolled. This new freindschip betwixt France and England, stayes the king of France to allow thair passage; and thair ar in effect all stayed, except vij<sup>xx</sup> or viij<sup>xx</sup>, whilk the said lord intendis to embarke without armour or enfeingie, as marineris; and to land them at Crugletoun, &c., the 4 of Marche 1571—(2). Thair consciences, thair honouris, thair lyves, and thair heretage, they defyre to be affuireit and satisfiet,” etc.

In Februar, Mr Duncan Friffall, chanter of Ros, ane of the principall with Adam of Gordoun, was slaine be ane vther of thair owin men, in thair sporting; who, meitting vther with a certane cumpany, made the maner of a skymise; and so ane having a peice charged, not knowing a bullet to be in it, shot the foirfaid that he deid.

On monday the thrid of Marche, the lord Meffane was slaine with a peice shot out of the castle.

The sext of Marche the assemblie sat down in Sanct Androis, Mr Robert Hammiltoun beand chofen moderatore, whair of many lyked the worst: ffor thingis went not as the most godly and vpricht defyred; sua that Mr Patrike Creich, who befor for just causes was depyvyt of all fuctione in the kirke, was admitted agane to reid the prayeris in Hadingtoun kirke, gif

he and the toun culd agrie: ſea, vtheris wald haue had him reading whair ever he could, in ony place.

The ſuperintendent of Fyfe, Mr Johne Wynrome, gave over his office of ſuperintendentrie, be reaſone of the archbiſchope that fuld vſe the office: But the kirke, preſent aſſembled, continowed his preſent in his ſuperintendentrie, as of befor; not ſubject to the juridiſtione of the archbiſchope, but onlie to concurre with him in his viſitationis or vtherways, as the ſaid archebiſchope fall requyre, while the nixt generall aſſemblic. And ſicklyke, the ſuperintendents of Anguſe and Lowthiane to continow in thair offices while the ſaid nixt aſſemblic, in maner foirſaid; without prejudice of the ſaid archbiſchope of Sanct Androis, except be vertue of his commiſſione.

Alſo the ſaid aſſemblic or kirke, for certane cauſes moving thaim, continowes Mr Johne Douglas, archebiſchope, etc., in the proveſtrie of the New Colledge while the nixt generall aſſemblic; provyding alwayis he be diligent in viſitatione of his owin kirkis, perteing to his juridiſtione: and als, that he be cairfull to foirſie for ane to be placed in the ſaid proveſtrie, that will haue regard to the promotione of lettres therin, and of the weill of the college, conforme to the foundatioune therof.

Heir we may ſie what corrupcione the kirke is come vnto now, that puttis more vpoun the bake of ane auld vnable man then ten perſonis ar able to beir: flor efter he was chofen biſchope, the vniverſitie continowed him rector, which is aneuch for ane to diſcharge. Now alſo he is continowed in the proveſtrie of the New College, whilk lykwayis is ſufficient for ane manis charge, befydis the biſchoprike, quhilk ſex guid able men wald doe no moir then diſcharge that cuire; and yit, notwithstanding, all this is laid vpoun his bake, a man vnable to travell in body as a man ihuld doe, and more vnable of his tounge to teiche, the principall office of ane biſchope.

Johne Knoxis proteſtatione againſt this proceeding, eſpeciallie againſt the electione of this biſchope.\*

The nixt aſſemblic was voted to be haldin in Sanct Johnſtoun.

\* This proteſtation is not inserted in the MS.

The Englis ambaffadoris, to wit, Mr Randolph and the merchell of Berwicke, takis thair progres furth of Leith at this tyme; and come to Sanct Androis on tuyfday the xj of Merch, and departed on weddinfday, the xij day, to Dundie, whair thei abode that nycht; and on the morne departed towardis Sanct Johnstoun, and fo goes to Striveling to vifite the kingis grace; and fo returns againe to Leith.

They wer requesit be the proveist of Sanct Androis to cume and make mirrie in Darfie, the proveistis place (for the lord of Mortone had willit him fo to doe), but Mr Randolph refusit to goe, fo that provisione was in vaine. Nochttheles, leif the proveistis provisione fould altogether haue bene lost, he called the new bifchope, Mr Robert Hammiltoun, and the commiffar of Sanct Androis, callit Mr Williame Skeyne, in thair place, that refusit to come. And this was the first vifitacione the bifchope maid out of Sanct Androis! Efter this vifitacione (as a mirrie man said), he past to Darfie kirke, &c.

On twyfday the 10 (11) of Marche was ane carmife, and thair was flaine 8 or 9 of Edinburgh, and 2 or 3 of Leith; and ten or xj tane of thaim, the day befor. In this skyrmis was ane fuddart of Leith, callit Knox, being knowin to be fo called; ane vther runnes vpoun him, and woundit him fo that he is mutilate.

One of thir dayis Alexander Stewart, wha was captane of Blacknes, fauld the fame to thame of Edinburgh; for the whilk he gat 800 crownis. His excuife was, the regent and the kingis lordis wald not give him ony thing to keip it with; whairby he was superexpendit.

On thurifday, in the nycht, the 13 of Marche, was the place of Lethingtoun tane be thaim of Edinburgh, some men of captane Homes having the charge of it; but vpoun the fonday, ayerlie in the moirning, befor thei gat provisione, the lord Lindfay tuik it againe.

A litle befor this tyme, in the same moneth, was the lord Boyde apoynted ane of the lordis of the kingis college of justice: And Mr Thomas McCallane, wha the most pairt had remained in Edinburgh, and was ane of the elderis thair wha consentit to pray for the queene, was also in the moneth befor this admittit to his place againe in the seffione.

The 21 of Marche, they of Edinburgh brint tuo granges of corne that pertinet to the laird of Mortone, or his men. And thus thei doe what thai can to fet out thaim felues, and to get a name be evill doing (which thei could nocht be weill doing), that thei mycht be the more esteamed, and to haue a grit power.

The parliament, which was continowed befor fra the 27 of February till this laft of Marche; whairin was no thing done, except the contenting to the cunzieing of new money.

The secund of Aprile was the myllis brocken about the toun of Edinburgh be them of Leith; and men of weir planted in Craigmillar, Merchintoun, Craighall, and Corstorphine, with ilk band of fuddartis and horfmen, to keip victuallis from cuming to Edinburgh.

Settirday the 5 of Aprile, was the toun of Edinburgh myllis brocken; at what tyme thair was no litle skymife for defence of thair myllis; which coft thame 8 or 9 of thair men, and a grit number evill hurt, and ane fervand of the regentis slaine.

Some of thir dayis preceeding, in this weike, Drewrie the merfchell of Berwick his wyfe come in, and held hous in Restalrig.

The 14 of Aprile was Mr Archibald Douglas tane, and fend to Striveling to be keipit; wha alittle befor had receavit fra Mr George Hacquet, fourth of Flanderis, flyve thowfand crownes, to be fend to thame of the castle of Edinburgh, whairof he fend but foure thowfand. Whairvpoun the laird of Grange wrait a lettre to the said Mr Archibauld, feing that fyve hundreth mycht haue satisfiet for his paines; which lettre was efter gottin, with diverse vtheris wrytingis, whairof mony wer wrytin with cypheris, to the number of 24 or 26. Also, it is reported that he fould haue betrayed the lord of Mortone; ather to haue shot him with a dag, or vtherwayis, I know not.

The horfmen that wer in Edinburgh the morne efter, which was the 15 of Aprile, cuming doun athort the lynkis of Leith (for what purpos I know not), and tacking some stufte cuming in to Leith, thei ischewed out vpoun thame and chafed them in to Edinburgh, and tuike foure horfmen; wha, after thai had gottin asife, wer hanged that same day. The word

whair of cuming to Edinburgh, they hanged foure suddertis of Leith that thei had tane, and a gentlman called Dowglas, for the foure theivis that wer hanged at Leith.

The merchell of Berwickis wife maid grit requieft for Mr Archibald Douglas; wha was sent to Striveling.

On tuisday, the 22 day, Mr Randolph and the merchall of Berwicke departed fchortly againe to Berwicke; whither being sent for be the queine and counfall or no, I know nocht.

Weddinfday, the 23 of Aprile, certane shuldeartis of captane Mitchallis went to Edinburgh; and bringand with thame the companys of the toun, thocht to have betrayed the abbay, and be vther tuo that wer within it; wha, as ane of thame was opening a windoo to lat in the suddartis of Edinburgh (who brocht ledderis for the fame purpose), captane Mitchallis page perceiving, cryed, "Fy! Treafone! Treafone!" whairat the said captane Mitchall starting vp, gate a sword and cuttit the houghis of his owin suddart, as he was opening the windoo, or elis making the vtheris ledderis fast; wha, perfaving thair purpose knowin, retired. And on the moirne captane Mitchall hangis his owin suddart. The vther within escapit.

On ffryday, the 25 day, the lord of Mortone, with the horsmen that wer in Leith, departis out of the toun of Leith at 10 houris at evin, to ly in wait for Claud Hammiltoun; whome thei supposed had bene cumand with sum victuallis to Edinburgh. Now thei that departed out of Leith had fend sum scurriouris befor them; wha, in the nycht, perceiving some lichtit lountis, thocht it had bene thame whome thei waittit for; and so approaching, fand none but 22 fuldeartis, wha wer sent out of Edinburgh to the Blaknes; off whome thei slew about 15 or 16, tuike fyve of the principallis and brocht to Leyth, and tuo escaped. The word was, that the 16 men were flaine efter thei wer takin in the feildis. The fyve brocht to Leith wer hangit eftir thair incuming; bot one of thaim was sent to the abbay, which flowred captane Mitchallis gallous: ffor the which, vther tuo suddartis of Leith, that wer in Edinburgh, wer brocht furth and hangit vpoun Mowtrais tries, foiranent the chapell.

The prince of Oriange schippis hes tane the toun of Breill, in the pafione weike; whair thei reformed the kirke, in breking doun of all the images; and efter depairtis, leaving for the keiping of the toun 3000 men. Ducke d'Alva heiring thairof, fendis certane men of warre, Spainyardis, to the ilke of Waker; wha war refusid in Midleburghe, and in the Camphair, and wer receavit in Flushing. Bot shortlie efter, the toun moving some querall aganis thame, hangis certane of thair captanes, and dryvis away the rest that escapit. Charge gevin be the said prince that thei receive not the dukis men; which gif thai doe, he fall drowne the whole yle of Walker.

Schortlie efter the hanging of the fyve aboue mentioned, thair cumes a drume fra Edinburgh to Leith, desyring that fair weiris may be vsed.

On mononday, the 28 of Aprile, the laird of Corrtorphin escapit, verie narrowly; for whois releiff was slaine ane horsfman, called Johnstoun, ane vther tacken, and a fouldeore; wha incontinent efter thair tacking and cuming to Edinburgh, wer sent fourth to Mowtrais of the hill, and thair hanged, that thei of Leith nicht fie; and so thair is nothing but hanging on eather fyde.

The ffryday preceiding, which was the 25 day, Mr Robert Gordon, Huntlies brother, was slaine be a man of his owin, rackleflie, as he was clen-gene his dag. Sua can the Lord, when he pleasfis, caufe the wicked ilk ane to destroy vther; whairof this may be a begyning of thair farther destructione!

About the 16 or 18 of this fame moneth, thei of the castle ordeaned to haue tane the place of Dundafs, nochtwithstanding that auld Lethingtoun and his wyfe was thairin; and that on this maner:—They sent fourth certane of Edinburgh, disguyfed in evill apparell, with daggis under thair cloathis; and so to enter in at the iron yeat, having a 30 horsmen lyand vndir the brea, reddie to haue followed, so fone as thei had gottin within the yeat. Bot one David Ramfay, servant to the laird of Dundafs, going out of the place to the toun of Dundafs, hard adjacent to the place, to get a moirning drink, perceaved tuo men in the hous whair he enterit, difa-

guyfed; whome he perfavit to be feinyiet, runnes his wayes to the place, whair vther tuo difaguyfed wer at the yeat ftanding; whome thai touke in, and clofed the iron yeat. And incontinent efter this faid Dauid was come fourth of the hous, the vther tuo thairin followes him, and fchott thair dagis at him. The one of thame he fupposed to have bene the young laird of Barnbugall. So fone as he was in at the yeat, the horfmen lying in wait come about the place. Bot what become of the tua that was tackin in the place, I can not tell.

Beacaus that the young laird of Barnbugle was at this interprife, and alfo feiring that the laird fould haue sufferit thaim of Edinburgh to haue his place, he was fent for be the regent and his counfall; who, after tuo or thrie dayis imprifoning, gat out vpoun fovertis that the rebellis fould nocht get his place. Zit, notwithstanding, the regent pat in it fum hagbutteris; and the laird was commandit to ward, in the toun of Ayre.

About the fame tyme alfo, the Hammiltounes conveaning thair forces (Claud being principall), and thoct to haue gottin Kilfythe, and to have tane it. But God difapoynted the wicked of thair purpofes.

The 28 of Aprile thair was ane witche brunt in Sanct Androis, wha was accused of mony horrible thingis; which fho denyed, albeit thei wer fufficientlie proven. Being defyred that fho wold forgiue a man that had done hir fome offence, as fcho alledged, refufied; then, when ane vther that ftude by faid, gif fho did not forgiue, that God wald nocht forgiue hir, and fo fho fuld be dampned; but fho, not cairing for heavin nor hell, faid opinly, "I pafs not whidder I goe to hell or heavin!" with diverfe vtheris execrable wordis. Efter hir handis were bound, the proveift caufeth lift vp her cloathis, to fie hir mark that fho had, or to fie gif fho had ony thing vpoun hir, I cannot weill tell: Bot thair was a white cloath, lyke a colar-craige, with ftringis, in betweine hir legis, whairon was mony knottis vpoun the ftringis of the faid colar-craige; which was tacken from hir, fore againft hir will: ffor belyke fho thoct that fho fould nocht haue died, that being vpoun hir! ffor fcho faid, when it was taken from hir, "Now I have no hoip of my felf!"

Vpoun mononday the 5 of May, 1572, thai of Edinburgh brunt the

lauche houffis of Merchinstoun. The regent was to put fum men thair, which he did the morne after, to witt, 20 hagbutteris, and a dofone horfmen. Bot thair of Leith come to the redding of the fyre, whair was thicke fkyrmifhing, and grit flutting fourth of the cafle, to the number of 40 fhot of cannone and mae. Bot yit thei wer dung in to the poirtis, and diverfe of thair men hurt; and in fpeciall, captane Scugall, and fundry hurt, very evill. Ane cannone bullet dingis the revell, the fpurre, and the heill of the focke and hoife of one of the horfmenis legis, without fteiring the hyde! Blairwhanis horfe was fhot this day; wha with his cumpany gave the charge vpon the horfmen of Edinburgh, and chafed thaim in.

The fettirday preceeding, thair was tuo of Leith flaine; ane wha had his arme fhot with a peice, and the other was Robene Semple fonne: And both, in thair foulifhnes to goe fo neir the wallis of Edinburgh, and vpon thair ordinance, which hes bene the caus of the flautcher of mony of our men; which thei neidit nocht to haue done.

The toun of Edinburgh, at this tyme, was in verie ftrait poynt; for thair laiket both fyre and victuallis. The meill gave vjſ. viijd. the peke. All the poore ar put out of the toun. Sic houfes as thei pleafed thair take down, and fellis the tymber thair of be ftane wecht. At the begining, it was fauld for iijſ. iijjd., and now it is fauld for vjſ. viijd. the ftane wecht of tymber. Some vther houffes thair haue cleane demolift, fic as Mr James Macgillis, Mr James Watfones, Nicoll Vdwardis, and fundrie vther houfes; a grit monie becaus the burges men wald nocht give thame money.

*The copie of a Bill ſent fra Williame Chriftifone, miniſter at Dundy, concerning the Irland Biſchop.*

“The 21 of Apryle, 1572, thair come to Dundie ane Irland biſchope, called the biſchope of Caſſhall, having four or fyve futmen or ſervantis, recommendeth vnto the baillies be ane wryting of the lord Argyles, to furdur him towardis Flanderis, whair, as he ſaid, he was to viſite the ſcholes. But ſchortly efter his arryvell in Dundie, he was ſtayed vpon ane wryting ſend be the regentis grace, and is wardit in his ludgene, and his men put apart. Ane packet of lettres, caſſin in a dry cloſet be one of



his fervantis, was fuddanlie gottin againe, vndefylit, be one of the baillies; which packet or masse of lettres, the lord of Bucquhane receavit, and fend it to the regent. Amonges the which thair was fund ane commiffione, open, and fealit with fundrie grit feales, directit to the pope and the king of Spaine, written in Latine. The fowme whair of is, ane grit complent of the heavie subjectione of Irland be thame of England, not only in the head of their religione, but also of the materis of thair commone-wealth: Defyres, thairfoir, the king of Spaine, or elis one called Joannes of Auftria, to vindicat vnto him the kingdome of Irland; vnto whome the barronis, lordis, gentlmen, bifchopis, and communes, offeris to rander townes, castellis, dominiones, and mwnitionis; and promittis them feluis to assist, with bodie and guidis, vnto the tyme that not only Irland, but also this yle, be subdewed, and brocht bake to the auld catholik faith: And thir thingis they humblie defyre to be furthered be the popes holyness," etc.

Within aught dayis efter, he was brocht to Sanct Androis and put in ward thair; whair he remaines at this present, the 23 of Maij. The word is, that the queine of England hes fend for him.

The xvij of Maij, Monsieur la Croce come into Leith with the merchell of Berwicke; wha lailtie had departed of befoir.

And in thir dayis thei of Edinburgh come forth and brocht in a deid horfe, which lailtie had been slaine; which is a token of no guid cheir!

This La Croce had no commiffione, but was fend from his maister to fie how all thingis stude heir; and brocht letteris to the lordis; whair of heir is the copie of one writtin to the lord of Glencairne.\*

\* There is unfortunately an unlucky *hiatus*, both in the University transcript and in that belonging to the Faculty of Advocates, at this place; apparently owing to one or more leaves of the original MS. having been lost. The portion of the narrative thus, it is to be feared, irrecoverably lost, embraces from May 18 to July 2, 1572. The University MS. contains a memorandum, evidently in a different hand: "Tak in the letter wreaten be Mr Knox, in the end of the book, to the laird of Drumlainrige." Although this letter is also a fragment in the College MS., a perfect copy of it has been preserved at the end of the Advocates' transcript; and the Editor has thought it preferable to insert it here.

*Ane Lettre of Mr Knoxis fend to the Laird of Drumlainrige.*

“ Efter all trubles, thair abydis a lyfe, blissed and happie without end,  
to thame that dependis vpoun Jesus Christ.”

Rycht worfchipfull, Gif I had nocht thoct to haue fene your awin face befor this, ȝe had not laiked my waike judgment so long, in thir present trubles. This is that which God reveillis to me, that the aëtionne that is defendit against thea traytouris and murthereris of the castle of Edinburghe is iust, and in the end fall prewaille against Sathan, and all thame that mainteanis that wickit society. But, in the meanetyme, I fie, that as Jefus Chryst behovit to be crucified, so this iust aëtionne most anes be brocht to the extremitie. The secreit causis I know nocht, except our fynis; bot I fie that treffone, fostered and mainteaned within our awin bowalis, craves of God that he fall lat vs taist therof. Dead Scotland, waikin! who befor wald nocht be admonifeth of trubles to cum! But now, in the middis of trubles, it feikis a wronge remeid; ffor it is neather England, France, nor Spaine, in whome God hes placed ony comfort to pure Scotland; bot onlie it restis in Him self, and ony of Him most we receive it! I fie that the traffique with that Babilone, the castle of Edinburghe, fall ones bring Scotland in that miserie that we and our posteritie fall murne for a tyme. Bot ȝit, fehir, be nocht ye, nor the faythfull, discouraged, for to destructione (as befor I haue said) fall it cum; and they that presentlie sufferis fall re(ioice) in this lyfe, and eternallie! Communicat this with ȝour faythfull bedfellow, with my hartelye commendationes. And sua I committ you both to the protection of the Omnipotent.

Jouris, lying in Sanct Androis, half deid, the 26th of Majj, 1572.

[JOHNE KNOX.]

and after returned againe to Leith, without any farder doing, but receaving of the foverties of the perfones foirfaidis. This journey was thocht of mony to haue made the Hammiltounes the moir bauld than afoir; ffor thai daylie lay in the woud of Hammiltoun, fkirmifhing with captane Crawford and his men; off whome thai flew 7 or 8, and tuike alfmonie, and him felf very hardly efcapit. It was reported that ther men, who had befoir found fovertie to the regent, wer at the doing of this defait to captane Crufurd's men; thamefeluis being abfent, as thocht thai knew nothing of it. Bot he is a foule that truffis traytoris!

The fecond of Julij, or thairabout, was Patrike Home, captane to the regent's horfmen, flaine, in refcewing a drift of cattell, which Pherniherft had brocht off a peece land of his, whiche he had gottin be foirfaltrie of Jamie Hammiltoun, that flew the firft regent.

The fourt or fyft of Julij, there wer certane French men, fuddartis, to the number of 12 or 13, wha befoir had come to Leith a x or xj weikis befoir, that went vp to Edinburgh. And when thai departed Leith, fchew to captane Home, thair captane (who had weill entreated thaim, better than thei defervit, thus fchamfully to haue deceivit him!) that thei wold go furth to draw on a fkymife; and fo paff to the toun of Edinburgh, whair thai wer receivet, and at thair entres difcharged thair pieces, for a voley; whair the lord Flemyng being prefent, wha in the moneth preceding come out of France, and not long befoir this come to Edinburgh, fome of the bulletis rebowndis of the calfey and hurtis him. It is thocht that thir French fuddartis wer perfwadit be Virack and Lacrocke, of whome we fpake befoir, wha had gottin licence to cum down to Lacrocke.

At this tyme this Lacrocke and Mr Drurier, embaffadouris or agents of the king of France and queine of England, wer diligent to haue fome pacificatioune, which alwayis thei haue bene labouring fince thair hither comeing; and now cuming to fume maner of appointment, be thair meanes thir headis following wer proponet, devyfed, or dicted, I fhuld fay, as is

fupposit, be Lethingtoun, fometymes Secretar, and presentit to ather partie be one moyaner:—

“ I. The 26 of Julij, 1572. Gif peace and quyetnes be the end focht, lat no guid meanes be omitted, nor no lettis of small moment stickein at; but a plane dealing vsit.

“ *Anfuer.* Na thing is focht, for thair pairt, bot peace and quyetnes, nor none fall deale more plainelie nor thair fall; for thair feik no manis lyvis, landis, nor guidis, but the defence, restitutiuone, and preservatioune of thair owin.

“ II. It is thocht thei ar alreadye yieldit to the obedience of the king, and will also come to the acknowledging of the present regiment. Gif so be, refaving fuirtie, the mair plainlie and mair neirlie thei deale the better end will follow, and the gritter eise for both pairties, whilk man dwell in Scotland with vther; and it will cut of the longsome travellis of the foreyn mediaturis, be whome it wilbe difficile and lang space to gar ather partie vnderstand vther.

“ *Anfuer.* The first part of this article, concerning the kingis obedience and the present regiment, man be treated in the pacificatioune. To the remanent, as of befor, and falbe as short in it as can be wished.

“ III. What forme of wordis were meitteft to begin the abstinance on both pairteis?

“ *Anfuer.* The lordis and nobilitie of Scotland bindand for thame, thair adherentis, and affistaris, on the one pairt; the lordis and nobilitie of Scotland convenit in Edinburgh, for thame, thair adherentis, and affisteris, on the vther pairt.

“ IV. Whither it is meitter to make it as it were a contract, to be subferyvit be both the pairteis; or rather, euerie pairtie to subferyve thair owin pairt of thair indent?

“ *Anfuer.* Best be indent; and everie pairtie to haue one thairof, subferyvit interchangable.

“ V. How mony on ilk fyde fall subferyve?

“ *Anfuer.* Sex. And for thair pairtie, the ducce, the erle of Huntly, the lord Home, the lord Seatoun, the lord Flemyng, and the captane. And

for his fyde, my lord regent, the erle of Mortone, the lord Ruthwen, and sic vtheris as thai pleis.

“ VI. Shall all the subiectis of Scotland be comprehendit vnder this abstinence, owther on the ane fyde or the vther? Or, then, is thair a thrid partie of indifferent, ffor whome nather of the parteis now subscryvaris will promeis? And gif fa be, thai wold be specialie excepted, for avoiding of ambiguitie.

“ *Ansuer.* The whole man be comprehendit; ffor the exceptione wald be over lang to name, in particular, all thame that ar termit indifferent: And feing the abstinence is bot short and temporar, it hurtis not to comprehend the whole, for sic a space.

“ VII. Although the presente abstinence fall comprehend all, yit fum thair is that we traift, in honour, thei will not desyre to comprehend vnder thair promeis; as in speciale, the erle Bothuell, Beynstoun, Blake Ormestoun, Pate Wilfoun, and Bothuelhauch; the theivis and brocken men of the hielandis, and bordouris, and vtheris that may be noted.

“ *Ansuer.* Thei will nather comprehend the fyve aboue notit, nor yit promeis for thaim, nor haue nothing to do with thame. As to the hielandis and bordouris, becaus fum of them hes bene actualle in this caus with them, thei wold be comprehendit, in generall, for the tyme of this abstinence: Bot giff ony of thame, in the meane tyme, happnis to make ony ryding in reiff or oppreffione, thei will concurre for punishing of thaim: ffor thei meane not heirby that ony impunitie fuld be gevin to sic.

“ VIII. What perones wer meittest to convene on ather fyde, during the tyme of the abstinence, to treat vpoun the pacificatioun? And in what place, and order?

“ *Ansuer.* For the first meitting, to be on the Gallowley, the erle of Mortone, with the erle of Huntlie, the lord Home, with the lord Ruthwen, the abbot of Dumfermeling, with the priour of Cowdingham, the bischope of Orkney, with the bischope of Athenis, the lord Boyd, and fir James Balfoure, or thrie or four of thir for ilk partie. And thair to conclude with the tua ambaffadouris vpoun the nixt meitting; and thir meitaris to be alterit, as occasioun fall ferue.

“IX. Giff thair yit remaine mae difficulties, befoir the conclufione of the abftinace, it is to be thought how fum of judgment, credite, and auctoritie, may meit for refolving of the doubtis.

“*Anfuer.* Agriet, gif ony doubtis aryfe.

“X. During the tyme of the abftinace, the toun of Edinburgh falbe maid patent to all the kingis lieges to refort thairto, as it was when vmquhill Matthow, erle of Lennox, departed furth of the fame, in Februar was a yeir. The regent, gif he pleis, with the tuo bandis that wer in the toun the tyme foirfaid, fhall repair thairto; the tounes men of weir falbe halilie voydit furth of the fame; thair fall na mae forces be in the caftle, nor was the tyme of the faid vmquhill regentis departing foirfaid.”

Eftir long travell tane be the French ambaffadore, Lacrocke, and Mr Drurier for the queine of England, ane abftinace and ceffatioune from armes was tane for tua monethis; whilk began the first of Auguft: In the which tyme, all vther mater fould be commoned and agriet vpoun, as is conteaned in this printe Indentoure, fufcryvit be ather partie, at Leith and Edinburgh, the penult of Julij, 1572.

*The fforme of the Abftinace grantit be my lord Regentis grace, and Lordis fufcryvand with him, to the Lordis within the Caftle and Toun of Edinburgh, and thair adherentis.*

“WE, the Noblmen of the realme of Scotland vnder fufcryvand, following the inftance and exhortatioune, that the ambaffadouris of that moft chiftiane king of France, and the quenis maieftie of England, makis vnto us, ffor our felues, our affifteris, pertackeris, and fic as dependis upon us, be the tennour heiroy, fweiris and promifes ane abftinace and ceffatioune from hoftilitie, betwixt us and our aduerfaris, that prefently be in armes againft us, thair affifteris, pertackeris, and fic as dependis on thaim; to begyn this prefent day, and to indure till tuo monethis be fullie outrun: During the quhilkis, we oblife us, and proumeiffis that with all finceritie and furtie the faid abftinace from weir, and ceffatioun from hoftilitie, fall continow: And fa fone as may be, that the nobilitie and eftaitis of the realme falbe affemblit, for to advyfe, be thair meanes, to rander the realme

peceable, and estaitis a guid and generall peace; whilkis with thair cumpanies falbe in full furtie in thair cuming to that place, remaining and returning thairfra, during the said space of tuo monethis. And that fo holie a worke be not retardit, we accord that, during the trewis and abstinence, tua, thrie, foure, or fyve, mea or fewar, of eather partie, communicate together in all furtie, in sic place as falbe agriet vpoun, to oppin vp the meanes for the moir facill atteaning to a guid peace: And gif it chance (quhilk God forbid!) that at the assemblie of the said nobilitie and estaitis, the said peace and reconciliatioune may not be concludit, we, be the tennour heirof, for our part, referis the differences betwixt us and our saidis aduerfaris, alweill of the abstinence as of the peace, to the arbitrement of the said maist christiane king of France, and quenis maiestie of England; and promises faithfullie, vpoun our honouris, to accept and hald the conditiones, concerning the peace and abstinence, whilkis thair maiesties fall propone vnto us. Provyding that the abstinence, or pacificatioune that may follow thairvpoun, onnawayis tuiche the king our foverane lord and his estait, to the prejudice thairof; and that the perfonis heirefter excepted be subjeçt to the judgment and executioun of the law, the said abstinence notwithstanding: They ar to say, James, sometimes erle Bothuell, James Ormiftoun, sometyme of that ilk, Patricke Hepburne, sumtymes of Beinfoun, Patrike Wilfone, sumtyme servand to the said erle, James Hammiltoun, sometyme of Bothuelhauche, Johne Hammiltoun, sumtymes proveist of Bothwell, his brother, with the whole theivis and brocken men, inhabitantis of the bordouris and heilandis, disturbaris of the publict peace betwixt this realme and England, and oppreflouris of the peciable subjeçtis of this realme: Provyding alwayis that fo monie of the saidis bordereris or hielandmen as hes tane part with ony of the parteis, be not during the abstinence perfewed for thingis bypast, and of it they haue done at commandment of ather partie; seeing it is not merit that ony of thair faultis falbe covered, but only sic as haue bene done directlie in the querrall of ather partie: Gif during the abstinence thei do wrong to ony man, it is accordit, that for the same thai be punishit as appertenis; and no impunitie is fochte for thair attemptates committed against England; but it is understand that they falbe anfuerable for the same, con-

forme to the lawis of the bordouris. And to the end that the subjeētis of this realme may find thame selfis presentlie sum thing dischargit of the burding of the weir, and may with the greater desyre embrace that peace when it fall pleis God to fend it, we aggrie that, induring the said abstinence, all the subjeētis of this realme, of quhatfumeuer qualitie or conditiōne thei be of (except befoir excepted), may frielie and liberallie trificke, hant, speik, and convers together, over the whole pairtis of this realme, vntrubled, molestit, or impedit, ather in body, guidis, be word or deid, in the law, or besydis the law, for thingis past: And takis our saidis aduersares now beiring armes against us, thair assisteris, pertackeris, and sic as dependis on thame, mutuallie in our protectiōne, menteaning and comforting togidder, faithfullie, ane another, against all the injurie that may be done be us, or ony that we promeis for, or be ony of thame that ar enemies to the peace. Mairover, to mak the meanes of the peace the mair facile, and that be thair familiar communicatiōne and conversatiōne, the hartis of them that able hes bene offendit may be molifiet and inducit to forget thingis that ar past, be conference to be had with some of our aduersaries, and thereftir acknowledge that we ar all memberis of ane body, being of ane cuntrie, and naturall Scottifinen; the communicatiōne and conversatiōne fall onnawayis be forbiddin be us to thame, but permittit with all libertie over all places, townes, and rowmes, quhairver it may be: Provyding, that the toum of Edinburgh be presentlie, and first of all, fet at sic libertie as it was in befoir the king, our soverane lordis guidfchir, and lait regent, departed fourth of the fame, vpoun the 27 day of Januar, 1570-(1); and the castell thairof to be keipit with no gritter garnifone nor it was at that tyme; as also all the vther tounes of this realme presentlie be fet at the lyk libertie, and made patent, sua that no place thairof falbe withhaldin, fortified, or garnifed, faiffing the castelis and fortresses, that of all aunciencie, and befoir thir troubles, hes bene accustomed to be fortifiet and guardit: And that, be this meane, all men or thair fervandis, without feir of men of weir, or violence, may frielie enter and dwell in thair owin houffes, as fall pleis thame, induring the said trewis and abstinence. And forfameikle as mony perfonen within this realme hes, induring thir troubles, faifit them selues in vther menis landis,



whairvpoun thair is presentlie fruites that may be collected and win, in-during the said abstinence, off the whilk debait may follow, that may flope or hinder the guid and hailie effect that is to be hoipit of the said peace; we thairfoir accord and agrie, that thei whilkis hes the saidis landis fall not preis to lift the saidis fruitis, and especiallie the cornes, but fall leive the famen stakkit in heip vpon the feildis, or in grange, vntuiched or disponit vpon, ony way, whill the end of the said abstinence. And for observatioun and fulfilling of all this aboue specifeit, we obleis vs, vpoun our faithis, honouris, and be our solempned aythis; and that we fall gar the whole be keipit be our feluis, our adherentis, and pertackeris with us. In witnes heirof, we haue subscryuit thir presentis with our handis, at Leith, the penult day of Julij, the yeir of God, 1572 yeiris.

“ Imprinted at Edinburgh, be Thomas Bassandyne. “ *Cum privilegio Regis.*”

“ James, be the grace of God, king of Scottis, to our louittis, . . . .  
 . . . messengers, our schereffis, in that pairt, conjunctly and feueralie, specialie constitute, greiting. Forfameikle as our rycht traift cowfing, Johne erle of Mar, lord Erkine, regent to us, our realme, and lieges, and noblmen of our realme, ffollowand the instance and exhortatioun, that the ambassadouris of our darrest brother and sister, the most christiane king of France, and the queine of England, hes maid vnto them, for thame felues, their assistaris, pertackeris, and sic as dependis on thame, hes sworne and promiseit ane abstinence, and cessatioun from hostilitie, betwixt thame that presentlie be in armes; to begin this present day, and to indure till tuo monethis be fullie outrun: During the whilkis, thei haue obleist and promiseit, that with all sinceritie and furtie, the same abstinence from weir and cessatioun from hostilitie fall continow. And sa fone as may be, that the noblmen and estaitis of our realme falbe assemblit, for to advise, be thair meanes, to rander our realme peciable, and establishe a guid and generall peace; quhilkis, with thair cumpanies, falbe in full furtie, in thair cuming to the place, remaining, or returning thairfra, during the said space of tuo monethis. And that so haly a warke be not retardit, it is accordit, that during the trewis and abstinence, tua, thrie, foure, or fyve, mae or fewar, of ather partie, may communicate together in all furtie.

tie, in sic place as falbe agriet vpoun, to oppin vp the meanes for the mair easie atteaning to a guid peace. And gif it chance (as God forbid!) that at the assemblic of our said nobilitie and estaitis, the said peace and reconciliatioune may not be concludit, the difference betwixt thaim, alswell of the abstinance as of the peace, ar referrit to the arbitricment of our saidis darrest brother and sifter, the maist christiane king, and the queine of England; and promiseit faithfully, vpoun thair honouris, to accept and hold the conditiones, concerning the peace and abstinance, whilkis thair maiesties fall propone vnto thame; provyding that the abstinance or pacificatioune that may follow thairvpoun, onnawayis tuiche us or our estait, to the prejudice thair of. And the perones heirefter excepted be subjeēt to the judgment and executioun of our law, the said abstinance notwithstanding: They are to say, James, sumtymes erle of Bothuel, James Ormiston, sumtyme of that ilk, Patrike Hepburne, sumtyme of Benefoun, Patrike Willoun, sumtyme fervant to the said erle, James Hammiltoun, sumtyme of Bothuelhauche, Johne Hammiltoun, sumtyme proveist of Bothwell, his brother, with the whole theivis and brocken men, inhabitants of our boarderis and hielandis, disturberis of our commoune peace betwixt our realme and England, and oppressouris of the peciable subjeētis of our realme. Provyding alwayis, that sa mony of the said bordereris or hielandmen, as hes tane part with ony of the parteis, be not, during the abstinance, persewed for thingis by past, and of it they haue done at the command of ather partie; seing it is not meanet that ony of thair faultis falbe coverit, but only sic as hes directlie bene done in the querrall of ather partie. Gif during the abstinance thei do wrong to ony man, it is accordit that for the same thei be punisht as apertenis; and na impunitie is focht for thair attemptatis committit against England, but it is vnderstand that thei falbe anfuerable for the same, conforme to the lawis of our bordouris. And to the end that the subjeētis of our realme may find thaimeselues, presentlie, sumthing dischargit of the burding of the weir, and may with the gritter desyre embrace the peace, when it fall pleis God to fend it, it is aggreit that, induring the said abstinance, all the subjeētis of our realme, of whatfumeuer qualitie or conditione thei be of (except befor exceptit), may frielie trafficque, hant, speik, and converse

together, owre all the pairtis of our realme, vntrubled, molestit, or impefchit, owther in bodie, guidis, be word or deid, in the law or beydis the law, for thingis past; and hes tane ilk ane vther with thair affistaris, per-tackeris, and sic as dependis on them, mutuallie in vtheris proteccion, menteaning, and comforting togidder, faithfully, one another, against all the injurie that may be done be thame, or ony that may promeis for, or be ony of thame that are enemeis to the peace. Moirover, to make the meanes of the peace the moir facile, and that be thair familiare commu-nicatioune and conversatioune, the hartis of thame that able hes bene offendit may be mollifiet and inducit to forget thingis that ar past, by conference to be had amongis thame; and thairefter acknowledge that thei ar all the memberis of ane body, being of ane countrie, and naturall Scottisfen, the conversatioune and communicatioune fall onnawayis be for-biddin to thame, bot be permitted with all libertie over all places, townes, and rowmes, quahairever it may be. Provyding that the toun of Edinburgh be presentlie, and first of all, fet at sic libertie as it was in befoir vmquhill our darrest guidschire, and lait regent, departed furth of the same, vpoun the xxij day of Januar, 1570-(1) 3eiris, and our castell thairof to be keipit with no gritter garnisoun nor it was at that tyme; as also all the vther tounes of our realme, presentlie fet at the lyke libertie and made patent, sua that no place thairof falbe withhaldin, fortified, or garnifed, faiffand the castellis and fortraces that of all anciencie, and befor thir troubles, hes bene accustomed to be fortified and gardit: And that be this meane, all men, or thair fervantis, without feir of men of weir or violence, may frielie enter, and dwell in their owin houffis, as fall pleis thame, induring the said trewis and abstinance. And forsameikle as monie per-sones within our realme hes, induring thir troubles, faifit thame selues in vther menis landis, whairvpoun thair is presentlie fruitis that may be col-lected and win during the said abstinance, of the whilk debait may fol-low, that may stope or hinder the guid and halie effect that is hoipit of the said peace; it is accordit and agriet, that thei wha hes the saidis landis fall not preis to lift up the saidis fruitis, and speciallie the cornis, bot fall leive the same stakkit in heip, vpoun the feildis, or in grange, vntuiched or disponit vpon, ony way, while the end of the said abstinance. And for

observatiounes and fulfilling of all this aboue specifeit, they haue obleift thame, vpoun thair faithis, honouris, be thair solempne aythis, that thei fall gar the whole be keipit be thame feluis, thair adherentis, and per-tackeris with thame. Lykas at mair lenth is conteinit in the feverable lettres, interchangeable maid, subfeyruit, and delyuerit heirvpoun. Our will is heirfoir, and we charge you straitlie, and commandis, that incontinent thir our lettres sene, ye pas to the mercate croces of the heid burrowes of our realme, and vtheris places neidfull, and thair, be oppin proclama-tiounes in our name and auctoritie, make publicatiounes heirof, that none pretend ignorance of the sament. And that ge command and chairge all and fundrie our lieges, inhabitantes of our realme, that thei, and everie one of thame, obserue and keip the said abstinence, and onnawayis pre-fume nor take vpoun hand to doe or attempt ony thing tending vnto the violatiounes thairof, vnder the paine of deid. The which to do we com-mit to you, etc., our letteris, delyvering thame be you, deulie execute and indorfat, agane to the berare. Gewin vnder our signet, at Leith, the pe-nult day of Julij, and of our reigne the sext yeir, 1572. *Per actum Se-creti Consilij.*”

Efter long travell tane be the French embassadore La Crocke, and Mr Drurier for the queine of England, ane abstinence and cessatiounes from armes was tane, for tuo monethis, as said is.

The sixt day efter, which was thursdai the last of Julij, the men of Edinburgh who befor wer banisht, and had remained in Leith, and now throw long watchingis and daylie skyrnishingis—flor thai wer always als fordward as the suddartis that took wages—prepared thame to goe to the toun (which was appointed to be patent) in thair armouris, all in ordore; whairwith the castle men, nocht content, wald have had thame steyed for that nicht; flor the quhilk purpose, the ambassadore commandit thaim to go backe agane, when thei wer at the Cannogait, reddie to enter in to the toun. Bot no command wald stey thaim; and so thai enterit into the toun, standing all nycht vpoun thair owin gardis into thair armes.

As thai come in to the toun, Johne Brand, minister, and ane that feired God and the kingis actione, being in the formeft ranke as thei enterit

into the portis, having on his gowne, and a byble vnder his oxftare; and Johne Durie, exhortare in Leith, and a guid fuddart of Godis and the kingis, cuming behind with his armoure and callever vpoun his shulder; one of Edinburgh fayis to Johne Brand, "What menis this? Ze cum with your gowne, and a buke vndir your oxftare, and Johne Durie with his calliver and tua dagis at his belt?" Johne Brand anfuers, "It meanes, we come to offer peace, whilk gif ze refuis, ze fall haue weir!"

It was judged, and be sum opinly fpoken, that gif the men of Edinburgh had not enterit that nycht as thei did, thair had bene no entres at that tyme into the toun; and that thei of the castle did only these thingis they agriet to, but to get sum vivaris, becaus befoir the toun was famished; and that also the men of Edinburgh, that had bene in Leith, had fend vp that fame day a grit deale of victuallis, bathe of wyne and vther stufte, out of Leith, for thair provifione. Tyme will try!

Also it was reported, that thair of the castell wald haue had Jamie Hammiltoun of Bothuelhauch conteaned vnder the affuurance.

On ffryday, the first of August, the regent come vp to the toun of Edinburgh, at what tyme this proclamatioune was proclaimed.

The second day of the nixt moneth is apointed to the parteis specifit to meitt for the commoning of all materis, etc.

Befoir the concluding of this abstinence and cessatioune of armes, becaus the men of Edinburgh had susteined grittest lose be the demolishing of thair houfes, and spoyling of the thingis within the same, sua that na foreyne enemie culd or wald haue done half so evill as these traytors of Edinburgh haue done, in destroying so mony fair houfes and sumptuous buildingis, as is done within that toun; thay, I say, who had fled to Leith perfaving this abstinence, and not knowing how thingis would fall out, made this band and league amongis thame feluis as follows:—

*[Band and League between the men of Edinburgh, who  
had fled to Leith.]*

"WE wha haue subfcryvit this vnderwrytin wryting, vnderstanding the

grit mercies of God, vttered and schawin to us sen the planting of his evangle within this realme, and speciallie within the burgh of Edinburgh, whairin sumtyme we wer placed; and of the innumerable benefites powred out vpon us, of his meir guidnes, without our deserving, not only in delivering vs out of the most vile slaverie, bondage, and erweltie of the devill, and of that Romane antichrist, his leivetenent; but also of strangeris, feiking us to be conquest, and to bring vs into thirlege; as als fra pestilence, hunger, and vther plagues, when most justly we deservit to haue bene consumed thairwith: And that laillie, for our grit ingratitude and vnthankfulnes, efter so mony mercies schawin, has exiled vs fra our houfes, tread of leving, and possessiones, as ane father nurturing and correcteing his childe whom he loves; not in ane strange cuntry, nor far fra our owin houfes, bot whair daylie we may with our eies behold thame: And yit, alace! hes made sic the instrumentis as sumtymes professit publickly the evangle with vs; alswell of that exile, as of the banishing of our trew pastouris, prophettis, and preicharis fra vs; as als of the plaine refusall and denyell of that iust authoritie, to wit, the kingis maiestie, whome God of his mercie has placed aboue us: Which having no regard to thair defectione, but, most vnnaturally and erwellie, has fought and feikis our lyves, hes spendit and consumet our substance and guidis, pulled doun and sackit our houfes, and done that in thame lyes, be the destroying of the whole policie within that toun, to make the fame to be vtterlie sacked, and neuer heirefter inhabited. We, thairfoir, in the feir of God the Father, of his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holie Spirit, takand to witnes his holy name, promittis, bindis, and obleissis us, faithfully, that we in all tymes heirefter, with our lyves, landis, and guidis, and all that we may make, shall sett forward and promote the blified evangle of our Lord Jesus Christ, professit be us within this realme, with his true and faithfull ministeris, preicharis thairof; and menteane with the kingis maiestie our soverane lordis auctoritie, his regent, and nobilitie, assistaris to his grace; and fall nether for love of freindis, tyusall of landis or guidis, or for ony vther occasioun, doe or procure ony thing that may tend to the prejudice or hurt of the samyn. And that our dewtie and obedience may be made knowin and patent to the world, we fall subject, and be thir

presentis subiectis us to the discipline of the law of God, and just lawes of this realme. And gif ony of us fall happin (as God forbid we do!) to disagrie, or fall at variance one with another, we, be thir presentis, subiectis us to be brotherlie corrected be our vther brether subferying thir presentis, or fa mony of thame as falbe thoct most meit for aggrieing or drefsing of us; and incais it can not that way be agried, we fall vnderly the judgment of the proveist and baillies of Edinburgh, conforme to the lawes. And felyke, we and ilkane of vs fall affist, concurre, and fortifie, and take plaine part with vtheris, in the feir of God, and obedience of our kyng and his regent, against his grace and our adverfaris of the castle and toun of Edinburgh, thair assistaris and pertackeris, in our just defence, lesome and ressonable; and gif invasione beis made be thaim against ony of us, we and everie ane of vs fall, at our vtter power and whole force, joyne with our faidis brether for resisting our faidis adverfaries, and fall nather heir, sie, nor know the skayth of our faidis brether, but we fall oppone our felues thairto. And farder, obleissis us and ilkane of us, that we fall neuer make defectione fra this our band, nor our faidis brether, vndir the paine neuer to be repute heirefter of that number; but to be excommunicat thairfra, as apostates and defectioneris fra our faith, treuth, and lawtie, and not to be joynit againe, whill we make publict satisfactiōne and amendis thairfoir. Subferyvit with our handis, at Leith, the 2 of Julij, 1572."

About the end of Julij, or els in the beginning of August, was the erle of Northumberland beheadit, in Yorke, on the thrid day that he come out of Berwicke, or els come thair.

The Irland bischope, befoir mentioned, escapit out of the castle of Sanct Androis, the viij of August, about ane and twa in the nyecht; whidder be negligence of the keiparis, whome he caused drinke hard the nyecht befoir with vtheris in the place, till midnyecht, or be policie or craft, I dar not affirme; bot he came over a grit part of the wall, out at a windoe, with his scheittis revin and made in lenth, etc.

The fext of August began the generall assemblie of the kirk, haldin at Perth; vnto whome Mr Knox writtis as followes:

[*Letter, Mr Johne Knox to the Generall Assemblie holdin at Perth.*]

“Fight and faynt not; ffor the battell is schort, and the victory with Jesus Christ is riche, without end!”

“Albeit I haue tane my leive, not only of you (deir brether), but also of the whole warld, and all worldlie effairis; yit, remaining in the flesch, I could not nor can not ceis to admonishe yow of thingis which I know to be most prejudiciall to the kirke of Christ Jesus within this realme. Aboue all thingis, preferue the kirke from the bondage of vniversities. Perfwade them to rewle thaim seluis peceable, and order thair schoules in Christ; but subjeçt neuer the pulpet to thair judgment, neather yit exempt thame fra your iurisdictione. Tak heid that nothing proceid vudir your name be particular façtiones. Farther, I haue communicat my mynd with thir tuo deir bretherin (meaning Mr Johne Wynrome, superintendent, and Mr Robert Pont). Heir thame, and doe as ge will anfuere befor God, who presentlie workis potentlie, how blind that ever the world remaines! Fight ge in the treuth, and for the libertie of the same; and be assured to triumph with Jesus Christ, to whose mychtie protectione I vnfanedlic committ you. Off Sanct Androis, the 5 of August, 1572.”

With this lettre, which was send be Mr Johne Wynrome, superintendent of Fyfe, and Mr Robert Pont, wer sent thir Articles following:

[*Articles send be Mr Johne Wynrome and Mr Robert Pont.*]

“First, desyring a new aæt to be maid, ratefeing all thingis concerning the king and his obedience, that wer enacted of befor, without any change; and that the ministris that haue contravenit the former aætis to be correctet, as accordis.

“2. That sute be made to the regentis grace and nobilitie, menteaning the kingis caus, that whatfoeuer procedis of this treatie of peice, they be myndfull that the kirke be not prejudgit thairby, in ony fort; and thei specialie of the ministrie that haue bene rubbed of thair possessiones within the kirke, during the tyme of thir trubles, or otherwaysi doung and injured, may be restoiere.

“3. To sute at the regentis grace, that no gift of ony bischoprike, or other benefice, be geui to ony persone, contrare the tennour of the aætis



made in the tyme of the first regent, of guid memorie; and thai that ar gevin contrair the said actis, or to ony vnqualefeit perfone, may be revoked and declaired null, be ane act of secrete counfall; and that all bifchoprikis vacand may be presentit, and qualefeit perfonis nominat thervnto, within ane yeir after the vaiking thair of, according to the order taikin in Leith be the commissioneris of the nobilitie and of the kirke, in the moneth of Januar last. And in specciall, to complene vpoun the geving of the bifchoprike of Ross to the lord Methwene.

“ 4. That no pensiounes of benefices, grit or small, be gevin be simple donatioune of my lord regent, without consent of the possessouris of the saidis benefices hauing title thairto, and the admissioun of the superintendent or commissioner of the province whair this benefice lyes, or of the bifchopis lawfullie elected, according to the said ordore tackin at Leith; and desyre ane act of counfall to be made thairvpoun vnto the next parliament, whairin the same may be speccialie enacted; with inhibitioune to the lordis of sessioun, to give ony lettres or decreittis vpoun sic simple giftis of benefices, or pensiounes, nocht being gevin in maner aboue reherfit; and that the kirke, presently assemblit, declair all sic giftis null, so far as lyes in thair power.

“ 5. That the first forme of presentatioune to benefices whilkis wer in the first and secund regentis tyme, be not changed, as now it is commonlie; bot that this clause be conteaned in the presentatiounes, that ‘Gif the perfone presentit makis not residence, or beis slanderous, or found vnworthie ather in lyfe or doctrine, be the judgment of the kirke, to the which alwayis he salbe subiect, or meit to be transportit to ane vther rowme at the sight of the kirke, that the said presentatioune, and all that fall fall thervpoun, salbe null, and of na force nor effect.’ And this to haue place also in the nominatioun of the bifchopis.

“ 6. That an act be maid in this assemblie, that all thingis done in prejudice of the kirkis assumptiones of the thridis, ather be papistis or vtheris, in giving of fewis, lyfrentis, or takkis, or ony vther wayis disponing the said assumit thridis, be declared null; with ane solempne protesta-tioun that the whole kirk disassentis thairto.

“ 7. That ane act be maid in this assemblie, decerning and ordaining all bifchopis admitt be the order of the kirke, now receavit, to give ac-

compt of thair whole rentis and introniffione thairwith, anes in the yeir, as the kirk fall appoynt, for sic caufes as the kirke may easilie confidder the fame to be most expedient and neccessar.

“ 8. Anent the jurifdictione of the kirke, that the fame be determined in this affemblic; becaus this article hes bene very long postponed.

“ 9. To make fuite to the regent and counfall, for remedie againft mef-mongaris and excommunicate perfonis.

“ Laft, That order be tane againft the procuratoris of the kirke, that procures againft minifteris and ministrie, and for fuiting of juftice of the kirkis aëtionous in the fefhone.”

Thir Articles wer redd in the affemblic, with the former lettre; but wha wer appointed to be fuiters at the regent and counfallis handis, as yit I know not. But the affemblic wrait againe an anfuer to Mr Knox, thus:

*[Anfuer by the Generall Affemblic to Mr Johne Knox.]*

“ The mychtie comfort of the Holy Ghost mote strengthen yow vnto the end!”

“ We haue receaved your writting (deare brother in the Lord Jefus), togidder with certane Articles and questiones, the quhilkis we have redd and diligentlie confiddered, and findis the fame both reffonabill and godly; and thairfore we haue tane lyke ordore as we culd for the furtherance thairof, as thir our brether, beiraris of this prefent, will declair vnto yow. Befeikand you to comfort your felf in the mercies of God, throw Jefus Chrif, we think it not meit to truble you, prefently, with long lettre, feing our myndis ar all bent (as we beleieve) to fet forward the felf fame caus which our God hes put in our handis, to the advancement of his glory and comfort of his kirke, through Jefus Chrif; to whois proteccion we committ you. Off Perth, the 10 of Auguft 1572.

“ Your brether and fellow memberis in Jefus Chrif,

“ MR JO<sup>n</sup>. WYNROME,  
DAUID LINDSAY,  
RO<sup>r</sup>. PONT,  
JOHNE ROW,

BISCHOPE OF CAITNES,  
JOHNE ERSKIN,  
JOHNE SPOTTISWOUD.”

Thir Questiones wer also presentit at this said assēblie; which fould haue bene writtin efter the former Articles :

[*Questiones presentit at the said Assēblie.*]

“ Giff a bishope, being elected to a grit diocie, may be admittit befydis to the office of rectorie of an vniversitie, or provost of ane college, or any vther lyke charge, or to bruike ony inferior benefice? ”

“ Giff controversie ryse vpoun doctrine, befoir whome fall it be in-treated? ”

“ Whair bishopis ar placed, according to the order of the kirke, whither fall the superintendentis iurisdictione expyre, or nocht? ”

“ Giff ony abbot may set his whole abbacie, in prejudice of his successoris, and of the ministrie, for the half of the thing it payit befoir, or vtherways farre within the auaille? ”

To this assēblie the toun of Edinburgh, efter thei war come home againe to thair houfes (I meane of thame that wer banished and remained not in the toun, nor tuike pairt with the traytoris of the castell), send thair commissioneris, as alwayis befoir thei had done, at every assēblie; and becaus thai wer destitute of ministeris, desyrit that thai mycht choise whom thai pleisit to haue for thair minister, becaus Mr Johne Craig and thei had gevin vther over; ffor thei thocht that the said Mr Johne Craig, wha befoir was ane of thair ministeris, swayed over meikle to the sword-hand. I will fay no moir of that man; but I pray God continow with him his holy spreit, and that he be not drawin afyde be Lethingtoun.

The assēblie grantit vnto them to choise wher thai pleased; with a charge also to the persone whome thei wold desyre to obey, except of the tuo ministeris of Dundie and Sanct Johnstoun. And thairefter the said commisioneris come to Johne Knox (now thair only minister at this present, albeit he was dwelling in Sanct Androis), to feike his advice heirin; and also delyuerit to him this lettre following, direct from the kirke and bretherin of Edinburgh, ffor to will him to returne home againe, as folowes:—

[*Lettre from the Kirke and bretherin of Edinburgh to Mr Johne Knox.*]

“ The comfort of the Holie Spirit, for salutatioune!”

“ Off the restoiring of us (vndefervit) of our God, to this our toun, we beleive ze ar not ignorant; and yit we can not excufe our sleuth, that has not as yit adverted you thair of. But being trubled to obtaine that libertie whilk we had befor our departing thairfra, quhairin we ar as yit occupied, was and is the caus of our slaknes, quhilk we doubt not ze will accept in goud part. Our estait present, in that thing whilk is to vs most deir, is that ministeris may be had, of whome for the present we ar destitute (you only excepted), moves us moir then ony vther thing. And for that purpose, and treating of sic vther thingis as concerne the stait of the kirke, we directit Nicoll Vdward, with Johne Johnstoun, this beirare, to the assëmblic at Sanct Johnstoun, who will certifie you of thair anfuër, which thair refaved. Bot becaus ze ar he to whome we ar marcit vndir, and we to you, we wald crave, and craves of God, gif habilitie of your persone mycht fusteine travell, that ones againe your voice mycht be hard amonges vs, and that thing reformed whilk sumtymes be you, vnder God, amonges vs was planted. Leath we ar to diseafe or hurt your persone in ony wayis, and farre leather to want you, we being fo joynd together in love, be God; and knowing your cair to be no les for us than it hes bene heirtofoir, we referre your returning to your self, and your judgment. But gif it mycht stand with your will, we desyre the famyn, maist earnestlie. And knowing the sufficiencie of the beiraris, wha will declair our myndis to you at grit length, whairin ze fall give thaim credite, we committ you to the protecciõne of the Eternall. Off Edinburgh, the fourth of Auguft, 1572.

“ Zour bretherin and childrene in God, with thair names subscryvit with thair owin handis.”

The presenteris of this lettre wer the commissioneris of the said kirk of Edinburgh, as said is, to wit, Nicoll Vdward, and Johne Johnstoun, scribe. Whilk lettre when thei had delyuered, and shewed the guid will and anfuër of the general assëmblic, requyred his advife for the choife of

a minister, the superintendent of Lowthiane being present; and after some reasoning, they concludit vpon Mr James Lowfone, then sub-principall of the college of Aberdein, placed thair be the first regent, the lord of Murray.

Maister Knox, eftir the reiding of his lettre, grantit to the commissiouneris and beiraris foirfaidis to returne againe to Edinburgh; bot with this conditione, that he suld not be defyred or preiffed in any sort to temper his tounge, or cease to speake against the treaffonabill dealingis of the castell of Edinburgh; whois treaffonabill and tyrannous doingis he wald cry out against, sa long as he wer able to speike. And thairfoir willed them to signifie the same to the whole kirke and bretherin of Edinburgh, leift thei sould afterward either repent of his austeritie against the said castle, or yit leift thai sould seir to be worst intreated for his caus. Whilkis wordis, or the lyke in effect, the said Mr Knox oftymes repetite vnto the bretherin of Edinburgh, when he was returned, befor he enterit the pulpet. Bot thai plainelic confessit thai neuer meanit nor thocht to put a brydle to his tounge, but willed him to speike his conscience, as he had done afoir tymes.

The 7 (17?) of August, Mr Knox departed out of Sanct Androis, not without dolore and displeasure of the few godly that wer in that toun; bot to the grit joy and pleasure of the rest, and specialie to the Balfouris, Kirkcaldies, (few thocht thei be!) and Hammiltoneis (enemies to God and to the king!) and thair factioun, for his feveritie vsed against them in his sermondis, reproving thair treasonable dealing, falsset, deceit, and trubling of this commonweath; quhilk they culd not abyde! Bot especiallye the Hammiltoneis, becaus his invying against thair treffonabill murder of the first regent; ffor all the tyme he was in Sanct Androis (quhilk was fra the begining of Julij, in anno 1571, till the 17 of August, in the yeir following, 1572) he preichit everie fonday, and teichet the prophet Daniell, to the middis of the ix chapter, alwayis applying his text (as a faithful preichore ought to doe) according to the tyme and stait of the people; whairby the wicked and trubleris of Godis kirk myght be knowin and painted out in thair cullouris! Bot, contrarielic, Mr Robert Hammiltoun, the minister of the said toun, in all his sermondis, vsit sic gene-

ralitie (as, alace! the maist part of the ministeris doe, becaus thai haue no will to take vpoun thaim the displeasure of men, for the reproving of vice!) that his fermondis mycht be applyed to these that fusteaned the guid caus, alsweill as to the trubleris of this commoun wealth, and the puire kirke within it; quhais doingis he alwayis went about to suppress and cover, that the fame fuld not appeir to the ejes of the multitude; thinking it sufficient, as oftymes was said, to haue ane approved authore ffor ony thing he spake. Bot the word of God aucht to be distributed as a guid and faithfull pphesitiane (quhilk a minister aucht to be to the faule and conscience of men) doeth his medicine, that is, according to the diseafe of the patient, and not to think it sufficient to giue vnto him guid medicine; ffor that which is guid for one, is death for another; and that medicine that is proper and also profitable for ane diseafe, is most noy-some and hurtfull to another! Therfoir, as I haue said, the medicine most be applyed as is most convenient for the curing of the diseafe of the feik; even so most and aucht everie trew preicheore distribute the medicine of Godis trew word. But how this is done now a dayis (alace!) is moir than evident. Becaus, I say, Johne Knox did thus vse himself in his fermondis, it gendrit vnto him a deidlie hatred and envye of all the foirfaidis in Sanct Androis, and especiallie of the principallis of the new college and the auld (a few exceptit); and yit, be outward gesture, and befor his face, thei wald seime and apcir to favore and loue him about the rest.

The caus why I speik this is, that at the inauguratioune of the bischope of Sanct Androis foirfaid, altogether against the mynd of Mr Knox, as he at that tyme oppinly spake in pulpet, he gritlie invyed against sic ordour and doingis as then was vset. Bot Mr Johne Rutherford, proveist of the auld college, called Sanct Salvitoris college, said that Mr Knox did so earnestlie speike against that doing, and macking of Mr Johne Douglas bischope, becaus he gat not the bischoprike himself! Whairvnto Mr Knox maid ansuer the nixt fonday, in the pulpet, that he had refused a gritter bischopricke then ever it was, which he mycht haue had with the favore of gritter men then ever the vther had this bischoprike, and yit did refuse. Bot only that he spake for discharge of his con-

science; and that the kirke of Scotland fuld not be subjeēt to that ordore which then was vsed, confiddering the lordis of Scotland had subscryvit, and also confirmed in parliament, the ordore alreadie and long agoe appointed, in the buike of discipline. Also the said Mr Johne Rutherford, at what tyme one of his colledge, called Mr Homere Blair, hath made oratione, invective against Sanct Leonardis colledge, affirming thaim to be als guiltie of the death of Mr Williame Ramfay, as Jamie of Bothwelhauch was of the regentis slauchter, whome he shot with a culvering in Linlythgow; with other mony injuries against the young men of that college. Mr Johne Rutherford, I say, fearing Mr Knox fould haue spokken sumwhat in his nixt sermond against the said oratione, or els sumquhat for the said young men, or regentis of the said college, fendis to Mr Knox his lettre following :

[*Lettre, Mr Johne Rutherford, proveijt of Sanct Salvitoris Colledge, Sanct Androis, to Mr Johne Knox.*]

“ Brother in the Lord Jesus, I am within this half houre aduerteised, that some of the regentis of Sanct Leonardis college hath bene at yow with some repoir of the thingis that was spokkin in the schoules be ane regent of our college, in his oratioune publiēt: I desyre you not to medle with thea meateris, while both the parties be hard; ffor the auld faying is trew, ‘Wha evill speikis evill heiris!’ It was reported what anfuere I gaive to the bischope, be the beddell; of the quhilkis thair was thir wordis, as was referrit be sum to you: That I said, ‘Cowper in Fyffe and Sanct Johnstoun, wer ever authoris of feditione!’ Bot this I said, that ‘in Cowper and in Sanct Johnstoun was oft feditione, and fwa the personis of these tounes shuld beine war withall.’ (Lat men tak it as they pleis!) I wald the wordis wer fals that I said. Be Godis grace, in Sanct Androis fall none be moir willing of quyetnefs nor I; and I affuir you, that I neuer knew, nor in ony fort understude, what he that made the oratioun was to speik, whill I hard him in the schoules. And yit, when all falbe tried befor the honestest of the vniversitie, it wilbe fund vtherwayis nor men speikis; and gif thair be fund fault with the man, it fall not defend him. Bot, in the meintyme, I wald ge medled nothing in the mater, as it aper-

teinis nothing to you; and I affuire you that we haue als guid zeale in this college towardis Godis word, and als guid opinione of you, as ony vther. Ye will remember heirafter of this my adverteifment. Committing you to Godis protectioun; not willing to truble you ather with wryting or talking,

Your affiured brother in the Lord Iesus,

(*Sic subscribitur*) Mr JOHN RUTHERFURDE."

The nixt fonday Mr Knox, into the pulpet, declaired the contentis of this lettre fend vnto him, without the expreffing of his name that fend it, fehawing that hitherto nane could accufe him of meddling in materis which aperteinet not vnto him; notwithstanding, whair offences wer oppinly committed, he of his office aucht to reprove thaim, whidder thair wer done in the colleges or not; and that he knew the pairt of the young men of Sanct Leonardis college to be vprycht and iust in that matter; and thairfoir he wald iustifie thair caus. Bot for the plainer declaratioun of this mater, we man open the fame as the treuth is; and quhilk I know to be most trew indeid.

Thair hes evir bene, of auld, a privie hatred of the vther tuo colleges against Sanct Leonardis, which began fumwhat more to increse eftir the depairtore of the man of God, Mr Gudeman, out of Sanct Androis, wha thair was minister; in whais rowme Mr Robert Hammiltoun foirfaid enterit, and was minister.

Now when the trubles began, eftir the kingis slauchter, that was murdered be the queine, with whome the Hammiltounes joyned (to thair wraike), the faid Mr Robert began to be fumwhat caulder in his fermondis then he was wont of befoir; ffor in the tyme that my lord of Murray had the handling of the court, in the queinis tyme, he wald not spair to reprove, most feveirlye, whatfoeuer he knew to be done amifs, ather be the queine, in the court, or vtherways. But now, I fay, when that the Hammiltounes did joyne with the queine in the defence of hir, efter the murther of hir owin husband, he began to grow cauld in his fermondis, and neuer spake a word of these materis, as gif thei neuer aperteinet vnto him; and fua from tyme to tyme he thus continowed, till at lenth the



young men, regentis of Sanct Leonardis colledge, thinking him to be fumwhat changed, began to admonife him, and defyre him firft (as I vnderftand) to pray for the regent, my lord of Murray, and the reft of his cumpany, for thair prosperous returne out of England, whair thai wer for the tyme, for tryall of the quenis fchamfull aēt, before the queine of England: Bot for all thair admonifhing of him, he did nathing, but rather drew vther minifteris with him to diffallow all thingis done againft the queine and kingis coronatioune; quhilk opinly thei fpak not, becaus thei durft not, at the firft; but as trubles began, fo did he and thei of his factiōne moir and moir vtter thaimfelues, till at lenth the foirfaid young men of Sanct Leonardis college did opinly complaine of the faid Mr Robert and vtheris of the generall affembly of the kirke, and gauē in particulare accufatiounes againft them, that thei did not pray for the regentis grace foirfaid, and for the king, and for fundrie thingis fpocken be thaim, tending to the derogatioune of the kingis authoritie; with dyuerfe vtheris thingis, which to recite wer tuo long. And amonges the reft that wer accused, Mr Williame Ramfay (a learned and a guid man, but feducit be the Hammiltounes factiōne, and Mr Johne Rutherford), nixt vndir the faid Mr Johne, proveift of Sanct Saluatoris colledge, was one, for fum thingis he had fpocken for pleafure of the Hammiltounes; ffor thei made him beleive that a dochter of the auld chamerlandis of Sanct Androis, callit Hammiltoun, wald marie him, whome he eirneftly defyred; whairby he was drawin to follow thair factiōne: Bot Mr Williame, being callit befor the affembly, tuike grit displeifoure, and was not a littil commoved in his mynd, whairthrow he tuike feiknes, and fchortlie died. He confefsed to fome that, for the pleifoure of his intyferis, he did againft his confcience, which movit him to gritter dolore in his hart; bot always, he deid of two or thrie dayis feiknes. Whilk his difeafe or feiknes apaired the fonday befor his death, being in pulpet; and being requyred be Mr Robert Hammiltoun, befor, to preich that fonday efternounge, was fo caried away, as ane without memorie, fo that he culd not abfolve his mater; and efter he come fra the pulpet, tuike his bedd, and within thrie dayis (as faid is) died. A fearfull document of Godis judgmentis to monie now a dayis, wha dois cleane contrarie to thair knowledge and confcience; vpoun whome

Godis judgmentis fall ftryke in gritter meafoure, gif God make them not repent! Becaus, I fay, the regentis and young men of Sanct Leonardis college fummouned Mr Williame Ramfay to the generall affemblic (as faid is), which was the caufe that he tuik his feiknes and died, they of the auld colledge, callit Sanct Saluatoris colledge, bure thaim evir fince fic indignatioune, that thei focht alwayes to lay the blame of his death vpoun thame; whilk this young man did, Mr Homer Blair, in open fchoules, in his oratione (as faid is). And this was the caus of his invying againft the faid college; for the whilk orafione Mr Johne Rutherford, being proveift of the faid auld colledge, wrote as we haue hard.

Bot to returne to thame wha buire privie indignatioune, in hart, vnto Mr Knox for his maner of doctrine, and yit in countenance wald apeir to loue him as thair brother, in fpeciall was the faid Mr Robert Hammiltoun, wha had fparced abroad and tauld to fundrie, that Mr Knox was als grit a murderer as ony Hammiltoun in Scotland, gif all thingis wer well tryed; and thairfoir fuld not cry out fo faft againft murdereris! flor (faid Mr Robert) he had fufcryvit to the death or flautcher of the quenis husband, me lord Darnelic, with my lord of Murray, quhilk fould haue bene done in Sanct Johnftoun, as faid is. Thir wordis Mr James Hammiltoun declaired to me, beand Mr Knoxis fervand; and alfo faid, that the faid Mr Robert had diverfe tymes fpooken the fame vnto him, and to ane called Mr Johne Carnegie, ane vther regent that tyme in the faid new colledge. Quhillkis wordis, when I hard, I faid, I could not of my honour conceill the fame, but wald avow him to be the fpeiker thairof to me; and willed him not to goe bake thairof. Eftir that I had declaired thir wordis to my maifter, he wrote to Mr Robert on this maner, being ewill at eas for the tyme:

[*Lettre, Mr Johne Knox to Mr Robert Hammiltoune, Minister of Sanct Androis.*]

“Thair is nothing so secreit but salbe revealed!”

“Becaus the inhabilitie of my body is fic that I may not do the thing quhilk vtherways I wald gladly, I write vnto you (not without pane) thefe few wordis, defyryng to be refolued widder that ge haue affirmed (to ane or mae) that ge haue fene my fufcriptione and consent to the murder

of the lord Darnley. Off your awin conscience and knowledge, ge your self can best testifie. I crave your ansuir, affirmative or negative.

(*Subseryvit*)      JOHN KNOX."

Quhilk I delyuerit the 15 of November, in anno 1571, and requyred his ansuir; bot his schiffting wordis, spoken to me, mycht haue maid ony man sufficientlie beleiuie that he had spoken the fame. But after long talk, he willed me to give this ansuer: That he neidit not to haue writtin vnto him, ffor gif he would haue fend the leift boy to his hous, he sould cum to him and fatissie him. Whilkis wordis I reported agane.

Thaireftir my maister schew the mater to the rector, Mr Johne Douglas, new maid bischope, and to Mr Johne Rutherford, desyryng thame to speike Mr Robert to fatissie this sclander, or elis to byd be it; whilk gif he wold nocht, he wald complene to the kirke. Thairaftir come the said Mr Robert, and talketh with my maister. What it was I know not, bot when I come in vpoun thame, my maister willed me schaw him that I tauld him it; which I confessed, and schew wha spake the same to me; whilk when I hard, I said, I culd nocht, neather of honestie nor honour, conceill the fame; adding farder, that, "Gif I knew my maister to be sic a mau, I wold nocht serue him for all the geir in Sanct Androis!"

Then the tryall of the matter was referred to me, Richard Bannatyne, be command of my maister; whairof I thocht Mr Robert had litle will, or none at all. After finding fit oportunitie, I confronted the said Mr James (Hammiltoune) and Mr Robert (Rutherford) together; which he denyed, but the vther affirmed in his face to be most trew that he had so spoken, not only vnto him, but also vnto Mr Johne Carnegie, to bring Mr Knox in hatrent and disdaine. Mr Robert said he suld caus the vther repent his speiking, and that he suld haue him befor the kirke to make the mendis. Then, said I, "Giff ge be innocent, and not haue spoken it, ge will do so; bot gif that be not done, it may easilie be knowin that ge haue spoken the fame." Bot thair was no moir thairof, except that he said he sould caus Mr James repent it: Qubilk he and the rest of the Hammiltounes did what thei could, till at lenth he was compellit to leive the college. Vtheris mocked him, calling him "Knoxis byrd!" with sic vther tantis. God grant thaim repenting hartes, to acknowledge thair

despite they haue against that poure man, becaus he had a favour to Mr Knox!

Alfo Mr Archbald Hammiltoun for a long tyme come not to Johne Knoxis fermondis, becaus that he affirmed, in his teiching, that Hammiltounes wer murthereris. And a day being apointed to him to give a refone why he come not to the said Mr Knoxis fermond, as he was apointed be the superintendent and be the bifchope, Mr Johne Douglas? I can not tell quhither be the one, or be thame bothe, that he fould come to my maisteris hous, befor the said bifchope of Sanct Androis, the bifchope of Caitnes, Mr Johne Wynrome, Mr James Wilkie, primarius of Sanct Leonardis colledge, and Mr Johne Rutherfurde, deane of facultie and proveist of the auld colledge. And being convenit, the said Mr Archbald baid styfe, and said, that he was greived to fie the place (meaning the pulpet) so abused as it was. Whairvnto Mr Knox willed thame to take sic ordore as thei wald anfuer to God, as ane day thai fould, give ordore wer nocht put to his contempt. At what tyme nothing was done, faving that aither of thame maid thair protestatiounes, in forme and maner as followes:

[*Mr Johne Knoxis Protestatioune.*]

“The 18 of Julij, 1572. The quhillk day Mr Knox protestit, that no thing being done nor to be done in this privie assemblie, prejudge the kirke of God within Scotland, at ony tyme heirefter. And first, I protest that nather the pulpet of Sanct Androis, nather yit of ony congregatioune within the realme, be subjeēt to the censure of the schoules, vniversitie, or facultie within the same; bot only that it be reserved to God, the judge of all, and to the generall assemblie gatherit within the same realme, lauchfullie. The reffone of this my protestatioune is, that I luike for no better regiment in tymes to cum then hes bene in ages passing befor us; in the whilk it is evident, that vniversities, orderis weill establisht, and men raised vp to defend the kirke of God, haue opprest it; and the malice of Sathan is always to be feared.”

*Mr Archbald [Hammiltounis] Protestatioune.*

“The quhillk day Mr Archbald Hammiltoun, following the auctoritie and command of the most venerable lordis, my lord of Sanct Androis,

Caitnes, the deane of facultie in theologie, and vther principall heidis in the vniverſitie of Sanct Androis, compeirit in the inner chalmer of Mr Knoxis, in the new ludgene of the abbey, who be his owin, and be him being charged for not cuming to his preiching, agriet halilie to the ſaid Mr Knox firſt proteſtatioune; proteſting lykwayis with him, that nothing in this priue conuentione be done fuld be prejudiciall eather to ane trew reformed kirke, ather to the liberties and godly conſtitutiounes of this our vniverſitie. Secondly, the ſaid Mr Archbald proteſtis, that nather he, nor any vther faithfull in the vniverſitie, be thrallit to ony miniſter wha exemis him ſelf fra ordore and godly diſcipline; and cheiſlie, when as the miniſter fall take that licence, that doctrine, to publiſhe in the pulpet, which afoir ordinar judges he reſuiſes to defend in ſcholes, to ſchaw it to be conſonant vnto the word of God: And his reſſone is, that be the contentment of the whole learned and godly, it is affirmed, ſcholes to haue bene intertained from the begining in all reformed kirkis, to this purpoſe chieſlie, that fanitie of doctrine mycht be reteaned, and chiſmes and hereſies avoydit."

After Mr Knoxis departore furth of Sanct Androis (as ſaid is), he landit at Leith the 23 of Auguſt; and eftir certane dayis taryeing thair, he come to Edinburgh, to the comfort of thoſe that wer baniſhit, as he was; and preichit in the pulpet of Edinburgh on ſonday the laſt of Auguſt. Bot becaus his voice was febled and waike, and thairfoir culd not be hard of the whole multitude that conuenit, he deſyred thame to provyde for that place; ffor he confeſſed, that his voice was neuer able (the beſt tyme that cuer he was) to extend to all that come together in Sanct Geillis kirke, and meikle les now was it able to ſatiſſie the auditore, ſeing that he was ſo waike, and his voice ſo farre ſpent. Thairfoir he deſyrit thame that ſome vther place mycht be appointed for him, whair his voice mycht be hard, gif it were but vnto ane hundreth perſonis: Which eſterwardis was done.

At this tyme was Mr James Lowſone ſend for, out of Abirdeine, to cum to Edinburgh; and thairfoir thei deſyrit Mr Knox to writ for him; which he did, as followes:

[*Lettre from Mr Johne Knox to Mr James Lowfone.*]

"All wordlie strength (yea evin in thingis spirituall) decays; and yit sall neuer the worke of God decay!"

"Belovit brother, Seing that God of his mercie, far above my expectatioune, has callit me ones againe to Edinburgh, and yit that I feill nature so decayed, and daylie to decay, that I luike not for a long continowance of my battell, I wald glaidlie ones difcharge my conscience into your bosome, and into the bosome of vtheris in quhome I thinke the feir of God remains. Gif I hath had the habilitie of bodie, I fould not haue put you to the paine to the quhilk I now requyre you, that is ones to visite me, that we may conferre together of heavinlie thingis; ffor into earth thaire is no stabilitie, except the kirke of Jesus Christ, ever fightand vnder the crofe, to whose mychtie protectione, heartlie, I committ you. Off Edinburgh, the vij of September, 1572.

(*Sic subscribitur*)                      JOHNE KNOX."

Vndir the subfcriptione were thir wordis, "Hait, leif ge come to laite!"

Eftir the receit heirof, the said Mr James come to Edinburgh, about the 15 or 16 of September, and preichit in the kirke the ffryday eftir; whilk was laiked of all the auditore. And the fonday thaireftir, which was the 21 of September, Mr Knox began and preichit in the Tolbuith, quhair he contineweth to preich every fonday, so long as God gaue him strenth.

The sext of September, the lord Flemyng, who was hurt be the Frenchmen which befor stoll out of Leith, and that be his especial doingis and meanes, depairtit this lyfe in Biggar, whither he was caried in ane litter furth of the castle of Edinburgh, which litter not being able to goe furth at the castell yeat, vntill the portcullious wer raifed and lifted vp hier, which beand raifit vp, fell down to the ground agane; and a part of a spelife (spelch) thairof sleing of, hurt Harie Balfoure in the heid; wha, after he had lyne a 10 or 11 dayis, died the xj of September. And so thir tua haue gottin thare rewarde! God gif it be his pleafoure that thir his judgments may be a wairming to the rest, to bring thame to repentance! But *consuetudo mali est indelibilis.*

The 12 of September, Mr Killigrave, a guide and godly protestant, come to Edinburgh.

About this tyme come the word of the most fchamefull, beaftlie, crwell, and most treasonable fact that ever was hard or redd of befoir, in ony historie; the death and flauchter of that man of God, the Admirall of France, whois compair or lyke was scairfe to be fund in Europe againe, ather in wifdome, manheid, or godlines! Which treasonable and devilish act, vndir trust and amitie, was done by the king, as his owin edict and declaratioune thairof, which followes, declairis: and is translated out of French, word by word, as it was in the printed copie, which the tranflater and writter saw.

*The Kingis Declaratioune of the caus and occasioun of the death of the Admirall, and vtheris his adherentis and complices, laity hapined in this toun of Pareis, the 24 of Auguſt, 1572. Printed in Pareis be Johne Dallier, librare, dwelling vpoun Sanct Michaelis Bridge, at the ſigne of the white roſe, be the Kingis permiſſione.*

“ BE THE KING.

“ His maieſtie, willing to mak knowin to all lordis, gentlmen, and vtheris his ſubiectis, the caus and occasioun of the death of the Admirall, and vtheris his adherentis and complices, laity hapened into the toun of Parife, the 24 of Auguſt, becaus the ſaid fact may be vtherwayis diguyfed or wrong reportit vnto thame then it is: His ſaid maieſtie declairis, that this that is thus hapenit, was done be his expres commandement, and not for ony caus of religione, nor to contravene his edict of pacificatioune, quhilkis he alwayis vnderſtude, as yit he will, and vnderſtandis, obſerue, keip, and interteanie; bot to avoyde and prevent the executioun of ane vnhappie and deteftable conſpiracie maid be the ſaid Admirall, principall author of the ſame, and his adherentis and complices, in the perſone of the ſaid king, and againſt his eſtate, the queine his mother, the lordis his bretherin, the king of Navere, and princes and lordis being with thaim: Whairfoir his ſaid maieſtie makis it knowin, be this preſent declaratioune and ordinance, to all gentlmen and vtheris whatfoeuer of the pretendit

reformed religione, that he will and vnderstandis, that in all fuiretie and libertie, thei may liue and dwell with their wyfis, childrene, and families into thair houfes, vnder the proteccion of the said king, lyk as thei haue done heirtofore, and according to the benefite of the saidis edictis of pacificatioune: Commanding and ordaineing, most expresse, all governouris and generall lieutenentis, in all his cuntries and provinces, and all vtheris his iustices and officiaris to whome it aperteinis, not to attempt, permitt, nor suffer to be attempted nor interpryfed, in ony fort or maner whatfoeuer, against the perones and guidis of thame of the said religione, thair saidis wyffis, childrene and familieis, vnder the paine of deid against the transgressouris and culpables. And notwithstanding, to avoyd the trubles, felanderis, suspitiones, and mistrust which may happin be the occasiounes of the preachingis and assemblies which may be made, alswell in the houfes of the said gentlemen as in vtheris places, according as it is permitted be the saidis edictis of pacificatioune, his said maiestie makis ane expresse inhibitioune that they make no assemblies, for ony occasiounes that may be, vntill that be the said king, efter that he hes provydit for the tranquillitie of the realme, it be vtherways ordained; and that vnder the paine of deid, disobediencie, and confiscatione of thair bodies and guidis. Also it is expresse defendit, vnder the saidis paines, to all thame that be reafone of the foirsaidis, haue or reteane ony prafoneris, to tak ony ranfome of thame; and that thei incontinent give adverteisement vnto the governouris of provinces, or vnto the generall lieutenentis, of the names and qualites of the said prafoneris, whome his said maiestie ordaines to releive and set at libertie, giff so be they be not of the heidis that haue had charge for thame of the religione, or that haue made ony practises or doingis, or that might haue had ony intelligence of the foirsaid conspiratioune; vpoun which cases, thei fall incontinent adverteis his said maiestie, that he may cause thame vnderstand his will thairin. Ordaineing also, that fra thynefourth, none be so hardie to take or hald ony prafoneris for the foirsaidis, without expresse commandement of the said kyng and his officiaris; and that none pas vpoun the feildis to ony farmes or stedingis, to tak horsis, meiris, oxin, kye, or ony vther bestiall, guidis, fruitis, cornes, nor ony thing whatfoeuer, nor missay the laboureris of the ground, but lat thame in



peace exerce thair laboris in all affurance, conforme to thair vocatioune, vndir the paines foirfaid. Made at Parife, the 28 of August, 1572.

(*Subfcrit*) CHARLES R.  
(*and vnderneath*) FIZES."

Notwithstanding of this declaratioune of this tyrantis treffonabill mynd and will, all was done but to put his erwell tyranny to further executioun, be trapping and deceiving, be this meanis, the poure professouris of Christis evangle, as thir advertifmentis from France fend to England, and fra thyne to Killigrave, in this toun of Edinburgh, evidentlie schawes.

*Aduertifementis out of France, in September.*

"First, That the kingis declaratioune, which he hes fet fourth, tuiching the mater of the Admirall, is vtterlie vaine and fals, in everie poynt: ffor that, contrarie to the faid declaratioune be the kingis owin command, the protestantis ar continowallie murtherit; yea, in fo much as captane Johne, who is apoyntit be the king to be the commone cutthroat, bringis report every day to the king how mony he hes dispatchit every nycht, and how mony ar brocht in daylie to all the presones; whairat the king takis pleifoure, and willeth the faid cutthroat, who hes commiffioun to visite all the presoneris, to kill thaim all.

"2. The lait fact is mislyked of all, alsweill papifis as vtheris, except such onlie as were authoris of the fact, or elis of the rafcallis that fought for the spoile.

"3. The Italianis wer both the contryverse and inventaris of this murder, and also the executeris.

"4. The tyranny is sic, that it hath brocht in a generall mistrust, in all fortes of men; ffor mony ritche papifis wer slaine in the truble, and mony suittis dependjng befor the judges endit be murder; mony privat queralis revenged, and mony debtis acquyted, vndir the cullore of killing Heugoneutis.

"5. The Germanis fo abhorre the fact, that thei all depairt by fifties and 60 in cumpany; some of thame, at Orleans, spoyled and put to ranfone.

“6. The counte of Hannow, cowfigne to the Palsgrave, was spoyled at Parife, and keipit clofe be certane shuldeoris, and fet at 4000 crownes ranfowme; whilk he accordit to pay, had not the king tacken order vther-wife.

“7. Tuo gentlmen, curriouris, come out of Germanie to the French court, wha did report that the fact is fo abhorred in Germanie, that thei called thame be the way as thei come, “shalme!” which is alfmuch as theif and traytore!”

*Occurantis advertesjed to the Major of Rye; and from him to the Lordis of Counfall, 20 of September, 1572.—From the Major and Juratis of Rye.*

“On tuyfday, laft of the faid moneth, thair arryved at Rowane ane troupe of horfmen and tuo enfeinggies of futemen, fent be the king (as it was faid) to put all the protestantis within the faid toun to the fword. Bot thei of the toun, feiring to be difapointed of the spoyle which thei fo gridelic gaped after, sufferit them not to enter; but thaim feluis, that fame day, befor nycht, schoat all the geatis that none fould efcap: That being done, they fet on the protestantis thei could find abroad in the freitis, and, without all peitie or mercie, murthered not onlie men, but women and childrene, not fpairing, as is faid, infants at thair motheris brieftis; fo that the freitis lay full of flaine carcasses, pitioullie murthered; and mangled 40 in one freit, and 50 on ane vther freit, and towardis one of the portis, whither thei fled for succour, 120, the channell rushing downe with streames of bloude of the flaine, abundantlie! That being done, in the freitis, thei violentlie brake into the houfes of these that professit the religione, whair of befor thei wer nocht ignorant; and all that nycht maift miserablie murtherit thaim, without respect of aige, sex, or kynreid; and eftir enterit the prionis of the toun, which wer stuffed full of protestantis, whome befor thei had apprehendit; and thair, in most erwell wayis, murtherit and dispatchit thame all. Which vnnaturall and crewell murther was the more, be resson that mony of the faid toun, which wer befor fled, efter thei had hard tell of the former masiacre of the nobilitie done at Parife, fearing the sequele, wer now returned home

again vpon the credite of fuch affurance, as by opin proclamatioune by the king, with found of trumpet, was in maist effectuall order of wordis gevin vnto thaim.

“ The reportaris of the premiffis having bene elderis of the reformed kirke at Rowan, and remaining at Kilbuffe, not far from Rowan, at the tyme of this moft wofull murther, affirme that thefe cumpanies which wer fent befor be the king to execute the murther, efter they had intelligence of the executioun thairof, in Rowan, merched towardis Caen, thair alfo to doe the lyke; and, as is faid, that thei wold come to New-heavin to no better end.

“ Sir, our newes out of France doe continow as thai began, and mendit as fowre aill in fommer! Whofoeuer cumeth from thence can tell of nothing but of murther treffonable done. That began, as ge know, on foday, being Bartilmoo day, at Parife. Straight come poft efter poft, one efter ane vther; fo the tuyfday nixt eftir that bloudie foday, they began at Lionis, apprehending all the protestantis, imprifoned thame, inventored their guidis, and killed thame, fending in butcheouris in vnto thame, fittie in one day in one place; and ceafed nocht till thei had killed 3000. But who can number or tell, certainlie, fuch flaughteris! This we heir, from Lionis, of thame that wat not quhat to doe, in this world.

“ At Parife murther doeth continow; not only by firft imprifoning thame, and in the nycht to hing them and drowne thaim, or elis knocke them on the heidis and drowne thame; but fumtymes, evin ftill efter the auld diforderis of Parife, the throat cutteris killis whome thai lift. *O tempora! O mores! O scelus perfidium! O Neronem redivium Gallo cæterum dedecus!*

“ And yit, Sir, on ffryday the queine mother tauld our embaffadore, that manis conscience fuld [not] be forced, onlie they fuld haue no exercife of their religione. *Perpetuum et irrevocabile edictum!* ‘ffor (faid fcho) ge may fie that be the king of Navare, the Prince of Condie and his wife, who be of the religione, and that thei be sufferit frielie, and fo falbe, althocht the king, my fone, defyre thame to be catholickis!’ Bot the foday after, Madame la princeffe de Condie was forced to goe to meffe, or elis to prefone; whair fho was tauld fho fould fone be made bloudie! And

the prince, her husband, had chofe to heir mefs the nixt fonday (for hither-to he had forfaken it), or elis to goe to prefone to the Baftillie; whair he fould not long coft the king ony meite! Thefe be thair affuirances, and fo much thei ftand to thair wordis and promifes in that cuntre!

“Moir, this laft weike, on Rowland, a channone in Noftre Dames and parliament of Parife, a notable papift, becaus he was hard vttering wordis of miflyking of the lawles kynd of proceeding, without order of juftice, was apprehendit, committit to prefone, and als diforderly murtherit as ony of the vther, in the prefone. So evin thair the modeft papiftis ar offendit! The wyfer of the nobilitie be affrayed of this terrible exemple, without proces, without anfuwer, without law or juftice, to kill quhome the prince will. Everie wyfe man thair luikis for a terrible vengeance of God to fall for fuch crweltie! Gif it be trew that the earth is accurfed that fouketh vp the bloud of innocentis, as it is indeid; and fall ather Scotland trust them, or we fear thame? Yit feir thaim we moft, as ragene wolfes and deteftable ferpentis, without God, without faith, and without humanitie! Sa fair ze weill. From Kilbuith, the 20 of September, 1572.”

The 22 of September the regentis grace, with certane vtheris of the kingis lordis, come to Leith, for to make fome apoyntment with thame of the caftell during this prefent abftinence, which now drawis to an end: And efter thei had remained in Leith a few dayis, the regent and the reft of his cumpanie come to Edinburgh; whair, efter long talk, without ony conclufione, ane abftinence was tane the 26 day, to continow for viij dayis, in hope of fum appoyntment. All which tyme no vther thing was concludit, but ane vther abftinence for 4 dayis; and thaireftir, vpoun the viij day of Otober, ane abftinence was proclaimed to indure till the fext of December nixt. And fo the caftell, that traytorous hous, gat the moft pairt of thair defyres; for thei fought nothing bot drift of tyme, and abftinence to abftinence, as Lacrocke earneftlie fought to haue ane abftinence for 3 monethis. The defyris of the caftell war fo far wyde, that nothing could be grantit to thaim.

At this tyme, when the regent and lordis wer in this toun, becaus of this grit crweltie execute in France vpoun the proteftantes, ane lettre was

givin in to the counfall, defyring in effect, that order mycht be tane against the crwell and tressonabill conspiracies of the papistes, wha as thei had begone in France, wald doe the lyke in all vther places, giff they mycht; and that consultatioune mycht be tane how to avoyde thair interpryfes! Be meanes of which lettre, this proclamatioune was fet fourth, as followes:

*The copie of a Proclamatioune set furth be the Kingis Maiestie and his Counfall, for the Conventioun of the professoris of the trew Religion within this realme, to consult and deliberat vpoun the imminent dangers and conspiraceis of the Papiſtis.*

“James, be the grace of God, king of Scottis, to our louittis, etc., messingeris, our schereffis in that pairt, conjunctly and severally, etc. Forfameikle as, be ane supplicatioune, it is humblie meanit to us, and exponit to our rycht traift cowfigne, Johne erle of Marre, lord Erkeine, regent to us, our realme, and leiges, and lordis of our privie counfall, be the baronis, gentlmen, and vtheris professouris of Christis evangle, preſentlie convenit in our burcht of Edinburgh: That in respect of the grit nurtheris, and moir than beistlie crweltie vsed and put in executioun, in diverse pairtes of Europe, against the trew Christianes within the same; proceeding na doubt out of that vnhappy, devillife, and terrible counfall of Trent, and pretendit not only to be execute in forane cuntries, whair ather thair power or trefone may avall, but also intendit to be profecute and followed furth with the lyke gritter crweltie (giff it wer possible) against the trew Christianes heir of this our realme of Scotland, and over all whair els, whairever Christis evangle is sinceirly professt; maist humblie requyring the present appearing danger to be foirsene and provydit for, willinglie offering thaim selues and all that thei haue to the furtherance of the same, whairthrow the wicked interpryfes and devyfes of the malicious and bloudie papistis, and childrene of the world (which in thair kynd ar moir buffie and subtle then the childrene of God), may be, with Godis help, preventit and resistit. Our said cowfigne and regent, and lordis of our privie counfall foirsaid, considdering the equitie and necessitie of the said Supplicatioune, hes ordained thir our lettreis to be directed in maner

following:—Our will is heirfoir, and we straitlie charge you, and comandis that incontinent thir our lettres sene, 3e pas, and in our name and auctoritie command and charge all and fundrie our lieges and subiectis, professoris of Christis evangle, of all the reformed kirkis within this our realme, be open proclamatioune at the mercat croces of the heid burrowes of our said realme, in the parroche kirkis, and vtheris places neidfull, that thei, and every particular kirke be thaim seluis, fend and direct thair commissioneris, sufficientlie authorised, ane or mea, according to the qualitie or quantitie of the perfonas and rowme, to our said burcht of Edinburgh, or quhair our said regent salbe for the tyme, the 20 day of Otober instant, to cónsult, advise, and deliberat, vpoun sic materis and ovectoris as may be proponit to our said regent and lordis of our privie counfall foirsaid, tending to the preventing, resisting, and mutuall defence of the professoris of Christis evangle within this our realme, fra the furious rage and lawles erwelteis of the bludy and treffonabill papistis, executeris of the deeries of the said devillishe and terrible counfall of Trent; and in sic thingis farther as may advance Godis glory and trew religione foirsaid; as everie reformed kirk will thairby declair thair earnest and Christiane affectione to the same, in sa present danger and commone perrell. Grantand also, be thir presentis, full libertie, licence, protectione, and affurance, to all commissioneris of kirkis, whair ever thai dwell, in ony pairtes of this realme, howsoeuer in tyme bygane they haue bene to our autoritie, that thei may saillie and frielie hant, resort, and cum to the day and place aboue appointed, and thair remaine during the tyme of conventione to be keipit for this purpose; whair also thei salbe admittit to haue frie speiche and voite, and to return at thair pleasoure to thair dwelling place, without stope, truble, arrest, searche, or impediment to be made to thaim, in bodies or guidis, for the space of xx dayis efter the said 20 day of Otober, including also the tymes of thair travellis grantit to thaim. Certeseing all sic as fall requyre particular licence and affurance for this effect, that vpoun thair desyre, the same salbe granted vnto thaim. Commanding all our officiaris, leiges, and subiectis, that none of thame take vpoun hand to violat this present licence, protectione, and affurance, vnder all hieft paine, charges, and offences, that thei and ilk-

ane of thame may committ, and inryne against our maieftie in that pairt; as ge will anfuer to vs thairvpoun. The quhilk to doe we commit to you our full power, be thir our lettres, delyvering them be you dewlie execute, and indorfat agane to the bearer. Gevin vndir our signet, at Edinburgh, the 3 day of Oēctober, and the fext yeir of our regne, 1572."

With this faid proclamatioune, which was prentit, was also prentit fum articles of the counfall of Trent; the effect whair of was, that all profef-fouris of Christis evangle, whome thei terme Lutherianes, Hugonotes, and Calveniftis, falbe routed vp, and that all vther protestantis in Europe falbe vterlie distroyed and sacked, and thair guidis and heretages disponsit vpoun, at the pleifoure of the pape, etc., with ficlyke godles inventiones; the practeis quhair of is now opinly begune in Parife, as faid is.

At this tyme, the ministeris then in Edinburgh did maist vehemently invei against this most beastly and moir then tressonabill fact; whairat the French ambaffadore, callit La Crocke, was nocht a little miscontent, becaus that his maister the king, or rather the traytore, of Francee, fould be thus callit a traytore, and a murtherer of his owin subjeētis, vndir promeis and traift: Bot especiallie against Johne Knox, wha had pronunceit in his sermond, and bad declair the same to the ambaffadore, to tell his maister, that the sentence is pronounced in Scotland against that murtherer, the king of France, that Godis vengeance fall neuer depairt from him nor his houe, bot that his name fall remaine in execratioune vnto the posterities to enm; and that nane that fall come of his loynes fall enjoye that kingdome in peace and quyetnes, vnles repentance prevent Godis judgmentis!

The faid La Crocke defyrit of the regent and counfall, that ane edict might be put fourth, that none fould speike ony thing to the dishonore of his maister, and cheiflie the ministeris in thair sermondis; and that the queine of England had fet fourth ane for the same purpose; which was maist fals! But the lordis anfuerit, thei could not stop the mouthes of ministeris to speike against thaim selues!

La Crocke departed out of Edinburgh, and Viracke also (whome Wormistoun tuike out of Sanct Androis, as is afoir specifeit), miscontent

that this his defyre was nocht granted, the 6 of October, and past throw England.

To what end this abstinence will cum to, gude men doubtis; becaus that sic as ar suspecēt and neuer sufferit ony truble be remayneing in Leith, ar the principall counfallouris and draweris on thairof; sic as the lord of Montrois, wha was the cheif laborer to caus my lord of Murray, then regent, to goe to Dumbarten, making him beleive to get appointment thair-with; bot the end declared his death was fought, as after came to pas. When sic men ar vpoun counfall, what gud thing can be hoipit for? Also Tullibairne was ane vther that was buffie in this abstinence, of whome guid and godly men luikis for no better at his handis nor of the vther. God, for his Sone Christis sake, preferue the king from sic as he is! for he hath intendit evill againt the first regent (as he did), neuer man may luike for guid of him!

Befoir the proclamatioune of this last abstinence, Killigra, the Englis ambassadore, being in the castell, and speiking with the captane and the rest, they said vnto him, that it was only but tuo or thrie ministeris that rayled againt them and called thaim traytouris; and also, that the toun of Edinburgh had compellit sic as willinglie offerit thaim felues to repentence for thair remaining in the toun with thame, to cum and do the fame, for feir of tynfall of thair fredome: Whilk being schawin to the kirke, they wer called in befoir the superintendent, at thair synodale assemblie, thir fame perfonis, whome the captane and his alleged was compellit, to fie gif thei did it of compulsione or not; bot thei anfuert that no man compellit them, bot only beand movit of thair conscience, for thei could nocht be at rest till thei had offerit thaimfelues to the kirke. Lykwayis, fundrie vtheris that had remained in the toun, the tyme of the truble, to the number of 29 or 30 perfones, come altogether at one tyme and gaue in thair bill to the kirke, defyring thaim to refaue thame; the copie whairof heir followis:

*The forme of Bill gevin in to the Sessione be thaim that repentit thair remaining in the toun; the copie whairof was gevin to Mr Killigra.*

“ Ministeris, elderis, and deacones, humblie meanis and schawis, we



your brether, sumtyme in Christ, and now, alace! not worthy to be callit one of that number, Hendrie Anderfone, Symon Johnstoun, baxter, Johne Hendirfoun, baxter, etc.: That whair, during the maist pairt of thir lait trubles raised be the enemies, not only aganist our Maister and Saviore Jesus Christ, his trew and faithfull ministeris, but als aganist our soverane, his guid and obedient subjeētis, as in cuming in oppen and plane battell to sched the bloud of thame that sumtymes was our dairest bretherin, to the grit greif of our consciences. Alace! we confes, and now movit be the Spreit of God, and calling to mynd our former defectione and hynous slander gevin be us to our darrest bretherin, and willing to satisfie our said soverane for the samyn, and yit during the tyme of our said remayning into this burghe, we take God to witnes we ar cleane and innocent of all nyctboris guidis and geir; and willinglie submittis our selues to the lawes of this realme for the same, notwithstanding ony abstinance taken or to be taken. And sieing our cheif end and purpose, at this present, tendis only to the conjunctione againe with Christ, his trew ministeris, faithfull bretherin, and reconciliatioune with our soverane lord, all worldlie excuses and schiftis set apart, submittis our selues most humblie to the discipline and guide order of the kirke. Heirfoir we maist humblie beseeke your godly wisdomes, in the name of Jesus Christ, whois word sumtyme we haue professit with you, and now made defectione as said is, to resave us againe, as trew penitent bretherin, into your societie and company in tyme cuming; and als to be humble and earnest suittaris for us to the civile magistrat: And we, be thir presentis, faithfully promittis to your godly wisdomes, neuer to make the lyke defectione in tyme cuming; zea, gif the famenould tend to the losse and tinfall of all our lyves and guidis, gif God, of his meir grace and mercie, will continow with us his Holie Spirit: And als promifes to forbear all the societie and company of the wickit in all tymes heirefter: And whatsoeuer injunctione or command your godlie wisdomes will impone vpoun everie ane of us, for our said defectione, we fall willinglie obey the famen, with all humblnes of hart. And your godly wisdomes answere richt humblie we crave."

The personis and ingivaris heirof did all subscrieve the same, efter that

thei wer demandit and requyrit, fa monie of thame as could write; and sic as could not defyred the notar to doe the fame for thame, be tuiching the penne, as vse is.

The copie heirof was gevin to the said Killigrave, whairby he mycht easlie perfaue the wordis of thame of the castle to be most fals. But traytoris thinkis no schame to lie and invent whatfoeuer thei thinke to deface ather the treuth or a rycht cause, whilk in so doing thei intend to overthrow; but in the end thei falbe fraired into the gyrne thei lay out for vtheris, to their schame. Confusione and schame both heir and thyne!

The 20 day of October, quhilk befor was apointed for the conventione of the protestantis within this realme, being come, thair come to this toune of Edinburgh none otheris but the ministeris, and few vtheris commissiouneris. Neuer ane grit man nor lord come, except the laird of Lundie, and some, but few, lairdis of Lowthiane neirby. As for ony lord, thair wes nane. Whither the caus was of the regentis infirmitie of seiknes, or of ane vther proclamatioune that was made at the same tyme to goe vpoun the theives was the caus, I am vncertane quhilk; both, in my iudgment, was some impediment, yit the ministeris for the tyme penned thir heidis and articles following, to be gevin to the regent and counfall:

*The Heidis and Articles to be proponit in the name of the Ministeris, Barones, and Commissiouneris of Kirkis, to the Regentis grace, Nobilitie, and Counfall.*

“ The Assemblic of the kirke convenit at Edinburgh, the 20 day of October 1572, according to the proclamatioune: first, hes thoct expedient, in sa far as present conventione is institute, to provyde remeid against the tressonabill erweltie of the papistis, and to resist the same, to mitigate the wraith and indignatioune of God, whairby thei ar steired vp against us, for our fynis; thair falbe ane publict humiliatioune of thame that fears God, throughout the whole realme, to begin the 23 of November nixtocum, and to end the last day of the same: And to the effect, that thei who ar notorious offenderis and publict sclanderis of the kirke may be brocht to amendement of lyfe, or els be excludit from the societie

of the faithfull, it is thocht expedient that betwixt this and the 23 of November, in all provinces and parochie kirkis, whair order of difcipline is, the fuperintendentis, commiffioneris of countries, minifteris, and elderis, fall call befoir thaim, at appoynted dayes, all notorious offenderis within thair iurifdictiones, fic as murthereris, fornicatoris, and affifteris to murthereris, adultereris, robberis of the patrimony of the kirke, or vtheris menis poffeffiones; and ficklyke vther criminall perfones, in all eftaitis, begining at the miniftrie and nobilitie, and fo proceeding to all vtheris; that wickitnes, and fic haynous crymes as offendis the maieftie of God, may be purged furth of this land; and fpecialie, that it may be knowin that minifteris, who aucht be guide exemple, alfwell in lyfe as in doctrine, to provoike vtheris to godly converfatioune, be not exemit.

“ And firft, It is thocht neceffar, that all fuperintendentis and commiffioneris of cuntries take diligent inquisitione of the behaviore of all minifteris, exhortaris, and reidaris, and what faill falbe fundin, fevir correctione to follow thervpoun, according to the nature of the cryme. And incais minifteris fall appeir to conceale thair owin imperfecioune, that all men may be requyred to declair to the fuperintendentis and commiffioneris of cuntries, the vices that thei know to be in thame: And ficklyke, in the reformatioun of the nobilitie confiftis the cheife exemple of the whole cuntrey, we crave not only ane generall reformatioun of fic imperfecioune as be in thame, but alfo that fic vices as in particular falbe gevin in to thame be amendit; fic as, that thei be reformed in the wrangous vring of the patrimony of the kirke, applying the fame to thair particular vfes, to the grit hurt of the miniftrie, poure, and fchoules; and that the commones may be eafed be thame, both in payment of thair teindis and vtheris dewties, in refpect of thair grit povertie; and that they amend thair grit negligence in tymes paff, in punifhment of vices throughout this whole realme; fic as inceft, adulterie, bloudfhedding, and forcerie, etc.: And that thair be notable perfonis depute, with commiffioun to that effect, to execute the fame; and that fic as haue reffaued commiffioun alreadie, be charged to proceid thairin: And that the actis of parliament and counfallis, made againft the breakaris of the fabboth day, may be lykwayis execute. Vnto the whilkis heidis, contained in this article, we

defyre my lord regentis grace and counfall to agrie, and to authorife the fame.

“ Secondly, As concerning the papiftis that be within this countrey yet remaying, that thei, without all exceptioun of perfones, greit or fmall, falbe charged alweill be the counfall as miniftrie, to compeir at certane dayis, as falbe appointed, befor sic as the kirk and counfall fall appoint, to give the confeffione of thair faith according to the actis of parliament; and sic as hes not recanted, to make publiēt recantatioune; and thei that ar excommunicat for that caus, to vnderly sic injunētiounes as falbe laid to thair charge: And gif any of them failzie thairin, thair whole guidis and geir to be confiscat, and thaim feluis banift off the countrey, and they that ar benefited perfonis, thair benefice to vaike, and [be] difponit to qualesiet perfones; and gif thair, being decernit to be banift, be found thaireftir in the countrey, it falbe leifume to all the fubjectis of this realme to invaid thaim, and every ane of them, to the death, as enemies to God, the king, the kirk, and commonewill of this countrie; and that sic as ar convicted may [be] execute with all rigour; and all vtheris that be excommunicate for ony vther cryme or offence, falbe called lykewayis to particular dyatis, to fatiffie the kirke, or els to incurre the lyke paines as is afoir fpecificit; and thair that receaves and menteanes them, gif after dew admonitiones thei defist not from thair cumpany, falbe halden partakeris with thaim, and be compted in thair ranke of papiftis, and to be punished in femblable maner.

“ And farther, we defyre, that the act of parliament be put in execution, that none be admitted to publiēt offices of counfall, feffione, or vtherwayis, that ar knowin to be papiftes or favoreris of thaim.

“ Also, becaus thair is meffe said in certane places of this cuntrie, as in Auld Abirdeine, Dunkell, Paisley, Eglintoun, that thair be ane speciall day appointed to affemble the profefforis of the religione, in places nixt adjacent to the boundis whair the saidis meffis are vfit, ffor apprehending of the meffe fayaris, and alfo the heareris, to vnderly the law.

“ Lykewayis, in cafe this prefent divifione take fum agriement and concord, that none be comprehendit thairin but sic as falbe obleift for the maintenance of the religione againft the enemies thairof. Attour that

all perſones as haue (ſince the reformatioun began) focht for the popes bulles, or benefices, be haldin as papiftis, and puniſhed thairfoir, conforme to the aētis of parliament; and that all the profeſſouris of the religione having benefices, and able to preiche, may be charged to doe thair office, ſeeing it is not reaſonabill that thei take vp the leving and remaine idle, etc.

“Thridlie, For reſiſting of papiftis of forane cuntries, alſweill within as without, that my lord regentis grace and nobilitie ſhall take ſic ordore, that ane league and confederacie be made with our nychtbouris of England, and vther cuntries reformed, and profeſſing the trew religione, that we and thei be joyned together in mutuall amitie [and] ſocietie, to ſupport everie one another, whairfoeuer tyme and occaſione ſhall ſerue, for menteaning of the religione, and reſiſting the enemies thairof. Lykwayis, that ane ſolempne band and aētis may be made be all thame that be profeſſouris of the religione within this realme, to joyne thameſelues together, and be readie at all occaſiounes for reſiſting the enemies foirſaid; and gif ony beis fundin negligent, falſe haldin ane falſe brother, and excommunicatioun to proceid againſt him.”

At this tyme the regentis ſeiknes increffed more and more (althocht few or nane ſuſpectit his death), ſo that it continoweth till the 29 of October, 1572, whairin he deparit this lyfe, about thrie houris in the morning, or thairby. Which death was diſpleaſing to mony, be reſſone the king had the fewar friendis, and was ſuirly keipit with him. God grant that thei that now hes him, may als faithfully luik vnto him, as that this his regent did!

Efter his death, my lord of Mortone, and diuerſe vtheris gentlemen, come to Striveling, whair was appointed ane conventione to be haldin at Edinburgh, the 15 of November nixt, for taking ordour for a new regent.

About the tyme of the regentis death, it was conſtantlie affirmed that the water of Munroſe, which is in my lord of Marris landis, that a certane ſpace of the ſaid water, to wit, of the trouche of the water whair it ran,

was dry, and the deipeft of the fame was dryeft; and yit nochttheles the faid water ftill continowit running as it was wonte, baith vnder and aboue the place whair the dry was!

Alfo that fame tyme at Munrofe, be a grit vehement wind, was drevin into the fea a grit number of feleip, feiding vpoun the linkis thair and thair about!

The kingis lordis affemblit thrie or foure dayis efter the faid 15 day, which was appointed; whilk conventione the caftle labored what thei could to ftop, ffor thei wald neuer haue ony thing done that mycht be a byrdle and impediment to thair traytorous dealingis, efpeciallie the advancement of the kingis auctoritie, althocht thai haue it oft in thair mouthis, whilk gif thei could nocht obtene, that it mycht be holdin in Striveling: ffor the quhilk purpofe, to wit, that this conventioun mycht be ftayed, Athole wroit to my lord Lindfay, that fum farder order (as he faid) mycht be tane betwix the tua pairteis; ffor thei labore be all thair craftis to dryve time. The lordis being convenit, confultatioun was tane whairat to begin; whither firft to chofe a regent, or provyde fecuritie for the kingis perfone, quhilk was thocht of mony men to be beft; bot becaus that could not be weill done (as vtheris affirmed), they began at the choufing of the regent: And fo my lord of Mortone was elected the 24 day of November, 1572, whilk day Johne Knox departed this lyfe; off whois godlie end we fall heir heirefter.

At this affemblie ane parliament was appointed to be baldin in Edinburgh, the 15 of Januar nixt, for confirmatioun of the regent, and farder order of the commoun wealth.

At this tyme was a new abftinence (quhilk ran out the feft of December) to the firft of Januar; as the difcourfe of the abftinence fett out in printe wiil fchaw.

Sunday the nynt of November, was Mr James Lowfone inaugurat in the pulpet of Edinburgh be Johne Knox, eftir that he had come fra the Tolbuith, whair he preached: And at that tyme declaired to the whole affemblie (as his waike voice wald ferue, quhilk was hard but of a few),

the dewtie of ane minister, and also thair dewtie to him lykways; and fo made the mariage, in a maner, betwixt Mr James Lowfone, then made minister, and the folke; and fo prayfed God, that had gevin thame one in the place of himself, that was now vnable to teiche, and defyred God to augment him a thowfand fold above that that he had, gif it wer his pleifoure; and fo with the commone blessing endit.

The tuyfday eftir this, the faid Mr Knox was stricken with a grit hoist, whairwith he being fo febled, caufed him vpoun the 13 day leve his ordinar reading of the byble; for ilk day he red a certane chepteris, both the auld testament and of the new, with certane pfalmes, quhilk pfalmes he passed through everie moneth once. Also the same threttein day he defyred his wyfe to pay his servandis fies, faying, he wald neuer give thame another fie; quhilk on the morne he faid to his servand, Jamie Campbell, in geving him his fie, "Thou will neuer get no moir of me in this lyfe!" And fua gaue him xxʒ above his faid waiges.

Vpoun the Thuirfday efter Mr Knox tuike his feiknes, which pat end to his long travelis, quhilk he maist earneftlie cravet of God, Williame Maitland, fumtymes fecretar, fend down this lettre out of the castle to the seffione of Edinburgh, compleaning vpoun the faid Mr Knox, as followes:

[*Lettre from Williame Maitland, fumtymes Secretar, to the Seffione of Edinburgh, complaining vpoun Mr Johne Knox.*]

"It is cum to our eires be credible report, that your minister, Jolne Knoxe, alswell publiēt in his fermondis as vtherways, hes slanderit me as ane atheist, and enemie to all religione, in direct speiches, that I haue plainlie spoken in the castell, that 'thair is nather heavin nor hell,' and that 'thai ar thingis devyfed to fray bairnes;' with vther sic language, tending to the lyke effect, vnworthie of Christiane earis to be reherfit in the hearing of men. Which wordis, befoir God, neuer at ony tyme proceidit from my mouth, nor yit ony vther founding to the lyke purpose, nor whairof ony sic sentence mycht be gathered: for (praied be God!) I haue bene brocht vp from my youth and instructed in the feir of God, and to know that he has appointed heavin for the habitatioune of his elect, and also hell for the everlasting dwelling of the reprobat.

“ Seing he hes thus vngentlie vfed me, and neglected his dewtie, vocation, the rewle of Christiane cheritie, and all guid ordour, maliciouſlie and vntrewlie lieth on me, I crave redres thairof at your handis; and that ȝe will tak sic order thairwith, that he may be compellit to nominat his autoris, and prove his alledgance, to the end that gif it be found trew (as I am weil affuired he fall not be able to verifie it in ony fort), I may worthilie be repute the man he paintis me out to be; and gif (whairof I haue no doubt) the contrare fall out, ȝe may vse him accordingly; at leift that heireftir ȝe reſſaue not every word proceeding from his mouth as oracles; and know that he is bot a man ſubject to vanitie; and that mony tymes dois vtter his owin paſſiones, and vther menis inordinat affectiones, in place of trew doctrine. It is convenient that, according to the ſcriptouris, ȝe beleive not every ſpirit, but try the ſpreitis, whither thai ar of God or not! (Subſcryvit) W. MAITLAND.”

Vnto this lettre the feſſione and kirke of Edinburgh made this anſuer, on Thuirſday the 20 of November, be him that brocht the lettre, as follows:

[*Anſuer be the Seſſione and Kirke of Edinburgh.*]

“ Anent the complante gevin in this day 8 dayis befoire the feſſione of this burecht of Edinburgh, be Johnne Robertſone, in name of Williame Maitland, and ſubſcryvit with his hand, as he affirme; and anent the anſuer defyrit be the ſaid Johnne thairvpoun, it being deferred to this day, and the feſſione of the kirke thairwith ryplie adviſit; ffor anſuer, ffindis it guid that the compliner authorife the preſenter of the ſupplicatioune with ſufficient mandat, and that he dedeigne him ſelf (gif he ſeikis ony benefite of the ſaid kirke of the burecht foirſaid) to direct his ſupplicatioune to the miniſteris, elderis, and deacones now preſent, admittand thame as judges in that caus, as vse is.”

Tuo or thrie dayis efter the ingeving of the ſaid lettre, it was red to Mr Knox, wha be reſſone of his infirmitie and ſeiknes could nocht anſuer the ſame, whilk glaidlie he wald haue done, gif God had gevin him habitie and longer dayis.

The ffryday, which was the 14 day, he roſe above his accuſtomed dyet;



and zit when he did ryfe, he could fcairfe fit in a ftuile: And then being demandit, what he wald doe vp? faid, he wald goe to the kirke and preich, for he thoct it had bene foday; and faid that he had bene all nicht meditating vpoun the refurrectiōne of Chrift, which he fould haue preichit after the death of Chrift, whilk he had finifhit in his laft fermonde the foday befor: ffor oft and monie tymes he wifhit and defyred of God that he mycht end his dayis in the teiching and meditatioune of that doctrine, quhilk he did.

The fetterday, Johne Durie and Archbald Stewart come in about 12 houris, not knowing how feike he was; and for thair caufe come to the table, which was the laft tyme that ever he fat at ony thereafter; ffor he caufed peircē ane hoggeid of wine which was in the feller, and willed the faid Archbald fend for the fame fo long as it lafted, for he wald neuer tarie vntill it wer drunkin.

Sunday, the 16 day, he keipit his bed, and wald take no meit (thinking it had beine the firft foday of the faft), quhilk the laird of Brad fchew him the contraire; wha fat in the chalmer and dyled befor his bedfyde, and caufed him take a litill.

Befoir, he earnestlie defyred the kirke (I meane the elderis and deacones) that he mycht bid thaim his laft guidnycht, as he had done befor in the pulpet, at the inauguratioune of Mr James Lowfone, faying, that he wald neuer enter that place againe.

Vpoun mononday the 17 day, the kirke come, according to his defyre, vnto whome he proteftit that he had taught nothing but trew and found doctrine, beating down, be the threatnings of Godis judgments, the proud and stubborne, and raifing vp and comforting the trubled confciences be the promifes of Godis mercies; and that howfoeuer that he had bene againft ony man, it was neuer for hatreat of the perfone, but only to beat down in thame thair vice, and that quhilk was in them that rebelled againft God, quhilk he wald nocht leive vnpunifhit, and for difcharge of his confcience afor God; and that he made not merchandife of the word, whose meffage he bure, to whom he moft make accompt for the fame. In reſpect quhair of (albeit he was waike and ane vnworthie creature, and a fearfull man), he feared not the faces of men; and thairfoir exhorted

thaim to stand constant into that doctrine quhilk they had hard of his mouth (how vnworthie that ever he was), and willit thaim never to joyne with wickitnes, and speciallie with the castle of Edinburgh, it remaining in the steat that it is, quhom God wald deströye both in bodie and faule, and thei repent not! And albeit theiould not triumph in this world, and truble as they had done, zit prayed he thame neuer to have doingis with that factiöne, but rather chuse, with David, to flie to the montaines, then to remaine in the company of the wicked. And that feveritie that he vsed against the laird of Grange, with quhom he hes bene sa familiar, was only to bring him to acknowledge him self, and his schamefull declöyning, that thairby he mycht turne to repentence, whairöf he doubted: And for this purpose he willed Mr David Lindsay, being then present, and Mr James Lowföne, to signifie to the laird that Johne Knox remanis the same man, now going to die, that ever he hes hard him befoir, quhen he was able of body; and that theiould will him to consider what anes he was, and the estait whairin now he standis, quhilk is pairt of his truble; and that gif he repentit not, the threatenings be him pronouncidould fall vpon him and that house!

As for ansuer to the Secretaris bill, he desyred all men to consider thair workis, and specialie the rewingis of Edinburgh, attoure the trubling of this quyet commoun wealth, and the kirke of God within the same; quhilkis wer a sufficient declaratiöne, to him and the whole world, that he denyed thair wer ony God to punishe sic wickitnes, or yet ony heavin or hell whairin vertewould be rewardit or vice punished: The workaris thairöf God wald destroy and punishe, as mycht be sene in the 9 psalme, which gif thei did beleive, they wald neuer haue committed sic vngodly and vnnatural wickitnes. And for ansuer to that he said, he was " brocht vp and inströcted in the feir of God," etc., it was not the educatione that made a trew Christiane, nather yit that brocht the feir and knowledge of God to ony man, but only the illuminatione of the hart be the Spreit of God: ffor who was better brocht vp than Julianus the apostate, and fundrie vtheris? As to the nominatiöne of the reportaris, quhilk the bill required, he refufit, althocht he culd weill aneughe have done it. Whair the bill said that " Johne Knox was a man subiect to vanitie, and all is not oracles

that comes out of his mouth:" Whairto the said Mr Knox anfuers, that he confessit he was but a most vile creature and a wretched man; nocht-theles the thingis that he hes spoken fould be fund als trew as these oracles that have bene spoken be ony of the fervandis of God befor; ffor he had said nothing but that whairof he was affuired to be the word of God, (to wit) that the justice of God fould neuer be fatiffiet against the fchedderis of innocent bloud, vntill the bloude of the fchedder be fched againe, be order of justice, to fatiffie the fame; or els, that God vtherwayis move his heart vnto vnfained repentance; and that God walde deftroie the wicket and cast them into hell, as may be fene in the 9 pfallme, quhilk he caused thaim reid; ffor he hes bene the chiefe author of all the trubill done both in England and Scotland. And so, with exhortatioune vnto thaim all, he commendeth thaim to God; who after the prayer red for the feike (as it is in the Pfallme buke), thai depairtit with tearis.

Eftir this speiking he was the wors, and tuike a gritter and mair vehement working, for he neuer spake almost but with grit paine; and yit verie few come in (that he saw) to whome he gave not sum exhortatioun and admonitione.

Befor his feiknes, he gave command to his wyfe and his fervant Richard, that when God fould fend him feiknes, [and] that he was not able to reid him self, that then one of thaim fould reid vnto him ilk day the 17 chapter of Sanct Johnes gospel, a chapter of the epistle to the Ephesianis, and the 53 of Esaij; whilk was done:—fo that few horis, or non, of the day did pas over, whairin sumwhat was not red, befydis, according as he wald appoint, and oftymes sum fermondis of Calvine in Frenche, and of the Pfallmes; and fundrie tymes when as we wald be reiding of the foirsaidis fermondis (which wer vpoun the Ephesianis), thinking him to be asleip, we wald aike gif that he hard? Whairto he wald anfuere, "I heir, I prais God, and understandis far better!" Whilk wordis he spake the last tyme, about foure horis befor his last braith.

The lord Boyd come in vnto him and said, "I know, fir, that I have offendit you in monie thingis, and am now cum to crave you pardon." But what farder was betwixt thame I know not, for thei wer allone.

Me lord of Morton, Boyde, and the laird of Drumlanrige, come in the

Weddinfday, the 19 day. What purpofe was amongis thame, none but thaim felues knew.

The nixt day, the lord Lindfay, bifchope of Caitnefs, and fundrie vtheris gentlmen, come in, whome he exhorted to continow in the treuth that thei had hard, for vther word of faluatioune thair is none! And earneftlie befought thaim (as he did to everie one that he fpake vnto) to "have nothing to doe with that dampnable hous of the caftell of Edinburgh! I meane nocht (fayis he) be the flanes, etc., but be thois that ar within that hous; whome God fall confound, baith in this lyfe and eternal-lie in body and foule, gif thai repent not, whilk appeiris nocht, and make thair names to remaine in execratione to the pofteritie to cum!"

My lordis Ruthwen, Glencairne, and diuerfe vtheris, at fundrie tymes, did vifite him; but my lord Ruthwen (wha come but anes) faid, "Gif thair be ony thing, fir, that I am able to doe for you, I pray you charge me." Who anfuerit, "I cair not for all the pleifoure and friendfchip of the world."

A gentle woman, and ane that fearis God, defyring him to praife God for that he had bene; and fa began, as it wer, to praife him, he faid, "Tounge! tounge! ladie; flefehe of itfelf is over proud, and neidis no meanis to efteanie the felf!" And thair alfo protested, as oftymes he did befoir and eftir, that he did "onlie cleame to the frie mercie of God, fchawed vnto mankynd in the blude of his deare Sone, Jefus Chrif, quhom only I embraced for his perfectione, iuftee, rychteoufnefs," etc.: And willed her never to puff vp flefche, which of it felf was prone and reddie to do the fame, without ony vther provocatione; and fo exhorted hir vnto humilitie, and to "caft away flinking pryde;" and defyred hir to remember the wordis of a woman, fpoken to hir long agoe, faying, "Ladie! ladie! the blake oxe hes neuer trampit yit vpon your foute!" And fo, with exhortatione in the feare of God, and into that doctrine which thai have hard of him, he baid thaim flair weil!

At this tyme alfo, thir being depairtit, he fays to the laird of Braid, "Ilk ane biddis me guidnycht, but when will ze do it? I haue bene greatly behaldin and addebtet vnto you, quhilk I am neuer able to recompence you: Bot I committ you to one who is able to doe it, that is, to the Eternal God!"

Vpoun ffryday, the xxj day, he commandit Richard to gar make his kift, whairin he was borne to his buriall.

Sonday, the 23 day, which was the first fonday of the fast, at efternounge, all being at the kirke except thame that waited vpoun him, estir that he had lyne a guid space verie quyet, as we thoct, he fays, "Gif ony be present, lat them come and sie the worke of God!" ffor then he thoct to haue departit, as we judged. At what tyme I fend for Johne Johnstoun, he burftis furth in thir wordis, "I haue bene in meditatioune thir tuo last nightis of the trubled kirke of God, the spoufe of Jesus Christ, despised of the world, but precious in his sight! I have callit to God for it, and have committit it to hir head, Jesus Christ! I have bene fightand againt Sathan, who is evir reddie to affault; gea, I have fochten againt spirituell wickitnes in heavinlie thingis, and have prevailed! I have bene in heavin and haue possession, and I have tasted of these heavinlie joyes, whair presentlie I am!" And thairestir said the Lordis prayer, and the beleife, with some paraphraife, vpoun everie petitione and article of thaim; and in saying, "Our Father which art in heavin," he fays, "Who can pronounce so holie wordis!"

Eftir the sermond, monie come in to sie him; and sum seing him draw his braith so schortlie, askit, Gif he had ony paine? Whilk when he vnderstoude, anfuert and said, "I haue no moir pane then he that is now in heavin, and am content, gif God so pleis, to lye heir for 7 geiris!" Thairfoir he said, oft and fundrie tymes, "Live in Christ, and let neuer fleshe feare death!" His meaning was, that gif we live in Christ, no man fall feare death.

When he wald be lying, as we supposed, on a sleip, then was he at his meditatioune, as his manifold sentences may weill declair; as this that I have befoir said, whairin he wald oftin burft furth, "Live in Christ!" and, "Lord grant us the rycht and perfyte hatred of syn, alswell be the document of thy mercies as of thy judgmentis!" "Lord grant trew pastoris to thy kirke, that puritie of doctrine may be reteaned; and restore pace againe to this commonewealth, with godly rewaris and magistratis!" etc. "Anes, Lord, make ane end of truble!" "Lord, I commend my spreit, faull and body, and all, into thy handis!" With innumerable sic lyke sentences.

Monoday, which was the 24 of November, he departed this lyfe to his eternal rest! He rose about 9 or ten houris, and wald nocht lye, and yit he was not able to stand alone, and pat on his hoise and doublat, and fat in ane chair the space of half ane hore; and thairestir went to bed, whair he wrocht in drawing of his end. And being askit of the gudman of Kyngincleuch, Gif he had ony paine? Said, "It is no painfull paine, but sic a pane as, I trust, fall put end to this battell!" He sayis also to the said Robert, "I man leive the cair of my wife and bairnes vnto you, to whome ye man be a husband, in my rowme!"

A litill efter none, he caused his wyfe reid the 15 chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthianis, off the resurreccion; to whome he said, "Is not that a comfortable chapter?" A litill estir he sayes, "Now, for the last, I commend my faule, spreit, and bodie (pointing vpoun his thrie fingeris), vnto thy handis, O Lord!" Thairestir, about fyve houris, he sayis to his wyfe, "Goe reid whair I cast my first ancre!" And so thoe red the 17 of Johues evangle; quhilk being endit, was red some of Calvinis sermondis vpoun the Ephesianis. We, thinking that he was a sleip, demandit gif he heard? Answirit, "I heir, and vnderstandis far better, I praise God!"

A nycht befor, Doctour Prestoun, about ix houris at evin, demandit how he did? Said, "I have bene tempted be Sathan, and when he saw that he could not prevaile, he tempted me to haue trusted in my self, or to have rejoiced or boasted of my self; but I repulsd him with this sentence, *Quid habes, quod non acceptiflis?*"

Eftir all, about sevin houris at evin, we left reiding, thinking he had been a sleip, so he lay still quhill after ten houris, except that sumtymes he wald bid weit his mouth with a litill waikie aille: And half ane hore eftir ten, or thairby, we went to our ordinar prayeris (whilk was the longer or we went to thame, becaus we thocht he had bene sleipand); quhilk being endit, Doctour Prestoun sayis to him, "Sir, hard ze the prayeris?" Answirit, "I wald to God that ze and all men hard thame as I have hard thaim; and I praise God of that heavenlie found!" Eftir the said doctour was risin vp, Robert Campbell fittis downe befor him on a stule; and suddanlie thairestir he sayis, "Now it is cum!" ffor he had gevin ane long siche and fobe. Then Richard sitting downe befor him, said, "Now,

fir, the tyme that ȝe haue long callit to God for, to wit, ane end of your battell, is cum! And feing all naturall power now failes, remember vpon theſe comfortable promiſes, which often tymes ȝe haue ſchawin to us of our Saluioire Jeſus Chriſt! And that we may vnderſtand and know that ȝe heir us, make us ſome ſigne." And ſo he liſted vp his one hand, and incontinent thaireftir randerit the ſpreit, and ſleipit away without ony paine, the day afoir ſaid, about elleuin houris at euin; quhilk day my lord Mortone was elected regent, as ſaid is.

On this maner departit this man of God, the lycht of Scotland, the comfort of the kirke within the ſame, the mirrore of godlineſs, and patrone and exemple to all trew miniſteris, in puritie of lyfe, foundnes in doctryne, and in bauldneſs in reproving of wickitnes; and one that caired not the favore of men (how great foouer thei wer), to reprove thair abuſes and fynis!

In him was ſic a mychtie ſpreit of judgment and wiſdome, that the trouble neuer come to the kirke, ſen his entering in publiēt preaching, but he foirſaw the end thairof; ſo that he had ever reddie a trew counfall, and a faythfull, to teich men that wald be taught, to take the beſt pairt and leiſe the worſt; ſo that he that followed his counfall, in the end, had ever occaſiounē neuer to repent him: And contrarie, ſic as haue rejeected the ſame, haue caſſin thaim ſeluis in moſt ſchamefull wickitnes, and haue come in a part, and daylie mair and mair are lyke to cum and fall to a moſt miſerable rwyne, both of ſoule and body, quhilk vndoubtedly fall come vpoun thame, gif repentence preuene not Godis judgmentis; as may be weil vereſiet this day in the Hamiltonis, the laird of Grange, and Williame Maitland; whois end behald when it comis!

Bot heir ſum may obieēt, as mony haue ſaid, that my lord of Murray, of guid memorie, had not deid ſic a death gif he had not followed his counfall! Whairto it is anſuerit, that guid counfall is not the worſe, albeit wickit men perfecute thame that follow it; ffor ſo haue all the godly bene perfecuted from the begyning, for following the treuth and the guid counfall of God and his ſervantis. And as to the ſaid regentis ſlauchter, gif his counfall had bene followed when the Maifter of Grahame come

and drew him to Dumbartane, he plainlie said to the regent then, that it was only done for a trane, be that meanes to cutt him off, as it come to pas. Also, when he was in Stirling, being returned from Dumbartane, he sent me (meaning Mr Knox send Richard his servand) to my ladie the regentis wife, tuo fundrie tymes, and defyred her to signifie my lord her husband, that he fould nocht come be Linlithgow. So that gif his counfall had bene followed, he had not died at that tyme. And myladie, the last tyme, sent Mr Johne Woude, to defyre him to avoyde Lynlithgow. Bot God thocht us vnworthie of sic a rewlar above vs, and also he wald thairby have the wickitnes of vtheris knowin, whilk then was hid; and thairfoir did God then take him fra us! But lat the Hammiltounes, the laird of Grange, with the rest of that factioun, lay thair compt, and reckon thair advantage and wining since!

What dexteritie in teiching, bauldnes in reproving, and hatred of wickitnes was in him, my ignorant dulnes is not able to declair; whilk gif I fould preis to fet out, were as who wald licht a candle to lat men see the sonne, feing all his vertewis ar better knowin, and nocht hid to the world, a thowfand fold better than I am able to expres.

Vpoun the weddinfday efter he was buried, being convoyed with the regent and the lordis that were in the toun for the tyme, with monie a foirfull hart!

#### *A breif Declaratioune*

*How materis haue procedit during the last Abstinance; and how, in the default of the Rebellis, withhalderis of the Castell of Edinburgh, the weir is renewit the first of Januar 1572 (3).*

“Forfameikle as eftir the long civile (diffentione) and vnnaturall weir continowed within and about this toun of Edinburgh, be the reffoun and occasioun of the tressonabill suppyring and fortificatioun thairof (abstinance and assurance then standing), throw the defectione of him to whome the custodie of the castle of Edinburgh, to our soverane lordis behove, was committed, at last ane abstinance and cessatioun from hostilitie was



agried vnto, begynand at the penult day of Julij lastbypast, to indure for the space of tuo monethis thereftir; within quhilk tyme it was accordit that the nobilitie and estaitis of the realme fould be affemblit to advyse, be thair meanis, to establishe a gude and generall peace. And that fo holy a worke fould not be retardit, that during the trewis and abstinence, tuo, thrie, foure, or fyve, mae or fewar, of ather partie mycht communicate together, in all fuintie, to oppin vp the meanes for a mair facile attaining to a guid peace: And that the same abstinence, or pacificatioune that fould follow thervpoun, on naways fould tuiche the king our fouerane lord, or his estait, to the prejudice thair of. Yit during thea twa monethis, not only was the affemlie of the nobilitie, for the pairt of the aduersaries, neglected and overpast, and his hienes lait regent, the erle of Mar, of guid memorie, at his cuming to Edinburgh, as place agriet vpoun for that purpose, frustrat and disspointed; bot als his maiesties coinyie was daylie counterfute and adulterat within the castell of Edinburgh, and gevin out as lawfull money amonge his hienes leige people, a mater expresse tending to the violatioune of the abstinence, in fa far as the counterfouting of his maiesties money directlie tuiched his hienes and his esteate, to the prejudice thair of, and wes also a deid against honestie and the lawes of all nationes: And albeit thairby just occasioun was then gevin to haue revenged that disdaine and injurie; notwithstanding, sic earnest and trew guid will was in the regent, and in the nobilitie professing the kingis obedience, towardis a pacificatioune for the vniverfall commoditie of the realme, the quenis maiesties of England embassadore earnestlie therwithall travelling, that a prorogatioune of the former abstinence was grantit for the space of vther tuo monethis, beginand the 8 day of October, till indure till the 6 day of December last; and wrytingis wer subferyvit and interchanged thairvpoun, in whilkis nominatione was made of certane perfones for tryall, and according vpoun the redres of attemptatis, on ather syde, committit fen the former abstinence, and that fould happin to be committit and complenit vpoun during the said prorogatioune: As also, for certane noblmen, on ather partie, fould convene the said last day of October, in peciable maner, to proced in sic maner and forme, as betwixt the parties conveinand fould be agriet vpoun.

“ And farther, it was specialie accordit and promiseit be thame of the castell, that all melting, forging, printing, or labouring of conyie, within or without the same, be ony of thair partie, of thair command and allowance, fould vterlie cease and be left off, while the said 6 day of December. Bot as the last heid was manifestlie contravenit, so was nothing in effect of the vther pointis observit ; only some, as directed from thame, come to Sanct Johnstoun eftir the appointed day. Howbeit, nather of the number of the nobilitie, nor yit sic as seamet to have sufficient commissiounes or instructiounes deaplie and substantiouse to deale in the maters that wer to be intreated, sua as the second tua monethis lykwayis overpast without ony intentione of peace appeiring in thaim of the castle ; specialie in that wrong and injurie quhilk thame selues had done, and quhilk consisted in thair owin power to amend, as was for forgene, prenting, and outputting of the said adulterat and corrupt money ; they thame selfis having promiseit of thair honouris, and be thair solempne oathis, that the same fould vterlie cease and be left off, as said is : And albeit thairby it mycht be weil persued that no sincere meaning of peace was in thame, zit at the motione of the quenis maiestie of Englandis ambassadore, our soverane lordis first regent was content, as befoir, that the abstinence fould be further prorogate vnto the first day of Januar instant, vpoun some hoip that yit thei within the said castell fould haue come in the meane tyme to some resonabill and tolerable conditions : bot that tyme, in effect, also overpassing without demonstratioun of ony sic guidwill or intentione of peace to rest in thame, about the end of the last prorogatioun, the ambassadore, according to the commandement and directioun of the queine his soverane, willing to doe all guid offices that mycht induce to pacificatioun, he having conferred with thame of the castle, laitlie movit the said lord regent for a farther prorogatioun of the abstinence, to which motione he was not difficle or contrarious. But efter sum speiches past at diverse tymes, betwixt him and the ambassadore, twiching that purpose, agriet vnto the prorogatioun, vpoun conditione that the mater fould be put to sic point as thair mycht be sum liklieheid of a peace to followe : And, for the furtherance of the same, was desyrous that the ambassadore fould knaw of thaim in the castle, for whome thai delt, and vpoun what

warrant that thei wold nominate certane perfonages of auctoritie, credite, and judgment, for thair partie, to meit with vtheris of the lyke qualitie, for treating and according vpoun the materis in controverfie, as alfo to try and cognofce the violatiounes of the former abftinence; and in caife of thair difcord, that the differences mycht be submitted to the decifion of fum indifferent od perfonage, and the furtie maid for performance of that that fuld be determinat: That the prenting ironis mycht be put in the ambaffadoris handis, as indifferent, and the coingeouris removed furth of the caftle, vpoun furtie to be harmles: That the prifoneris mycht be fet at libertie, fpeciallie the maifter of Forbes, vpoun band, not of fic as the erle of Huntlie hes heirtfoir nominat, feing fum of thame culd not be perfwadit to be oblift, vpoun feir conceived, gif thai had fo done, to be thairfoir wrackit and vndone; but that a band, vnder the paine of ten thowfand pundis, mycht be refsauet of vtheris fufficient and refponfall noblmen or barrones, that fould be worth a hundreth thowfand pundis: That thei of the caftle fould content thaim felues with fic daylie and ordinar provifione as convenientlie and refonable mycht fustene thame and thair number, during the abftinence; and forbeir to take in ony fic grit quantitie of viétuallis, ftuff, and vther furnitour, as mycht confirme the fufpitione confaved of thair intencion to continow the weir, and provyde the caftle for a yeir or tua.

“ With affurance of the regentis mynd to condifcend to the abftinence, vpoun thir conditiones, the embaffador pafst to the caftell vpoun weddinfday, the laft day of December; and having maid declaratioune of the fame, they in the caftell taking advantage of the laft heid, tuiching the provifione and viétualling of the hous, answered, that thei could not be content in that point to be controlled, and except the fame wer firft pafst without conditione, they wald make no answer, nor enter in farder reffoning vpoun the remaunt heidis, nawayis willing, in the faid provifione and furnifhing, to admitt ony kynd of reftreint or limitatioune. It was faid be thame of the caftell, in privat fpeiche to the ambaffadore, that he of whome thei could lyke of to be the ode perfonage, was the king of France. Thus vngeving refpone or answer to the remanent heidis, but taking advantage of the laft point (as is befoir faid), they have declaired thair obftinate prefump-

tion above the boundis of reffone and meaffoure, as vnwilling of ony guid and tolerable peace; bot rather defyrous that the realme fall continow in civile weir and diffentione, quhilk, be thair only occasioun, is renewed, and of the quhilk thei may be iustlie compted the verie authoris, feing nathing ather vnrefsonabill or impossible was of thame demandit; ffor the conditiones only tendit to certane dealing, and furtherance of the pacificatioun and quyetnes, as no doubt all honest and indifferent men will judge, and consider thairwithal, that thair was guid caus to doubt whidder the duche, and the erle of Huntlie, with vtheris heirtofoir of thair pairtie, wald allow of the dealing of thame in the castle; quhilkis be thair owin deid, speciallie in making and outputting of the said corrupt and adulterat money, had not only contravenit thair owin obligatioun, but had hafardit the faith and promise of the noblmen of that pairtie, for whome thei in the castle durft not vndertake directlie to promise, bot incertanlie spake thei wald do what thei could, in thingis quhilkis wer to be performed be the noble men of thair pairtie. Indeid, reffone and guid ordour cravit (the conditione of thaim in the castle considerit), that thei had moderat thaim felues with sic meffoure and appointment as the noblmen of thair pairtie could have beine content to enter in, rather nor the noblmen to be subiect to follow the fortoun of thame in the castle, to whome na mediatioun is tolerable, nor ony advyse beyde thair owin thoct worthie; but thair conclusion is, as may weill appeir, to make thair advantage of the truble, and to continow the weir be thamefelfis and strangeris that thai haue procured, althocht thei fould be destitute of all vther factioun, or fellowschip in Scotland, without feir of God, or yeald that his glory and trew religione, quhair of thaim feluis schew thaim sumtymes professouris, fould remaine amonges us, against thair faith and alledgance sworne and promiseit to the kingis maiestie, our fouerane lord, in erectioun and constitutioun of whois autoritie thaim feluis wer cheif instrumētis, and without compassioun of the present calamitie of this thair natie cuntrie, whilk be thair occasioun is thus plaguet and vnquyetit. It may also cleirly appeir, that without submissioun of the differences to sum indifferent od personages, in caise of discord, thair was no intencion of peace in thaim of the castle, bot evident prejudice and difadvantage to

the king, his regent, nobilitie, and guid subiectis, whilkis, be delay and incertantie, behovit still to be vnburdenit with the sumpteous charges of susteining men of weir, as heirtfoir thei haue bene, fen the first abstinance was accordit vnto, without liklieheid of the end of the weir; whair vtherwayis, giff the differences had bene thus remitted to the decisione and judgment of sum ane indifferent od personage, and suirtie maid for the performance of the determinatioune, it had bene in effect a present peace to the grittest pairt of the realme; and sic charges of men of weir had not neidit, seing all men wald haue luiket to the end of the decisione; whairin the king of France can not, in resson, be thocht meittest to be judge, in respect of his far distance and misknowledge of the circumstances of the Scottis controversies, which requyris speidie and summare decisione. It is also certane, that the principallis of both pairties contendand, avowes the professioun of the trew religione; and thairfoir thei rather sould be judged in the eaus of thair contraverfie to be sum personage professand the same trew religione. And as to the last point, twiching the provisioun of victualling of the castell, vnder pretext quhair of they of the castle hes rejected the remanent, it may appeir, gif resson wald haue satisfied thame, thair was occasioun in that heid to let the weir breck vp, seing alreadie in fyve monethis space they haue bene permittit sufficientlie to victuall thame felvis. It was not meanit nor spocken, that thair sould be drawin to spend ony of thair lyand provisioun during the abstinance, but without impediment to take in sic quantitie of all kynd of victuallis, as from day to day, or oulklie, mycht sufficientlie susteane the number thair interteinit; indeid, it seameth no wayis to tend to peace, but heichlie to the disadvantage of the king, during a schort abstinance, without certaintie of peace to follow, thei sould be permittit to take in ony grit quantitie of new provisiounes of wyne, powder, bullat, and munitiones, or to haue forane intelligencie, be which thei mycht mair facillie draw in strangeris, to the destruccion of religione, the king, and all the whole commone weill; as thair continowall travellis heirtfoir haue tendit vnto.

“ And thairfoir seing, be thair obstinacie, all honest and equitable conditiounes ar rejected, and the weir renewed, my lord regentis grace, with advise of the lordis of secreit counfall, hes thocht guid to give publick decla-

rationne thairof, that none vpoun ignorance judge vtherways of the caus of the renewing of the truble nor the treuth is; bot that being certified of the veritie, they may the rather be inducit to assist, wið counfall and force, in resisting and repressing of the tressonabill rebellione and vnnaturall erweltie vfit and intendit be thame within the said castle of Edinburgh; fua as the realme being releivit of the present mischeif and inconveniences continow-and be thair occasioun, justice and policie may proceed, to the honour of God, our foverane lordis obedience, and commone weill of the whole realme. Imprinted at Edinburgh be Thomas Baffandyne, dwelling at the Neather bow, 1572-(3). *Cum privilegio regis.*"

The abstinance being rune out the first of Januar, at 6 horis in the moirning, at what tyme ane warning peice was shott out of the castle, to wairne all men to luike to thaim felvis. And thaireftir began the trenchis to be cassin about the castle, whair neid was, and the shuldeartis plantit for to keip thame, that none fould ather ischew fourth or cum in vnto thame.

The parliament appointed the xv of Januar held; whairat thair wer monie grit men, and fundrie actis made, as we fall schortlie heir. The commissiouneris fra the Hammiltounes and Huntlie come in at this tyme; ffor albeit the abstinance was gevin vp with thaim of the castle, it did continow betwixt the regentis grace and Hammiltoun and Huntlie. The Hammiltounes thocht best now to ly still, and so the abstinance continowed with thame and Huntlie till the xvj of Februar; becaus certane perfones for the pairt of the king and his regent, and vtheris for the Hammiltounes and Huntlie, wer appointed to meet at Sanct Johnstoun, for some ourdur to be tane with thame for quyetnes and peace; at what tyme ane pacificatioun was maid, as eftir wilbe knowin.

Sir James Balfoure had made his moyen befor with the regent, and fo remained not in the castle with the rest of the tratouris, albeit he is als grit a traytore as ony of thame all! He gave in a long ferole to the lordis of the articles of the parliament, that he mycht be restored to all thingis, etc.; whairwith mony sturreth, and in speciall the bischop of Orkney, now

abbot of Halyrudhous, wha proteffit for the copie of it; but I hard no word that it was obtinet. Sundrie scroles were gevin in vpoun the said fir James, declairing his treasonable dealingis in tymes bypast; nochttheles his dres is made with the regent, and he hes tane him in his protectione. Whidder he hes givin a remit for all byganes or not I am vncertane, but alwayes he hes composit with the regent, to whome he fould haue gevin a fowme of money for his compositioun, bot the getting againe of the Blaknes: And also Mr James Kirkcaldie payis that, as is reported, ffor it was affirmed that he said to the regent, "Gif I can get you als guid or better, as my compositioun, fall not I be fred thair of"? Which the regent grantit: ffor, as I have said, it was alledgit, that the said fir James had writtin to Mr James Kirkcaldie, befor his cuming out of France, to cum to the Blaknes, and not to cum to the north; becaus that gif the lord Huntlie had gottin the gold, he wald hald it to him self, or elis the maist pairt thair of, and so give to thame of the castle what he layked.

But howfoeuer the mater was, the said Mr James come and landit at the Blaknes, a littil eftir the parliament, with his cofferis, thinking it had bene fuire for him as befor; and leift that ony thing fould be knowin, but that it wer tane perforce, fir James, or the captane, Alexander Stewart, had gevin adverteifment of the said Mr James cuming. The regent fendis out a band of men of weir, and Carmichael with a 40 hors, to ly about the houfe, that no victuallis fould come to thame; ffor the captane of that houfe had made it scairfe of victuallis for the nones, and also fend word to the Hammiltone, that he was adverteifed that the regent wald fend and befeidge him, quhilk he was not able to gainestand, both for laike of victuallis and vther furnitouris; therfore willed thame to fend him support: And so they fend him captane Bruce, with a dofone of shuldeouris or thairby, who was tane be the said Carmichael; but it was bruted that the said captane Bruce was of the counfall of the getting of the hous, whilk may weill appeir, becaus that he was late go againe, incontinent efter his tacking. And so efter thai had lyne about the said hous, onlie but for the purpose, viij or x dayis, thei gat it on certane conditiones; but the foirsaid Alexander fould remaine captane, geving his eldest sone in pledge, as he had done to thaim of the castle of Edinburgh, whan he fauld it to thaim befor,

and for a remiffione for all byganes, with fum vther gratitude befydis. For performance whairof he comis to Edinburgh, and leivis his brother, Mr Johne Stewart, a guid and trew man to the king, captane, till he had endit with the regent; and fo cumis to Edinburgh, about the end of Januar, with all the gold that Mr James had gottin fra thair confederates of France, quhilk was about 12 or 15 thoufand frankis.

Efter the faid Alexander Stewart had endit and done with the regent, he departis againe to the Blacknes; wha fa founne as he comis was laid in irones, ffor Mr James Kirkcaldie had, in his abfence (and feing himfelf thus deceivit), feducit the fuddartis of the place, be geving to fum 4, fum 5 or 6, and to fum 10 crownes apiece. And fwa the faid Mr James become captane, and enclafed the tuo brether, Mr Johne and Alexander, in a lockfaft chalmer. The word whairof cuming to the regent his earis, fent for Heleine Leslie, wyfe to the faid Mr James, and accused hir for wryting to hir husband; becaus it was fufpected that fcho had writtin to him to doe the beft he could for him felf, faying, thair was no grace for him! when yit the contraire was trew. Alwayis fho denyed that fho had fend him ony sic word, and alfo affirmed that all that he did was fore againft her will. Thaireftir fho was fend to hir husband to declair, that vnles he gave over the hous, all that fho had wold be tane from hir. Wha come to hir husband the 10 of Februar; and on the morne the houe was gottin agane, and that on this maner:

Alexander Stewart, the former captane, had made his moyen with 5 or 6 of the foirfaid fuddeartis, who had promifed to do what thei could to mend thair former deid, when tyme wald ferve; bot fpecially, he feducit Mr James owin man, wha was appointed portar to the inner yeat: So Mr James, with 6 or 7 fuddartis, for thair wer not past 16 of the whole, cuming furth to the clofe to convoye his wyfe to the vtter yeat, they within clafes the dungeone yeat of irone vpoun him; and vtheris of thame went to the wallheid, cryes vpoun captane Lambie and his band, wha was lying neirby, and some vtheris cuft down ftones vpoun Mr James in the clofe: And fo captane Lambie cumes in, and Mr James is tacken, and thei that wer with him, and brocht to Edinburgh the xj of Februar.

On the morne, quhilk was Thuirfday the 12 of Februar, betwixt 8 and



9 hours at evin, the castle men fyris ane thacke hous or tua beydis the castle wynd; the wind being at the west, and a grit vehement storme of winde, quhilk causes the fyre to increas and continow fra hous to hous till it come till Fosteris wynd, whair be the providence of God it flayit, nocht-withstanding the grit schouting of the castle. God grant Edinburgh may confidder this heavie hand of God above thaim, that they may turne to him with vnfeaned repentence! And so, no doubt, he fall turne backe his beating hand, and confound the instrumentis, whome he fall cast in a fyre that fall neuer end, gif God of his grit mercie convert thaim not!

Mony folkis wer heared be resson of this vehement and terrible fyre, and monie mae had als grit losse by the spoiling and steilling away of thair geir be the suddartis, which was borne out into the streitis to save it from the fyre; and so mony man gat dowbill skaith. Had our owin tranches and corf-guardis bene weill keptit, as thei aught to haue bene, the enemy had neuer interpryfed sic ane fact!

*Ane Bill or Complant, convoyed in and laid vpon the buird, befor the Lordis of the Articles, at the Parliament quhilk began in Edinburgh the xv of Januar, and red in thair presens.*

“As most godly and honorabill interpryfes ar ever subjeēt to most danger and perrell, so when your lordshippis that ar heir assemblit, tuke the interpryfe of the revendge of the kingis murther (ane actione most necesfar to be vndertackin!) for avoyding of the plague of God, that vsed to be plentifulle powred fourth vpon that countrie whair the murther remains vnpvnishit, of the pourest that passis be the way, lat be of princes: ffor expiatioune of the quhilk, what diligence is commandit be the mouth of God to the faithfull people of God, in his buike, is moir then notore; as also for the honour of your natiue cuntrey and natioune, wha was abhominable to all vther natiounes, for the caussis and occasioun of the famyn murther, that your puire merchantis mycht [nocht] travell in vther pairtis for the hatred of the name of Scottisemen, conceavet vpon brute of that foule act. And yit how difficle that ever the mater was (as it was no litill difficultie), the executor of the murther being growin in that favour

of the prince of this realme (the kingis mother I meane), wha as sho had consentit to the doing of the murther, so sho premiat and rewarded him, (as it had bene for the best fact that he could have wrought), with the soveranitie of hir self, hir realme, and leiges, be tacking of him to hir husband, and creating him duche of Orkany, ffor no vther caus, but that at hir desyre, he had bene burrio and maist schamefull murtherer of that nobleman; as it war to inarme him with force, with power, with freindship, and with strenth of man against God, the trew revenger of sic wickitnes; whairby thei laiket not counfall and devise to make force, not only to resist whofoeuer wald revendge, but to persue, route out, and detroy all sic as fearet God within this realme, that na instrument could be left to vnquyet thair devilishe and dampnable securitie. At quhilk tyme it pleaset God, in the middis of hir forces and strenth, to mak hir to floupe and yeild hir self vnto your honnouris; the executore of the murther tacking the cryme vpoun him and fleing away, as he that feared to receave the reward of his syn; at quhilk tyme your honnouris drest hir, be honest moyen, to yeild to our soverane lord the croun of this realme, so deir bocht to him, as be the erwell death of his deir father; and to establishe the administratioun of this realme, in his tender age, in the persone of certane noblmen successivelie, off whom sum pairt are tacken to the mercie of God, and vther pairt ar yit alyve; at whais godly government, pairtlic be hir ayding out of waird that sho was depute to, pairtlic by vther occasions and inconvenientes as occurred; sic as the death and vntymous tacking away of my lord of Murray, first regent, it is a wonder how far sum of the pairtineris of the murther, and counfallouris thairto, have spurnit to rejeect and abolishe the same, moved licklie and in a pairt, be the desyre to hald this cuntrey in ane perpetual truble, that therthrough they mycht haue ane impunitie of the enorme faultis that thair cankered consciences dytes thame to be guiltie of; as also of the vther pairt, be the truble of your natiue cuntrey and civile warre, that thei help to suffocate thairin, to spend the most pairt and best amonges your honnouris, that they may heirefter get promoted sic as misteris rather ane tytill of vtheris, than to haue charge aboue vtheris, whome of thei may haue the government, and consequentlie of this miserable and infortunate cuntrey. In the

quhilkis, my lordis, your honouris fould confider be sic menis proceedingis, in tymes past, what thair meaning may be now, and in tymes cuming, gif ge fall reffauwe thame amonges you; speciallie, fir James Balfoure and his brether, and not give thame the remedie of thair deserveng; in the quhilk it will pleis your honouris to call to mynd thair former fidelitie at all tymes, thair proceedingis thir four zeiris bygane, thair constancie in nothing but in all kynd of evill, both towardis your honouris, and your natuie cuntrey.

“ What movet thame eftir the recent benefite done vnto thame be difpositioun of the erle Bothuellis escheit, the promoting of the said fir James to the office of the precedent in the seat, and vtheris grit benefices done be my said lord Murray, than regent, to him; of the quhilkis your honouris are not yit out of remembrance, at my saidis lordis being in England for the defence of this guid caus, without my lordis (that said is) knowledge, and nawayis to his commoditie, to enter in conference with the queine the kingis mother, then at Boulton, and be so familiar with hir at that tyme, as that no Scottisman in Scotland reffauwe mea missives from hir than the said fir James?

“ What movit him and his marrowes to enter in league with the duche of Northfolke, vnwitting of the said lord regent, for promoting of the said duche to the supremacie of the realmes of England and Scotland, subvertioun of trew religione, and exterminatione of your honouris, and all that professed God and the treuth, in both the realmes?

“ Who also at my lord regentis, my lord of Murrayis, tacking away was so buffie to procure that grit seditioun and intestine trouble, whilk since that tyme hes continowed in this realme, and hes consumed so mony and able noblemen and vtheris, that in tyme of forane weiris, with thair valiantnes, wald haue done grit honour to their natuie cuntrey, quhilk begouth at the counfall commonly callit ‘The Meill-mercat,’ whairinto he was cheifest counfallore? Ane mutatioun strange to behauld! and of the quhilk the embassadore to the quenis maiestie in England for the tyme, Mr Randolp be name, in thir partiris, reprovand the said fir James, reported no vther anfuer nor reafone of the famen, but ‘*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis!*’ Whilk was alsmeikle in meaning, as he fould

stand content nather with government nor auctoritie in this cuntrey, but that that made for him! And yit, when ever he saw tyme, he could wagge as the bussle wagged, and take the way that might make him advancement, howbeit that same wer to the distructione of all honest and godly men, and of his natiue cuntrey also!

“What movit him, beiring office of counfallore and precedent of the feat of the Colledge of Justice of our soverane lord, yea, and efter so money subscriptiones and oathis gevin, to make trew service to our soverane lord, to pas to Linlythgow, and thair make to be proclaimed that all men should obey the queine! And at that tyme to cum out, in most warrelyke maner, with carted ordinance, to the brige of Evan, to stop the aue half of your honouris to meit with the vther, for conference of materis to the weill of this puire realme?

“Wha was the fetter forward of that traytorous proclamatioun of a parliament to be haldin at Linlythgow the 2 of August nixt thairefter, for deprivatione of our soverane lord and his auctoritie royall, or wha movit him thairto?

“Wha cryed out faster, that your honouris was all Englishe traytoris, for the revendge tacking, be the support of England, vpoun the Hammiltone? For the quhilk cause afterward thair led a grit pairt of proces against your honouris of foirfaltoure, in thair pretendit parliament.

“What conquest meant thair to make vpoun the kingis hienes, and his obedient subjectis of Mearnes, Angus, and Fyffe, being in the north, in the erle of Huntlies cumpanie, and consulting him to man the place of Brien, and stiple thair of, and be suire of Brochtie? Ze, what warre and truble thocht he to haue brocht in the bowelis of Fyffe, and finallie in thir partis, at this tyme, gif God had not inspyrit your honouris hartis to cut short thair interprise, and make it for nought? Which journey held off that grit truble, that thair thocht to haue begune at the inputting of the come, to the Aprile nixt thairefter, in this cuntrey.

“Wha was the grit counfallore of the tacking of Sanct Geillis stiple and kirke? Wha begouth the tacking vp of men of weir?

“Wha begouth the halding and fortefeing of the toun of Edinburgh, in contrair the king and his regentis, and to make that noble toun, which

was the only patrone of justice, policie, and guid discipline in the religione of this realme, ane vther Liddisdail? Zea, quha was proveft thairto for the tyme? And wha was made captane of that devillish band called 'The Chymnay band'?

"Wha fenced that traytorous parliament, for the annulling of the kingis hienes auētoritie? Wha dytit thir wordis, and commandit the clerkis to wryt thame, in the parliament off our soverane lady?

"Wha foirfaltit principallie all your honouris?

"Wha was of the counfall to fend his brother to the parliament in Stirveling, whair all your honouris lyves wer most crwellie fought, and my guid lord Lennox, regent, with mony vther noble gentlemen, wer most traitorouflic slaine?

"Wha, after that, caused hing innocent Chairles Douglas, and vtheris trew and faithfull fervandis to our soveraigne lord?

"Wha pulled and spoyled the whole guidis and geare of thame that for the zeale of God, and favore of our soveraine lord, left thair houffis, guidis, geir, and levingis within the toun, and come to Leith, to expone thair lyves to danger and perrell at all tymes, for the kingis service?

"Wha maist cheiffie pulled down, raifit, and villanuflic caift down the houffis, biggingis, and polycie, the ornamentis of this toun, and cuntrey lykwayis; and that for despite that sic men whois houffis thay destroyed wald not be lyke to thame, traytoris to thair native cuntrey and soverane king?

"Wha at all skirmishes, and vther tymes of pursuite of the king and his faithfull subjeētis, hundet out with bauch strockis, and vther sic interteanement, all the poure folkis of the toun that thei had haldin in besoir, hungering, to cum contrair our soverane lord and his regent? The auld preiftis depositioun, at his death, wha was hinged for cuming against our soverane lord and his said regent, vpoun the tuyfday, can sufficientlie testifie! What neidith wordis mae?

"Na tounge can expre the wickitnes of that man and his brother, nor the hurt that thei haue procured to the king and his trew subjeētis, which is so notorious to all your honouris, that probatioun neidis thair none! ffor ze haue bene heiring and sieng witneffis to the most pairt of all thir

foirfaidis. Whairfoir, my lordis, luike weill what ȝe doe befoir ȝe refaue thaim in amonges you, or consent that my lord regentis grace, wha will vse your honouris counfall, grant thame ony pardone. [Neuer traift thy enemie!]

“ Confidder first the qualitie of the men that, sen the tyme thei wer condepnit to the gaillous, neuer could be of quyet mynd, but ever desperatlie procurand of feditione, lyk as thair whole lyfe and conversatioune will beir record. [A moir will change his cullour, if a wicket man change his maneris!]

“ Nixt, thei ar but precurfouris and foirrunneris to all that devilish factiōne that hes waisted this cuntrey, whom to ȝe can na wayis deny the favour and pardon that ȝe fall grant thame wha is les guiltie, and falteris, than thei.

“ Also, ȝe fall haue thame, without the hail maffe came into obedience, sic as thei war, in my lord regentis my lord of Murrayis dayis, to the queine and hiris.

“ Item, it is said, when they haue gottin thair purfe full againe, ȝe fall haue thame proceedand to thair accustomed fashione and dealing; and thair is no securitie can be devysit that can make men fuire of sic perfonis. [Lat mercie be schawin never so oft to a wicket man, yit he will turne to his wickitnes!]

“ As also, gif your honouris fall consent to thair remissiones, ȝour honouris fall procure the grittest skayth to this cuntrey that ever come; for the youth falbe thairby movit to think trefone, oppreffiōne, murther, and sic vther odious crymes as thir men hes committed, no faultis; nor yit, with the feir of justice, fall nawayis be movit to leive off the committing of the fame, but ever hope for impunitie, as thei sie thir men get; quihik falbe the grittest skayth that ever come to this commone wealth.

“ Secondlie, it falbe iudged be all natioues that fall heir of your proceedingis in this pairt, that it was not the murther of the king that ȝe haue focht the revendge of, when as ye fall shaike handis with the principall counfallouris thair of, but your owne promotione, to the hurt and destructione of your natiue cuntrey.

“ Thridlie, how can ȝe bald vp your faces, gif God fall furtoun you to

leive till the king our foverane come to perfeccion of zeiris? Or what anfuer can ze give him, why ze haue vnquyetit this his cuntrey fo long with weir, by fyre, fword, and flauncher of his fubjectis? For gif ze will fay, that it was for the revendge of the murther, it will be faid, 'that meanit ze neuer, ffor ze have lattin leive the principall doaris and counfallouris thair of!' Whairfoir your felf, or your pofteritie, may refave sic punifhment, as difturbaris of a commoun wealth, and wraikaris of your natiue cuntrey meritis!

"Fourtlie, it is to be fupposed, that God remaines yet that felf fame God that he hes bene litherto, who be his minifteris exhorted my lord of Murray, than regent, to take away the evill from this cuntrey, and puneis the authoris of the murther, without that he wald haue that anfuer givin him by God, that was givin to Achab be the fervant of God, when he faid vnto him, 'Becaus thow hes lattin him gang that the Lord appointed to death, behauld thy lyfe for his lyfe, and thy people for his people!' The admonitione being contemned be him (alace for pitie!) what followed thairon judge ze, my lordis! What now the Lord is able to doe, your bodies and houffis that bydis behind, gif ze fall committ the lyke fault, and overfe at this present thir wicked men, ordained be God to be punifhit to death, for thair abhominable deides that no tounge can expre, I committ to your judgmentis!"

What anfuer this bill gat I reid not.

Efter the parliament, the lordis appointed be the regent paff to Sanct Johneftoun, to treat with the commiffioneris of the Hammiltounes, and the Lord Huntly, whair this treatife following was concludit. God, bring all to a guid fyne, and revenge the bloud of innocentis, at thy guid pleifoure!

[*Treaty between the Lords appointed by the Regent and the Commiffioners for the Earl of Huntly and the Hamiltons.*]

"At Perth, the 23 of Februar, 1572 [3] yeiris, The noble and nichtie lordis vnderwrittin, they ar to fay, Archibald, erle of Argyle, Lorne, Camp-

bell, and of Lorn chanclare, iustice-generall of this realme, Johne erle of Muntroife, lord Graham, Williame lord Ruthwen, thesaurer to our foverane lord, Robert lord Boyd, Robert commendatour of Dumfermling, his hienes secretar, and sir Johne Ballenden of Auchinnowle, knycht, clerke of his maiesties iusticiarie, commissiонерis for his hienes to the effect vnder-written, speciallie constitute, on that ane pairt; and George erle of Huntlie, lord Gordoun, and Baidyenoct, for him self, kin, freindis, and pertackeris now properlie depending on him, and lord Johne Hamiltoun, commendatoure of the abbot of Arbroithe, for him self, and tacking the burding on him for Lord Claud [Hamiltoun] his brother, and all vther the kyn, freindis, fervandis, and pertackeris depending on the duckis grace of Chatteralocht thair father, and houfe of Hamiltoun, on the vther pairt: Being convenit for treating of the removeing of the present trubles and civile weir within this realme, so long continowing thairin, to the displeasure of God, the decay and danger of his trew religione, the hurt and prejudice of our foverane lordis autoritic royall, and to the confusion of the lawes, policie, and the whole estait of the commone wealth; having heirvnto the most earnest motione and solistatioun of the quenis maiestie of England, narrest princes of the world to his hienes, both be bloud and habitatioune, made on hir hienes behalf be the rycht worchipfull Mr Henry Killigrave, esquyre, her hienes ambassadore; efter mature deliberatioune, and advysemēt, to the plesoure of almychtie God, who is the God of peace, incres and suiretie of the estait of the trew religione, and of the royall persone of our foverane lord, and quyet peace and quitenes of the realme, have conuenit, concordit, and concludit as efter followes:

“ First, That all and whatsumeuer perones that fall clame to ony benefite of this present pacificatioune, and of our foverane lordis favoure and pardone to be granted, fall acknowledge, affirme, and confes the confellione of Christiane fayth and trew religione of Jesus Christ, now publictlic preichit and professit within this realme, established and autorised be lawes and actis of parliament, in the first yeir of our foverane lordis reigne; and fall at the vttermost of thair powaris maintaine, fortifie, and assist the trew preichouris of the word of God, against whatsumeuer enemies or gainstanderis of the same; and namelie, against sic, of what-



fumeuer natione, estait, or degrie thei be of, that hes joyned or band thaim felfis, or hes affistid or affistes to set forward and execute the crwell decreitis of the counfall of Trent, quhilk maist injuriousslie is called be the aduerfaries of Godis treuth, 'The Holy League,' contrair the preichouris and trew professouris of the word of God.

"That the erle of Huntlie and lord Johne Hammiltoun, for thaim felues and vtheris aboue specifeit, now submittand thame felfis to his hienes obedience, and government of James erle of Mortone and lord Dalkeyth, present regent to his maiestie, his realme, and lieges, and vther regentis to be lawfully constitute during his hienes minoritie, for thame felfis, thair airis, and successeouris, presently, and in all tyme cuming, recognofces his hienes auctoritie and regiment foirfaid, and acknowledges thame to be his debt-bound subjectis, be thir actes and subscriptions, and sic of thame as hes voit in parliament to gif thair assent thairto.

"They grant and confes that all thingis done or assisted be ony of thame, in name and cullore of vther auctoritie nor of our soverane lordis, sen his hienes coronatioune, against ony that professed his maiesties obedience for the tyme, hes bene vnlawfull, and is of nane force, weght, nor effect, and fall haue no executioun for ony tyme bygane or for to cum.

"That it falbe statute and ordained be ane act of parliament, that none of the subjectis of this realme fall, directlie nor indirectlie, be thame felfis, nather assist, fortiefe, supplie, or schaw favore to ony of the subjectis of the realme, or strangeris that fall privielie practife or opinly pretend ony treasonabill fact, vproare, or hostilitie against the trew religione foirfaid, or the persone of our soverane lord, his faid present regent and royall auctoritie, in tym cuming, vnder the paine of the law. And farder, in caise ony persones returning, or that fall happin to be receavit to his hienes obedience in the contract, and resistis not the treasonabill factis, vproares, and hostilities, at the vttermoost of thair powaris, his maiesties remissione and pardone presentlie to be grantit, nor na vther benefite of this pacificatioun, to ferue or be extendit in thair favouris thairestir; bot thai to be persewed and puneist for thair offence bypast, as gif no remissione, pardone, or pacificatioun had bene granted to thaim thairfoir.

“ That all perſones profeſſing his hienes obedience, diſpoſeſſeth during the trubles, ſhall be poſſeſſit to thair houſſis, levingis, benefices, landis, tackis, rentis, cornes, guidis moveabill, now extant in the poſſeſſione of the firſt intromettouris thairwith, except horſe and armoure; and for execu-tioun, gif neid beis, and repoſſeſſing of the perſonis diſpoſeſſet of houſſis, that our ſoverane lordis lettres be direct be the ſaid regent within ſex dayis after the charge, vnder the paines of treafone and horning; and for levingis, that lettres of the four-formes be direct be the lordis of the counfall and ſeſſione, ſummarly, without calling.

“ That the hous of Spynie ſhalbe deliyuerit to our ſoverane lord and his regent foirſaid, when it ſhalbe requyred, upoun xv dayis wairning.

“ That the maifter of Forbes, James Glen of the Bar, and his ſones, and vther priſoneris, be preſentlie (with all poſſible diligence eſtir the publicatioun of this preſent pacificatioun) ſet at libertie.

“ That the lord Semple his band, and all vther bandis for entrie of priſoneris, or bandis and promiſes for payment of ranſome, in ony tyme bygane, preceeding the dait heirow, be frie and diſcharged, be vertew of this preſent pacificatioun.

“ That all thingis promiſit be abſtinence ſhall be performed, and all thingis to the contrair thair of ſhalbe reſtoired, redreſſit, repaired, and accordit to the ſimple availe, at the ſicht and judgment of Johne erle of Muntrois, lord Grahame, Johne lord Glames, and ſir Johne Wiſhart of Pitarrow, knycht, conjunctlie, for all actis that are committit againſt the ſaid abſtinence be-north the water of Tay, and thei to fit in the burgh of Perth; and Robert lord Boyd, Mark comendatoure of Newbottell, and ſir Johne Ballenden of Auchinowll, knycht, conjunctlie, for all attemptis committit againſt the ſaid abſtinence that is be-ſouth the water of Tay, and thei to fit in the toun of Edinburgh; without ony limitation of tyme, in reſpect of none-publicatioun of the ſaid abſtinence at certane places, ſaving diſcretion, as thair ſhall try, *ex equo et bono*; and thair ſhall diſcerne within ane yeir eſtir the intending and perſewing of the actione: And compulſatouris ſhalbe direct, at the inſtance of either of the ſaidis parties, be the lordis of ſeſſione, vtherwayis, for compelling of the ſaidis judges to decerne within the ſpace foirſaid: And gif the parties ſkaithed intendis and perſewis not within yeir and day eſtir

the publicatioune of this pacificatioune present, that thei tyme thair actiounes for any thing excepted against thaim, sen the according of the said abstinance; and nawayes to be hard to perswethair, befor vther judges, in any tyme to cum: And incaise the said judges, or any of thame, inlaikie or accept not, that vtheris be agriement be put in thair places; and that alwayes na vther judges have power to cognofce or decyde in the saidis materis.

“ That the said erle of Huntlie and lord Johne Hammiltoun fall presently brecke and discharge thair men of war, sa that thei may remaine at thair owin duellingis.

“ And forfameikle as, for the better assurance of the persones now returning to our soverane lordis obedience, and observatioune of the conditiones above specifit, pladgies hes bene requyred of thaim all, alsweill cautioneris as soverties, to be bound with thaim selfis for thair debtfull obedience, in tyme cuming, the said erle Huntlie and lord Johne Hammiltoun, at the suite and request of the quenes maiesties of Englandis embassadoure foirfaid, restoired thame in the will and discrectione of the said lord regent; and, towardis the entrie and deliverance of the saidis pledges, ar alwayes content to find the saidis cautioneris and soverties bund with thaim selues vnder paines, as the said lord regent fall reffonnable prescryve.

“ In respect of the quhilk conditiones agriet vnto, and of the furtie to be made for performance thairof, it is accordit, for the furtie of the persones now returning to our soverane lordis obedience, vpoun weghtie and guid consideratioune, tending to the furthering and establishing of the peace and quyetnes and vniversal obedience to be made of his hienes authoritie, and for thair trew obedience to be made and observit be thaim in all tymes cuming, that be act of parliament it falbe declaired and decerned, that the proces and soverties past of domes of foirfaltoure, alsweill in parliament as befor in justice courts; as also all hornings, penalties following thairvpoun, which has bene led and deducit againes

George erle of Huntlie,	Alexander Hammiltoun of Inner-
Williamme bishope of Abirdeine,	weike,
Adam Gordoun of Achindoun,	James Hammiltoun of Woudhall,

Robert Hammiltoun of Garne,	James Hammiltoun in Burnebray,
Alexander Hammiltoun of Lekpre- vick,	James Hammiltoun of Sprowftoun,
Alexander Hammiltoun of Nether- feild,	Alexander Baillie of Litlegill,
James Hammiltoun of Marktoun- maines,	Claud Hammiltoun, commendatour of Paislay,
Thomas Hammiltoun of Preiftfeild,	Johne Hammiltoun of Stennoufe,
James Muirhead of Lanfchip,	James Hammiltoun of Ruichbanke,
Lord Johne Hammiltoun of Ar- broith,	Gavin Hammiltoun of Roploche,
Alexander bifehope of Galloway,	Mr James Hammiltoun of Milkef- land,
Alexander Hammiltoun of Goflin- toun, knycht,	Mr Archibald Hammiltoun his brother,
George Barclay of that ilk,	Arthoure Hammiltoun of Mirritoun,
Johne Hammiltoun of Dranyie,	Archibald and Andro Hammiltounes, brether fones to Andro [Hammil- toun] of Cochuo,
Johne Hammiltoun his brother,	Williame Baillie of Tormeftoun,
Robert Hammiltoun of Daferf, yongar,	James Glen of the Bar,
Johne Hammiltoun of Culrofe,	Williame Glen his fone;

befoir his Justice or his deputies, or his regent, or lordis of privie counfall, for ony crymes done in the commoune caufe, contrair his hienes and his auctoritie, or ony depending thairvpoun, fen the xv day of Junij, in the yeir of God 1567 yeiris; or for ony vther cauffis, containing in the fummondis, fafing, proces, fentence, or domes foirfaid, led againft thaim fen the faid xv day of Junij, in the yeir foirfaid, fall haue na executioun, but be void, and of na vaill, ftrengh, force, nor effe&t in all tyme cuming, without ony proces of fpeciale redu&tionne or vther declaratiounne to follow thairvpoun: And that the faid a&t of parliament falbe als valable, in all refpectis, as gif the faidis proces, fentences, and domes of foirfaltoure, horningis, and penalties following thairvpoun, wer reducit ordinarlie vpoun the fummondis; all pairties haiffand entres being callit. And that this present article fall extend to all vtheris perfones foirfaltit, properly comprehendit vndir this present pacificatiounne, that thei alfo fall haue his

hienes licence and favoure to reduce thair foirfaltouris for sic reffonabill cauffis as thei can lybell.

“ And towardis thair efcheitis of thair moveabill guidis foirfaltit for ony cryme committed in the commoune caufe, or depending thairvpoun, or for ony vther caufes and crymes conteanit in the faidis fummondis, treafone, [fasing], proces, fentences, or domes foirfaidis, led againft ony thairvpoun, the famyn fall remaine within them felues: Provyding alwayes, that all guidis moveabill, and debtis intrometted with and vptacken, whairvpon decretit was obteneid be vertew of efcheit in tymes bygane, befor the according of the abftinence, vpoun the penult day of Julij laft by paff, fall remaine to the donatouris to the famyn and intromettouris thairwith; and, in lyke maner, all paines and vnlawes reftand awand, taken vp and not intromettit with, for none entrie of the faidis perfones, or ony of thame, to vnderly the law, or for none recompence befor the lordis of fecreit counfall and regent in tyme bygane, to be fimplie difcharged, be vertew of the faid aēt.

“ Item, be the aēt of parliament, it falbe declaired that all sic perfones now returning to the kingis obedience, or that hes returned thairto during the troubles paff, quhilkis be foirfaltour, aētis, or decretis of the privie counfall or feffione, for crymes committed in the faid commoune caufe, or barratrie, fen the first xv day of Junij, in the yeir of God 1567 geiris, hes bene difpoffeffit of thair landis or heretages, benefices, penfionnes of benefices, heritabill offices, honouris, takis, fteidingis, poffeffiounne of landis or teindis, and livingis whatfumeuer, falbe reftored effectuoouffie to the poffeffiounne thairrof, rehabilitat to thair bludis and honouris, and enjoy the famyn als fuire as thai did at ony tyme heirtofore, and as gif the troubles bypaff had neuer happenit, notwithstanding ony proces or fentence paff be dome of foirfaltoure, ather in the parliament or befor the Juftice and his deputis, at particular dyetis in Juftice court, or ony vtheris horningis and penalties following thairvpoun quhatfumeuer, proceeding vpoun the faid commoun caus. And for executiounne heirof, and repoffeffing of the perfones difpoffeffit of houffis, that our foverane lordis lettres be direct be the regent within fex dayes, vndir the panes of treafone and horning; and for levingis, that lettres be direct, in the four-formes, be the lordis of

feffione, fummarlie, without calling of the perfonis craving to be repoffeffit; always firft making thair obedience be thair aithis and fubfcriptiones, and findand certane cawtion, as faid is.

“ Item, as tuiching the article, requyryng that ane act fall pas in parliament, declairing the faidis perfones to be frielie remittit and difcharged for all actiounes, crymes, treafones, tranfgreffionis, or offences quhatfumeuer, committit be thame, or ony of thame, in tyme bygane, in the faid commoun caufe, or ony thingis depending thairvpoun fen the xv day of June foirfaid, 1567 zeiris, againft whatfumeuer perfones being in the contrarie fyde, profeffing ane vther auctoritie for the tyme (inceft, witchcraft, and thift excepted), the famyn article is agriet and condifcendit vnto, faving in fa far as may extend to the murthereris of the vmquhill erle of Murray, and vmquhill erle of Lennox, guidfchire, lait regent to his hienes realme, and leiges, which ar matteris of fic wecht and importance, as the faid lord regent can not convenientlie of him felf remit thame; yit in refpect of the prefent pacificatioune, it is accordit, that the matter of remiffione of the faidis murthereris beand movit be the perfones craivand the faid remiffione to the quenis maieftie of England, being, as is afoirfaid, princes narrest to our faid foverane lord, baith be blude and habitatioune, in what forme fho fall advyfe and confult, twiching the remiffione of the faidis murthereris, the faid lord regent, with confent of parliament, for the weill of our foverane lord, and for the vniverfall quyetnes of this whole realme, fall performe, obferve, and fulfill the famyn: Quhilk remiffione, in forme of ane act of parliament, fubfcryvit be the clerke of regifter, falbe als guid and fufficient to the faidis perfones, and ilk ane of thame, as gif remiffione wer paff to thame, in speciall, vnder the grit feill; or thei fall haue the famyn remiffione in dew forme, vndir the grit feill, as beft pleiffis thame.

“ And gif ony of thame defyris remiffione for ony cryme preceeding the xv day of Junij, in the yeir of God, 1567 yeiris, the famyn falbe grantit to thame, the perfones and crymes being modiefiet: The murder of the king, our foverane lord his father, and all vther murthereris, fyre raifing, thift, refait of thift, inceft, witchcraft, allanerlye excepted.

“ Item, all fic civile proces paff during the trubles, fen the faid 15 day

of Junij, in the yeir of God 1567 yeiris, whairwith the fadis perfoncs, or ony of thame, findis thaim felues greivit or injurit, falbe renewed be the judges and ordinaris, giffaris of the decreitis; and the parties, vpoun thair fupplicatioune, falbe hard to propone ony lawfull defence that thei mycht haue vfed the tyme of the deduccion of the proces; or gif thei may alledge ony nullitie to haue bene in the deduccion thairof, they falbe alfo hard thairvpoun, the fupplicatioune alfweill as the reduccion, provyding that the perfoncs alledgen thaim felfis greivit or injured, intend and execute thair fadis preceptis or fupplicatiounes, for that caus, within sex monethis efter the dait heirof; and in the meane tyme, all execu-tiounne to ceife vpoun cawtioune or confignatioune, at the difcretione of the judges.

“ Item, as for the fruitis, moveabill guidis, ather perteing to his hienes, or his fubjectis, whilkis the fadis perfoncs now returning to the kingis obedience hes tane fra perfoncs profefing his hienes obedience, or dangeris or fkaithis done or committit be thaim fen the faid xv day of Junij, 1567 zeiris, preceeding the according of the abftinence, vpoun the penult day of Julij laft bypaft, throw the faid commoun caus, or ony thing depending thairvpoun, againft the parties with whome thei than ftude in controverfie and debait; becaus the materis ar of fic wecht, it is accordit, that the famyn being movit to the quenis maieftie of England, whatfumeuer fho fould advife and confult thairanent, the faid lord regent fall performe, fulfill, and obferve the famyn, with confent of parliament.

“ The rentis, fewfarmes, and mailes of the landis of Pettindreiche, and thrid of Dumffes in Murray, being ane part of our foverane lordis propertie intromettit with, and vptacken be the faid erle of Huntlie, or ony in his name, in tyme bygane, is, be virtew of this pacificatioune, frielle remittit and difchargit.

“ And as tuiching the rentis of the thridis of benefices, commone kirkis, or ffreir landis, lykwayis intromettit with and vptacken be the faid erle of Huntlie, and lord Johne Hammiltoun, or ony in thair names, during the troubles, the faid lord regent fall make fuite to the kirke at the generall affemblic thairof, for procuriing of fic difcharge of the fame rentis as may be had; the faid erle of Huntlie doing the lyk: fpeciall declaratioune

beand maid be the said erle and lord Johne quhat is tacken vp and intro-  
mettit with in thair names.

“ That all men comprehendit vndir this pacificatioune, efter publica-  
tione thair of, be indifferentlie receavit and accepted, as the remanent of  
our soverane lordis frie leiges, over all pairtis of this realme: And that  
nothing done or occurit during the trubles in the said commone caus, or  
ony thing depending thairvpoun be committit as deidlie feid, in judg-  
ment, nor be ony exceptione against judge, partie, assise, or vtherwayis.

“ That the airis and successeouris of perones foirfaltit, properlie com-  
prehendit vndir this pacificatioune, and now depairtit off this lyfe, be  
restored, rehabilitate, and made lawfull to enter be brevis to thair landis  
and possessiones, and exerce all lawfull deidis in judgement and without,  
nochtwithstanding the foirfaltour claid against thair fatheris and predi-  
cessoris, and as gif thei had died at our soverane lordis faith and peace;  
and speciallie Johne, archbifchope of Sanct Androis, Gavine, commen-  
datour of Kilwyning, Andro Hammiltoun of Cochno, Johne Hammiltoun  
his sone, and captane James Cullen; and the aet of parliament to pas  
thairvpoun. That the captanis of men of weir vnderwritin, with the  
memberis of thair cumpanies, falbe comprehendit in this present pacifica-  
tione: and also the hail suddartis and men of weir which servit vndir  
thair charges, or attemptit deidis of hostilitie, and crymes committed during  
the trubles, and befor the said last day of Julij bypast, being alwayis  
subjeet to anfuer to all thingis done sen the abstinance was accordit vnto,  
as the remanent subiectis of the realme: Thay ar to say, captane Bruce,  
Johne Hammiltoun of Kilbowie, his lievetennent, Johne Robefoun in  
Brodewoudfyde, his enfigngie; captane Thomas Ker, James Arbuthnet,  
his lievetennent, Thomas Daling enseingie; Gilbert Wauschop, Mathow  
Aikman, his lievetennent, and corporall Jonat, his enfigngie: Robert  
Craufurd, called ‘gantilat,’ and James Oliphant.

“ And the articles and conditiones befor specifeit, falbe further execute  
gif neid beis, in sic forme as may serve for the furtie of the perones now  
returning to our soverane lordis obedience, the substance not being alterit;  
and that it be amplie interpretit and extendit to the favouris of the foir-  
named perones, now returnit to our soverane lordis obedience, ffor the



sufficient furtie of thair lyves, landis, levingis, poffeffiones, penfionnes, benefices, honouris, and guidis, movable and vnmovable, whatfumeuer danger or calamitie onywayis may tend to thair hurt or prejudice.

“ Be it alwayis vnderftand, that this prefent pacificatioune, nor na benefite of the famyn, extendis not to ony perfone prefentlie abfent and furth of the realme, or to ony perfonis speciallie excepted in the firft abftinence, accordit vnto the penult day of Julij laft bypaft.

“ In whilkis haill articles and conditiounes of this prefent pacificatioune, accordit vnto in maner and forme as is above fpecifeit, our foverane lordis comiffioneris, as alfo the vther noblmen above fpecifeit, folempnedlie promifed and fweare the trew intentione and faythfull performance and obfervatioune of the fame in tymes cuming, into the prefens of the quenis maieftie of Englandis embaffadore foirfaid; and in faith and witnessing of the famyn, hes fubfcrivit thir prefentis with thair handis: And his hienes commiffioneris has delyverit to the faid erle of Huntlie, and Commendatore of Arbrothe, thair remiffione vnder his grit feill: And the faid Commendatore promifes, on his honour, that the lord Claud Hammiltoun, his brother, fall approve and fubfcrive alfo the articles and conditiounes of the pacificatioune above fpecifeit.

“ And mair attour it is accordit, that na hoirning for payment of thridis, execute aganis the perfones now returning to the kingis obedience, during the trubles, be valuable; but this pacificatioune to be als sufficient relaxatioune as gif thei wer speciallie relaxit; without prejudice to execute the charges and denunciatioune of lettres paft be decreitis of delyuerance of the lordis of feffione of new: And this article to extend to all hoirningis execute for ony thing done [in] the fame commone caufe, or depending thervpoun, or for not compeirand befor the regent and lordis of privie counfall.

(*Sic fubfcribitur*)

“ ARGYLE,                    MONTRUIS,  
RUTHWEN,                BOYD,  
S<sup>r</sup> J. BELLENDEN,        DUMFERMLING.”

The generall affemblic of the kirke affemplit, as thei wer wont, the 6 of December, and fat till that day 8 dayis. Sundrie and diverfe thingis wer

thair treatit, especiallie that the lord Argyle defyred parteifing of his wyfe for non adherence. He productit the ordour vfed against hir, of hir charging to adherir thrie or foure tymes be the superintendentis lettres, vndir the paine of excommunicatioun, which was commandit be the affemblie to be execute in the Abbay kirke be Johne Brand, minifter thair for the tyme.

This tyme the regent gaue in a bill to the affemblie, defyring that sum of the ministeris mycht be appointed to sit, and placit in the colledge of iustice, according to the fundatioune. The lettre followes:

*The Regentis Letter to the Generall Assembly.*

“Forfameikle as the equall half of the ordinar number of the fenatouris of the Colledge of Justice, be the institutioune thair of, ar appointed to be of the spirituall estait, and that certane places now vaikis, whairthrow thair is oftymes default of a full number, to the grit hinderance of justice, not only to the whole subiectis in generall, but in particular to the ministrie, having so monie thingis to crave be order of justice: And my lord regentis grace being of mynd to supplie the places of the spirituall estait vacand, with perfonages, godly, learned, and of guid judgment; and that the ministrie hes thocht convenient to signifie his intentione to the kirk now affemblit, to the effect thei may think it guid, and allow that sic perfones in the functioun of the ministrie as his grace fall choise to be of the fessione, may be placed thairin when tyme seruis thairto.

(*Subscryvit*) JAMES, REGENT.”

[END OF THE MEMORIALES.]

## THE CONFESSION OF JAMES EARL OF MORTOUN.

*The sowme of all that Conference that was betuixt the Erle of Morton and Johne Durie, and Mr Walter Balcalquhen, and the cheif thingis which thei hard of him, whairof thei can remember, the day that the said Erle sufferit, which was the 2 of June 1581.*

Firft, Being exhorted that he fould not be difcouraged, in confideratioune of that eftait whairvnto anes he hes bene in this world, being in honour and glorie, and of the douncaft whairvnto now he was brocht; but rather, that in confideratioune of the glorie to cum, he fould rejoyfe and be of guid comfort: His anfuer was, "As concerning all the glory that I had in this world, I cair not for it; becaus I am perfwadit, now, that all the honouris, ritches, freindis, pleifoures, and whatfumever I had in the world, is bot vanitie. And as concerning the fteat whairvnto now I am brocht, I thank God for it, and am at this point, that I am content rather to rander my lyfe, than to live: becaus I know, that as God had appointed a tyme for my death, fo hes he alfo apointit the maner thairof; and thairfoir, that feing now is the tyme, and this is the maner, that beft pleiffis my God to take me, I am content. And as for my life in this world, I cair it not a penny, in refpect of that immortall and everlafting joy quihilk I luike for, and whairof I am affuired!"

Secundlie, Being requyred, What was his part or knowledge in the kingis murther? He anfuerit, with this attestatioune, "As I fall answer to my Lord God, I fall declair trewlie all my knowledge in that matter; the sowme whairof is this: firft, efter my returning out of England, when I was banifhit for Davies flauchter, I come out of Wedderburne to Whittinghame, whair the erle Bothuel and I met together; and in the gaird of Whittinghame, efter long commoning, the erle of Bothuel proponed

to me the purpose of the kingis murther, requyring what wald be my pairt thairinto, feing it wes the queinis mynd that the king fould be tane away; becaus, as he said, shoe blamed the king mair of Davies flauchter than me? My ansuer to the erle Bothuell at that tyme was this: that I wald not in ony wayis medle in that mater; and that for this caufe, becaufe I am but newlie come out of a new truble, whairof as yit I am not redd; being discharged to cum neir the court be fewin mylles; and thairfoir I can not enter my self in sic a new truble againe! Eftir this ansuer, Mr Archibald Douglas enterit in conference with me in that purpose, perswading me to agrie to the erle Bothuel. Laft of all, the erle Bothuell yit being in Whittinghame, earnestlie proponed the said mater to me againe, perswading me thairvnto, becaus it was the queinis mynd, and sho wald have it to be done. Vnto this my ansuer was: I defyrit the erle Bothuel to bring the quenis hand-write to me of that matter, for a warrand, and then I fould give him an ansuer; vtherwayis I wald not medle thairwith. The quibilk warrand he never reported vnto me."

Then being enquiryed, What wald haue bene his pairt, in caife he had gottin the quenis warrand in that matter? Wald he, in respect thairof, haue medlit with sic a filthie murther as that? He ansuerit, "Gif I had gottin the quenis write, and fwa had knowin hir mynd, I was purpofit to haue banishit my self againe, and turned my back vpoun Scotland whill I had fene a better." Then following furth the discourse of this matter, he said, "I being in Sanct Androis to visite the erle of Angufe, a litle befoir the murther, Mr Archibald Dowglas come to me thair, both with write and credite of the erle of Bothuell, sehawing vnto me that that purpose concerning the kingis murther was to be done, and neir a poynt, and to requyre my concurrance and assistance thairto. My ansuer was to him, that 'I wald give no ansuer to that purpose, feing I had not gottin the quenis warrand in write, which was promised vnto me!' And thairfoir, feing the erle of Bothuell neuer reported ony warrand of the queine, I medlit never farther with it."

Then being inquiryed, Whidder he gave Mr Archibald ony comand to be thair in his name? He ansuered, "I never commandit him." Being enquiryed, Gif he gave him ony counfall thairvnto? He ansuered, "He

never counfallit him to it." Being enquiryed, Gif he counfallit him in the contrair? He answered, "I counfallit him not in the contraire." Then it was said to him, that it was a dangerous thing for him that his fervand and depender was to pas to sic a wickit purpose; and, knowing thair of, stayit him not, feing it wald be compted his deid. He answered, that "Mr Archibald, at that tyme, was a depender on the erle Bothuel, making court for him self, rather than a depender of myne."

Eftir this, following furth the said discourse, the said "Mr Archibald then (said he), efter the deid was done, schew to me that he was at the deid doing, and come to the Kirke of Feild yairde with the erle of Bothuel, and Huntlie." Then being enquiryed, Gif he refaet in his cumpany Mr Archibald, efter the murther? Answerit, "I did indeid." Then it was said to him, "Appeirandlie, my lord, ze can not justlie compleane of the sentence that is gevin againt you, feing that with your own mouth ze confes the foirknowledge and conceiling of the kingis murther; of quhilk tuo pointis onlie, ze fould not be able to abyde the law." He answered, "I know that to be trew indeid; but yit thei fould haue confiderit the danger that the reveiling of it wald have brocht to me, at that time! ffor I durst nocht reveill it for feir of my lyfe; ffor at that tyme, to whome fould I haue reveiled it? To the quene? Schoe was the doare thair of! I was myndit, indeid, to the kingis father; but that I durst not for feir of my life; ffor I knew him to be sic a bairne, that thair was nothing tauld him but he wald reveill it to hir againe! And thairfoir I durst in no wayis reveill it. And howbeit thei haue dampned me of airt and pairt, foirknowledge, and conceilling of the kingis murther; yit, as I fall answer to God, I never had airt or pairt, rid or counfall, in that matter! I foirknew, indeid, and conceiled it, becaus I durst not reveill it to ony creature for my lyfe!"

Being enquiryit, Why ze wald nocht fenfyne reveill it to the kingis maiestie? He answered, he "durst nocht, for the same feir!" "Then (he said) efter the erle Bothuell was cleged be ane affyse, fundrie of the nobilitie, and I also, subscryvit a band with the erle Bothuell, that gif ony fould lay the kingis murther to his charge, we fould assist him in the contrair: And thairfoir I subscryvit to the quenis mariage with the erle

Bothuell, as fundrie vtheris of the nobilitie did; being chargit thairvnto be the quenis write and command." Then being enquyred, in the name of the leving God, that feing this murther of the king was one of the most filthie actis that ever was done in Scotland, and that the secreitis thair of as yit hes not bene declaired, nather yit wha was the cheif deid-doaris, whidder he was wirriet, or blowin in the aire; and thairfoir to declair, Gif he knew ony farder secreit therinto? He anfuerit, "As I fal anfuer to God, I knew na mair secreit in that matter nor I haue already tauld, and hard be the depositions of such as have already sufferit for it; quhilk depositions ar yit extant." Being enquyrit, Gif he knew ony presently to be about the king who war the doaris of that worke, be whois company the king or commoun wealth mycht be hurt? He anfuerit, "I know none, and I will accuse none!"

Laft of all, it was said to him, concerning this purpos, that in respect of his owin depositione, his pairt wald be suspectit to be mair fowle nor he declairit; he spereit, "for what reasone?" It was anfuerit, "Because ze, beand in auctoritie, howbeit ze puneist vtheris for that murther, ze puneist not Mr Archibald, whome ze knew to be guiltie thair of!" He anfuerit, "I puneist him not, indeid, nather durst I, for the caus befor schawin!"

Thridlie, Being enquyred of the erle of Atholes poyfoning, and gif he had ony airt or pairt thair of? He anfuerit, with a grit attestatioune, saying, "Lat God neuer be mercifull to me, gif ever I knew ony thing in that mater, or hard of it, befor I hard the commoune brute of the countrey!" And being demandit, Gif he knew that Mr Johne Provand brocht home ony poyfone? He anfuerit, "I know nothing of Mr Johne Provand but honestie!" And said, "fye! thair is over meikle filthines in Scotland alreadie! God forbid that that vild practife of poyfoning fould enter amonges vs! I wald not for the erledom of Athole have ather ministrat poyfone vnto him; yea, gif I had bene ane hundreth, and he his alone, I wald not have steired a hayre of his heid!"

Fourtlie, Being enquyred, Gif he maid ony conspiracie against the erle

of Lennox? He anſuerit, with the lyke atteſtatioues as of befoir, “I neuer thoct in my hart, or purpoſed ony conſpiracie againſt the erle of Levenox, nor myndit ever to doe him hurt, in bodie or vtherwayis; bot I was greivit that be the moyen of the erle of Lennox, wha as yit knew not the eſtair of our cuntrie, nor perceavit the danger of the kingis perfone, but being thairvnto requeiſtit be vtheris, fundrie war brocht hame that war the kingis enemies, walteraris of his kingdome, and enemies of religiõ, which was ane appearand danger to his perfone and realme; quihilk I hopit be counfall to have helpit, when the erle of Lennox familiaritie and myne fould haue bene griter.”

Fyftlie, Being enquired, Whidder he had ony trafficquene with England, for transporting of the king or vtherwayis? Or gif he had ony penſiõ of the queine of England for that effect? He anſuerit, “As I fall anſuer to God, vnder the pane of condempnatiõne or ſalvatiõne, I neuer had trafficquene with England, that way. Thair was neuer one in Scotland or England, nather the quein nor ony in hir name, that ever named ſic a thing to me, directlie or indirectlie, as to transport or put the king in England, except it had bene for his profeit and honoure that he had bene crowned king of England; then I wald have riddin with him to haue debated his rycht, according to my power. And for the moir cleir purgatiõne of my ſelf in this mater, I will ſay this, Gif ever I menit, directlie or indirectly, hurt to the king my maifter, but meanit alwayis his weill, lat God neuer be mercifull to me; and I fall never afke Godis mercie for ony thoct that ever enterit into my hart againſt the king! Yea, thair was nothing I regardit moir in this lyfe than that he fould be brocht vp in vertew and godlines. And I will ſay mair, Gif I had bene als cairfull to ſerve my God and walk in his feir, as I was to ſee the kingis weill, I had nocht bene brocht to this poynt that I am at this day! And whairas thei ſay that I was the queine of Englandis penſioner, as I fall anſuer to God, I had neuer penſiõ of the queine of England in my life! And albeit thei caus the brute to gang, that I fould haue furniſhit the queine of Englandis ſhuldeouris now laſt vpoun the Borderis, I neuer knew nor hard of it! And, laſt of all, whair thai alledge that I fould haue bene

ane trafficquer with England, I praise God I had neuer trafficquene with thame but for the weill of the king, his cuntrey, and subjeētis. Ineid, a yeir fyne, the queine of England write to me a letter, the fowme whairof was this: That sho was informed that fundry papiftes and enemies to the king wer familiar with him, and come in credite; quhilk could nocht be without his hurt, hurt to the religione and estait of both the realmes; and thairfoir defyrit my counfall how it mycht be remedied? Vnto this I fend hir ane anfuier, the fowme quhairof was this: I befocht her maiestie that sho wald not burding me with sic a thing, for I wald on nawayis mell in that matter; scho wald not be content that ony of hir subjeētis fould mell with ony forane prince, for the conformatiome of hir affairs! Eftir this anfuier, I refavit a lettre fra Mr Bowes, howbeit not subferyvit be the queine of England, yit, as I vnderftand, fend be hir moyen, and dyted be hir fecretar Welchinghame; whairin was declairit, that be this purpose thair was nothing meantither to my hurt, or to the hurt of the king, the realme, both the realme and subjeētis thairof, and speeciallie of the religione; but I write no anfuier againe, nor wald medle farther in that mater."

Sixtlie, Being demandit, What was his part of the enterprife of the castell of Striveling? He anfuierit, "As I fall anfuier to God, I knew nothing of it while it was done; but being in Lowthiane, I refavit advertifment out of the castell of Striveling, and wryting fra the king that I fould come thair. And whairas thair fay that I myndit to keip the king captive thair; I never myndit to keip him in captivitie thair, or in ony vther place; but I vnderftude be the kingis owin fpeiking, that he was als frie at that tyme as ever he was befoir, or defyrit to be for the present. And gif that I had vnderftand that his grace wald have gone to ony vther place whair gritter libertie had bene, I wald have gone with him."

Sevintlie, It being laid to his charge, that he was a grit hinderer of the materis of the kirke, and authorifare of the bifchopes, and vther corrupcionis; when he mycht haue done meikle guid for the furtherance of Godis glorie, and advancement of his evangle, both in the tyme of his governe-



ment and fenfyne: His anfwir was, "As concerning religione and doctrine, as now it is preichit and professit in Scotland, I ever meanit alwayis weill in my hart to it, and acknawledgit it to be the verie treuth of God; in fa mekle, that rather or ony hurt had come to the religione, I wold haue bene content to haue waired my lyfe, landis, and guidis in defence of it; lyk as now I am content to die in the constant professioun thair of. Bot, indeid, as concerning sum thingis as then wer in questione betwixt me and the kirke, I did thairin according to my knowledge, and followed that opinioun that I thocht to be best at that tyme, in consideratioun of the estait of all thingis as thair wer; and thairfor, howbeit I will nocht stand in the defence of thea thingis which then I did, 3it I will make this protestatioun, that as I fall answir to God, that I did nothing in thea materis ather of contempt or malice: Bot gif thair was ony thing done amisse, it was of ignorance, and for laike of better knowlege; and gif I had knowin better I wald have done vtherways, and was now purposit, at last, to have helpit thaim fa far as I mycht."

Auchtlie, Being desyrit, in the name of God, not to stand in defence of his owin innocencie, bot plainelie to confes his synis, to Godis glorie, and to thinke that howeuer it be that man hes done in this mater, yit God had alwayis done iustlie; and that he was to suffer nothing but that quhair of, befor God, he was worthie, and moir. His anfwir was, "Howeuer man hes done, I remit them to God and thair owin conscience; bot I acknowledge, indeid, that alwayis God hes done iustlie vnto me; and not only iustlie, but mercifully also; becaus I acknowledge my self to haue bene of all syneris the grittest, and a filthie abusare of my body in the pleasures of the flesch, gevin over meikle to the world, and pleisoure thair of, and sic vther synis as God mycht iustlie lay to my charge; and that I exprefs not the fruites of my professioun in my life and conversatioun: and thairfor I beseeke God to be merciful to me. And, indeid, now I acknowledge the grit mercie of God in this, that amonges all the benefites he had bestowed vpoun me, this is one of the cheifest, that in this my last truble he hes gevin me space and lesuire to repent me of my synis, and to be at a poynt with my God; in quhilk truble, also, I haue

found gritter comfort than euer I could haue found befor; becaus thair-into I had concludit within my self, that gif God fould haue spairit my lyfe, and delyverit me out of this truble, that then I fould haue caffin away all the cairis of the world, the pleafoure of the fame, and delyte of all earthlie thingis, and dedicat my self heirefter to ferve my God, in all kynd of quyetnes and simplicitie; and gif it fould pleis God to take me in this truble, I had concludit to be content thairwith alfo, being alwayes affiured of the mercies of God. And thairfoir, now, I thank God that now I find me at this point, that I am rather content to die than to live; and that I fall not fie the miferies to cum; ffor I will affiure you, that I thinke this to be the moft acceptable tyme that ever God could haue tane me! ffor I perceave and forfie fie miferies and confufionis to enfew, that I thank God I fall not fie them; and ge who feiris God, and levis behind me, when as ge fall fie thir thingis, ge fall wis of God to be whair I falbe, that is, with Him!"

Nyntlie, Being demandit, What he thoct of the forme of judgment vsit againft him; and what was his opinione thairinto, whidder he thoct ony wrong was done to him or not? And exhortit him not to blame men without caufe: He anfuerit, "I wald be verie loth to find falt or blame the noble gentle men that hes tane vpoun thair confcience to condempne me; bot I remit thame to God and thair owin confciences! Yit I am movit to fpeike funwhat frielie in this mater, and it is this: I faw fa partiall dealing againft me, that it had bene all alyke to me, gif I had bene as innocet as Sanct Stevin, as gif I had bene als guiltie as Judas! ffor I perceavit plainlie, that there was nothing but my life fought, howfoeuer it had bene: Quidhilk appeired in this, that na exceptione againft ony perfone that was to pas vpoun myne affise could availe; for I requyred the erle of Argyle to purge him felf of partiall counfall gevin to the perfewar my accufer; he purgit him felf, indeid, but I know the contrair, that he gave partiall counfall to him. Lykwayis the laird of Wachtoun, the lord Seatoun, and fie vtheris, wha wer knawin to be my enemies, nochtwithftanding my lawchfull exceptione, wer put vpoun my affise.

In confideratione whairof, I can not (but) be perfwadit of a thing which

it behoved me to communicate vnto you, and it is this: I persave it is not my lyfe only that thei ar feikand, but thei wha are the authoris of my death had sum vther purpose in hand, quhilk thei perceavit could nocht guidlie be done, except I, and sic vtheris as favouris the guid caus, wer tane out of the way; and thairfoir, I can not but suspeēt that I haue bene fo handlit, and sic as I heirefter falbe put at, that thei may haue a moir patent way to do thair turne! And I pray God that ge that ar to live behind mé sie not the practife thair of; bot I feir it fair, and thairfoir, in respect of this appeirand danger of the commoune cause, I will give my counfall to the king my maister, and wis you, in the name of God, to beir it to him. The fowme whair of is this: I perceave that thei who hes bene the kingis vnfreindis, enemies to his croun and commoune caus, ar brocht in credite and in court; and thai who had bene menteaneris of the croun and guid freindis, discredited and mislyked of; and siclyke, sic as are knowin to be papistis, and suspeēt to be enemies to the religione, ar over familiar, and in over grit credite with his maieftie, quhilk appeirandlie can not be without grit danger to the religione, and hurt to his estait; and thairfoir I admonife him, in the name of God, to be war with thame, and put remeid thairvnto; and as he hes bene brocht vp in the feir of God, and cumpany of guid men, to continow thairin, and not to goe baeke, or els he hes done with it for euer! ffor I tell you what movis me to speik this: The estait of religione in this cuntrey appeired neuer to be in sic danger, and that for this caus: I heir fay that thair is a dealing and present traffiequene betuixt France and England, and Monsieuris mariage with the queine is heavilie to be feirit. Gif France and England band together, and that mariage goe fordwardis, ge may easelie vnderstand that the one of thame will travell to perswad the vther to thair religione. The Monsieur dar not change his religione, giff he etle to the croun of France! And thairfoir, ge man be assuired he will travell to perswade the vther to his religione, and to bring papistrie in England; quhilkis over easie to be done, the tuo part of England being papistes! Gif England and France band together, and both be papistes, we ar left our alone! We haue no leigue with England, and thairfoir I know what ge will doe; to wit, ge will cleave to the auld leigue with France, and to band with France

as France is now; and France and England beand one, judge ze in what caife the religione fall be with vs! God give the king and his nobilitie wifdome to foirfie the danger, in tyme!"

Tentlie, Being enqyred to give his guid counfall to the erle of Angufe, and to fchaw him what is meitteft to be done, feeing presentlie he was in grit truble? He anfuerit, "Trewlie I dar give him no counfall! The Lord help him, for trewlie I dar give him no counfall! And I will tell you why: To bid him cum in presentlie I dar not; all men may fie in what danger he is, as thingis gois now, gif he cum in! And to counfall him to byde furth I dar not; ffor then he fall lofe the kingis favore for euer; he fall tyne himself, his heretage, his whole freindis, and all! And thairfoir, the best counfall I can give him in this matter is this: That he make all moyen poffible to purches the kingis my maifteris favore againe, and to fie gif he may haue ony affuurance of his lyfe, that he may ferue his God and the king trewlie, and submit himself, and all that he hes, to his maiesties guid will; ffor, puire man, he hes done nothing yit but it may be mendit! I fay no moir, but the Lord give him his Spreit to follow that that is best!"

Allewintlie, Being inqyred to declair, What was the fowme of that admonitione that Johne Knox gaue him, befoir he accepted the regiment, when he come to him a litle befoir his departure? He anfuerit, "I fall tell yow, fa far as I can remember. Firft of all, he fpeirit, Gif I knew ony thing of the kingis murther? I anfuerit, Indeid I knew nothing of it. Then he faid to me, Weill, God hes bewitified yow with mony benefites, quhilk he hes not gevin to everie man; as he hes gevin you ritches, wifdome, and freindes, and now is to preferre you to the gouernement of the realme; and thairfoir, in the name of God, I charge you to vse all thir benefites aricht, and better in tyme to cum, then ze have done in tymes bypaff; firft, to Godis glorie, to the furtherance of the evangle, to the menteanance of the kirke of God and his ministrie; nixt, for the weill of the king, his realme, and his trew subjectis. Gif fo ze fall doe, God fall blifs yow and honour you; bot gif ze do not, God fall fpoilzie you of thir benefites,

and your end falbe ignominie and schame!" Then being enquired, Gif he had fund this trew or not? He anfuerit, "I haue fund it [trew], indeid, yit I doubt not but the Lord wilbe mercifull vnto me!"

Then being inquired, ffor what caus he held fum of the nychtbouris of Edinburgh in waird? He anfuerit, "Suirelie I meanit no evill to thefe men; but it was done vpoun this refpect: We had the mater of the bulyeon then in hand; I was informed that thei wer the hindereris thair of; I thocht it beft at that tyme to put them in waird for a while, till that turne had bene done; and gif I did thaim ony wrang, I crave thaim forgivnes, as I forgiue all men!"

Being enquired, Gif he knew that he wald be accused of this mater afoir? He anfuerit, "I was adverteifed of it, indeid, and mycht haue efcapit; bot I wald not, leaning alwayis vpoun my innocencie, and not fupposing that thei wald haue condempned me vpoun fic a thing."

Then after this, he and we called to God together be earnest prayer; during the quhilk prayer he fchew moft evident tokenis of the inward motioun of the Spreit of God. The prayer beand endit, he fays to vs, "I thank you hartlie for your comfort quhilk ge haue offerit vnto me, ffor now indeid is gritteft mifer of comfort; and thairfoir, as ye haue begune, I befeike you to continow with me. And now efter I am come to the knowledge of my owin fynnis, thair reftis only tuo thingis that I will crave yow of; that is, firft, that ge will fchaw to me all kind of argumentis whairby I may be comforted, and hauld me fuire vpoun the mercies of God; and nixt, feing the flefh is but feirfull and waik, that ge wald comfort me againft the naturall feir of death!" Quhilk defyre we travellit to fatiffie, be long conference, quhilk wer long to reherfe in everie poynt; yit the fowme of it was this: It was faid to him that thair was thrie thingis, cheiflie, quhilk mycht make him to be fuit of the mercie of God, in Chrif. Firft, the innumerable and comfortable promifes of Godis mercies conteinete in his word, whairvpoun it behovet him alwayis to leane: whairfoir thair was cited vnto him. Secondlie, the exemple of Godis mercies praftifed towardis his owin fervandis, howbeit thei had bene grit fynneris; as appeareth in David, Magdalene, Petir, the theif, etc. Thridlie, the

oft experience of Godis mercie, quhilk from tyme to tyme he had fund in his owin perfone, aught to affiure him now alfo of his mercie, in the end.

Vnto this he anfwerit, faying, " I knaw all that to be trew; ffor fen I paff to Dumbartane I have red all the ffyve buikis of Mofes, Jofua, the Judges, and now I am in Samuel; and I will tell you what I haue fund thair: I fie thair that the mercies of God are wonderful, and always inclyned to have pitie vpoun his owin people of Ifrael; ffor thair it appeiris, that howbeit he pyniff the people of Ifrael when thei fynit, yit how foun thei turned to him againe, he was merciful to thame; and when thei fyned againe, he pyncit thame; and fo oft as thei repentit, he was mercifull agane! And thairfoir I am affiured, howbeit I haue oft offendit againft my Lord God, yit he wilbe merciful to me alfo." Farther, in this poynt, it was faid to him, that incaife Sathan wald travell to difcourage him, in confideratioune of the iuftice of God on the ane part, and of his fynis on the vther pairt, we exhorted him be the contrair to be of guid courage, and evin in refpect of the iuftice of God, to be affiured that his fynis fould not be laid to his chairge; and that becaus God was juft, ffor the iuftice of God will not fuffer him to take twyfe payment of ane thing, as we know that in the commoun dealing of men, he that is a juft man will not crave payment twyfe of that quhairof he hes bene already fatiffiet; and thairfoir, feing that Chrift hes already fatiffiet for our fynis, and payit God for the outmest fardine he could crave of vs, he can not lay our fynis vnto our charge, being fatiffied in Chrift; becaus that his iuftice will not fuffer him to take payment twyfe for one thing. Vnto this he anfwerit, " Trewlie that is very guid."

As concerning the naturall feir of death, we exhorted him to be alwayis occupiet vpoun the confideratioune of the glorie of God, the joy and felicitie of the lyfe that is to cum; and that fould be the only way to fwallow vp the feir of this naturall death. He anfwerit, " I prais God I doe fo."

All this being done, having in his hand a prettie treatife of the meditatioune of death, written be Mr Bradfurd, quhilk he faid he had gottin

fra the lady Ormistoun, befor he past in waird; and thairfoir, befor his passing furth, gave it to Mr James Lowfone, defyring him to delyuer it to the said lady againe. Having this buke in his hand, he willit Mr Walter to reid to him a peice thairof, quhilk he did: In reiding whairof, with fundrie conferences vpoun the thing that was red, both he and we gat grit comfort, in fa meikle as he said, " I praise God, I heir now with vther earis than I hard of befor!"

With this, being called to his disjoyne, he defyrit us earnestlie to take pairt with him; as we did. He eat his disjunc with great chearfulness, as all the cumpany saw, and as apeired in his speking. " Now (sayis he), I sie thair is a grit difference betuixt a man that is occupiet with the cairis of the world, and him that is frie thairof. And this I have found in the tua nychtis restis going befor: ffor in the nicht befor my accusatioune, I could get no rest for cair, becaus I knew I was to be accused the morne; and thairfoir, being solist to ansuer to everie poynt that could be laid to my charge, I could not sleip. Bot this nycht, efter I was condemned, I knew that Iould die, I was at a poynt with myself, and had na thocht of the world, nor cair of this lyfe, bot caist my only cair vpoun God; and I prais God I never sleipit better in my lyfytyme nor I did this nycht!" And said to Williame Stewart, " Williame, ze can beir me record of this?" Wha anfuert, " It is trew, my lord."

Then Mr Walter said to him, " My lord, I will drinke to you, vpoun a conditioun." He anfuert, " What conditioun?" " Vpoun this conditioun, my lord, that ze and I fall drinke together, in the kingdome of heavin, of that immortal drinke quhilk fall neuer suffer vs to thrift againe!" He anfuert, " Trewlie I pledge you, Mr Walter, on the same conditioun." And efter he had receavit the coupe, he said to Johne Durie, " Johne, I drink to you vpoun yone same conditioun!" Wha anfuert, " I pledge you, my lord, and I am assurit it shall be swa."

The disjone being endit, and thankis beand gevin to God, he passeth to his chalmer againe; at that tyme Mr James Lowfone come to him againe, with whome he confered the substance of all thir thingis againe, efter that we war departit fra him.

Then at the efter none we come to him againe, with fundrie of the

bretherin of the ministrie; as Mr James Lowfone, Mr Robert Pont, Daid Fergufoun, Mr Daid Lindfay, Johne Brand, Mr James Carmichael, and Mr Johne Davidfoun, whome he refavit verie lovinglie in his armes, and faid to him, "Ze wrait a litill buike indeid, but trewlie I meanit neuer evill towardis you in my hairt! fforgiue ze me, and I forgiue you!" At which speking, the faid Mr Johne was movit with tearis. All thir bretherin being present, to thair grit comfort, he repeatit againe the cheif substance of all thea thingis whair of he spake befoir, being demandit point be point; as thair testificatioune of this matter, subfcrivit be thame, at mair lenth will declair.

Therefter he was called to his denner, about tua efternone; bot being at his denner, feing that the bretherin of the ministrie wer informed that thair was wrong report of his confeffione maid to the king, and that he fould haue confeffit meikle vtherwayis then he did, whairby the king mycht haue had a war opinione of him; thei thoct guid to fend down some befoir his fuffering, to informe his maieftie of the treuth of his confeffione; as namelie, Daid Fergufoun, Johne Durie, and Johne Brand, wha befoir his death at lenth tauld the whole fimple treuth of his confeffione, as it was, to the kingis maieftie.

At thair returning againe fra the Abbay, his keiper requyrit him that he fuld come furth to the scaffold. He anfuert, "Seing thai haue trublit me ower meikle this day with warldlie thingis, I fupposit thei fould haue geuin me this one nichtis leafure, to haue advyfit rypelie with my God!" His keipar faid, "All thingis ar readie now, my lord, and I thinke thai will not ftay." He anfuert, "I am reddie also, I praife my God!"

And fwa, ane comfortable prayer beand maid, he paffeth down to the yeat to goe directlie to the scaffold; but the erle of Arrane ftayed him, and brocht him back againe to the chalmer, and requyrit of him that he fould tarie till his confeffione mycht haue bene put in wrait, and subfcrivit with his owin hand, and the ministeris that were present. He anfuert, "Nay, my lord, I pray you trouble me no moir with thea thingis; for now I haue ane vther thing to advife vpoun, that is, to prepar me for my God! Seing now I am at a point to goe to death, I can not wryte in the eftait



that now I am in: All thir honest men can testifie what I haue spoken in that mater." With quhilk anfuere the erle of Arrane being satisfie'd, he said vnto him, "Now, my lord, ge wilbe reconceiled with me, ffor I haue done nothing vpoun ony particular against you." He anfuereit, "It is na tyme now to remember vpoun querrallis; I haue na querrall to you, or ony vther. I forgiue you and all vtheris, as I will all to forgiue me!" And so thaireftir, with guid courage, he passit to the scaffold.

Being vpoun the scaffold, he repeatit, in few wordis, the substance of thea thingis quhilk befor he had confessit; except he conceilit Mr Archibald Dowglas name, and ekit sum wordis and exhortatiounes vpoun the scaffold to the people, quhilk he spake not befor; as namelie, he said, "I am fure the king fall lose a guid seruant this day!" And so he exhorted the people, saying, "I testifie befor God, that as I haue professit the evangle quhilk this day is teachit and professid in Scotland, sua also now, willinglie, I lay down my lyfe in the professioun thairof: And howbeit I haue not walkit according thairvnto, as I aught, geit I am affuired God wilbe mercifull vnto me, and I pray all guid Christianis to pray for me! And I charge you all, in the name of God, that are professouris of the evangle, that ge continow in the trew professioun, and menteane it to your power; as I fould haue done, God willing, with my lyfe, landis, and all, gif I hath had dayis: Quhilk gif ge doe, I assture yow God salbe mercifull vnto yow; but gif ge do it not, be asstured the vengeance of God fall licht vpoun yow, both in body and faull!"

As concerning all the rest of the thingis whairof he spake comfortable vpoun the scaffold, he spake thaim in effect, and mair ample befor; and thairfor we thinke it not neidfull to report thame againe.

Thairfor, all his speiches being endit vpoun the scaffold, a comfortable prayer was made be Mr James Lowfone; during the tyme of the quhilk prayer, the erle of Mortoun lay on gruisse, vpoun his face, befor the place of executioun, his body making grit rebounding with sychis and fobis, quhilk ar evident signes of the inward and michtie working of the Spreit of God; as thai who were present, and knew what it was to be earnestlie movit in prayer, mycht easilie perceave.

The prayer being endit, and eftir that fundrie come to him befor his death, to be reconceiled with him, whome moft lovinglie he receavit; and after he had taken vs all be the handis that wer about him, and bidding us fairweill in the Lord, he paffeth baith conftantlie, patientlie, and humble, without feir of death, to the place of executioun, and laid his craige vnder the axe, his handis being vnbound! And thaireftir, Mr Walter putting him alwayis in mynd, and crying in his eare thir wordis following, he cryed continowally till his heid was ftroken of, "Lord Jefus receive my faull! In thi handis, Lord, I committ my fpreit! Lord Jefus receive my foule!" Quhilk wordis he was fpeikand evin whill the axe fell on his necke. And fua, quhatever he had bene afoir, he conftantlie died the trew fervant of God! And however it be that his vnfreindis alledge, that as he liveth proudly fo he died proudly, the chirritable fervantis of God could perceave nothing in him but all kynd of humilitie, in his death; infameikle, that we ar affured that his foule is receavit in the joy and glory of the heavinis! And we pray God, that thei who ar behind, may lerne, be his exemple, to die in the trew feir of God! The 2 Junij, anno Domini, 1581.

## THE MANER OF THE ERLE OF HUNTLIES DEATH.

*The Maner of the Erle of Huntlies Death, as I haue refauct the copie.  
The deat of yeir and day is not put with it.*

As tuiching the certaintie of the erle of Huntlies suddaine death, that ge defyre to know, thair is diuerse reportis thairof: alwayis I am credible informed be ane gentile woman wha hard of ane gentile man that was present at the death, fawe and hard the whole maner, and tuichit the body of the said erle, in service macking, as he mycht win to amonges the leave, and loved him as the tendereft of his owin hart, and was with him longar nor xxiiij houris befor his death, declared the maner to be this.

The erle of Huntlie was never mirriare in his lyfe fra he was a man, nor better in health, than he was that day. The erle of Sudderland and his sifter had bene all nicht with him, and was riddin south. Efter thair (departour), he past to ane huntis in ane woud callit Ventonis woud, whair he slew thrie hairis and ane tode, and come home againe to his denner; but it was after tuelue houris or he came. At the denner he cryed for ane futeball, that he mycht play eftirnoune, and reprovit one Johne Hamiltoun verie bitterlie becaus the ball was not reddie; and tuike ane half mark peice out of his owin bag, and commandit to buy ane, as he had dynit.

The auld laird of Grante come in, and brocht with him the lord Adame Gordoun. As thair denner was prepairand againe, and wer dynand, the erle him self was very buffie tryand out the maner of ane appointment that was betwixt the laird of Cowbardie, callit Murraye, and his mother, wha

was mareid to ane called Car, quhilk was ane fuddart to the faid erle and his brother Adame, in the tyme of weir. This matter, with fundrie vtheris that he was speikand and directand, and the interteanement of the laird of Grant, pate off the day, whill betwix thrie and foure houris efternounge; and then he enterit to the futball. But (quhen) he had stricken the fecond froke with his owin fute at the ball, he fell on the grene! He araife againe, and past yonde to ane peit-flake, and fet his bake to it.

His brother Patrick comes to him, faying, "Fye! my lord, we ar warit in your default! Ze make no travell!" He anfuered, "I believe I fall not play mair at this tyme; I am fum thing feike; bring me my cloike!" Whilk was done. The cloike being led about him, he maid him in to the place. He begouth to staggare. Men perfavit him, and gaid about him, and tuike gripes of his armes. Tuyfe or thrife he staggered, and they held him vp. He said to thame that was with him, "I wald faine be in the place quhill this wer overpast me; I am feike, but I wilbe weill aneugh belyve." Then as he come neir the vter-yeat, that is narrest the greine, thair was ane litill myre or a puile of watter: The men lat thair gripis gang thair, that he mycht gange in him alone. As he had gone tuo or thrie stepis fra thaim, his cloike fell fra him, and he fell in the myre or puile, on his face. The maister tuike him vp quicklie amonges thame, and buire him in to his owin chalmer, and laid him in his bed; quhilk chalmer was ane round within the grit chalmer of the New warke of Strabogie.

Fra he was laid down he fumeth at mouth and bothe the nose thirles; and warflit with his handis, and braydeth vp with his body, and luikit braid vp with his eyen, and wald haue faine fpoeken, but could neuer find a word faif ane, and that he repetit diuerse tymes; the word was this, "Luike! Luike! Luike!" He vomeitit lyke bloud, but it was blake lyke fuite! He wrocht still on this maner, quhill betwixt fax and fevin houris at evin; and then he randerit the fpreit, as it pleisit God. Wha ever reportis vtherways nor this, they speike beydis the fuith! ffor he gat never word mo'r of speich nor I have aboue reherfit.

Efter this, diuerse strange thingis wer feine in that place, as the maner fall follow; whilk I had of the mouth of thame that it was told to, be thame that both h rd, faw, and graipit him.

The erle of Huntlie beand deid, thus, on Settirday at evin, Adam immediatlie caufit beir butt the deid corporis to the chalmer of daice; and caufit bier into the chalmer, whair he had lyne, the haile cofferis, boxis, or lattronis that the erle him self had in handling, and had ony geir in keiping in; sic as writtis, gold, siluir, or golding worke, whair of the keyis was in ane letrone; and the key of that latrone was at his owin bage, quhilk Adame tuike and opeinit that, and tuike out the rest of the keyis, and maid ane inventore vpoun all the geir he fand within that coffer, or at leist on the maist pairt and speciall pairt of that that was within: And when he had tane out sic money as to make his owin expensis fouthe, he lokit all the cofferis againe; and thaireftir lockit the chalmer durre, and pat vp the key, and caufed locke the vtter chalmer durre, whair the deid corporis lay, efter thei had set candles in the chalmer to burne; and gaive the key of that chalmer durre to Johne Hammiltoun, wha was man having grittest cuire within that place, and credite of the erle of Huntlie, in his tyme. This done, with sic vther directiones maid for waiting on the place, Adam made him reddie and tuike the poist fowth at xij houris on the nycht, as I believe. Ze have hard when he come thair. On Sunday, at 5 houris or thairby befoirnoune, on the morne eftir the erle was deid, thair was in ane chalmer togither, callid the laich chalmer, vnder the turne graice, quhilk quarter is direct foranent the auld hall, thair was a xiiij or xvj men in that chalmer togidder, lamenting that death that was so suddainlie fallin; everie man, for his owin pairt, reherfing the skaith that was to cum be that death to thame. Amonges the quhilkis thair was ane waftland man, standand vprycht with his bake at the fyre, wha said, "The caise was not so hard to nane as was to him: ffor he was newlingis come out of Lochinvare, or fend be Lochinvare, thair, for sum evill turne that he had done, that he mycht not bruike his owin cuntrie for!" And as he was standand vprycht with his bake to the fyre, lamenting the hardnes of his caise, as said is, he fallis flat doun on his face to the ground deid! The men pullit him vp, kaift vp duire and windoo, and gave him the ayre: Thair could appeir no lyfe in him, except he was hote. They buire him to the clofe, and held him caricing thair vp and doun, while neir fyue houris at evin; and then buire him to a bed, and laid him doune: And when he had lyne half ane hour

or thairby, he recovereth with grit fobbing, and working with his handis, feit, and body: and he cryed "Cauld! Cauld!" He wrocht on fa the space of xxiiij houris fra he tuike it, or he recoverit thoroughlie; and ever when he come out of the fownd, he cryde "Cauld! Cauld!"

On the morne thereafter, whilk was tuisday nixt efter the erles death, that Johne Hammiltoun was gone vp to the gallerie of the New warke, to bring doun spicerie or some other geir for the kitchine, and had with him one Maister James Spittel, and ane vther man of the place, whois name I haue forgottin; always he was a fervant of the place. This Johne Hammiltoun openand ane coffer, taking out fumthing that he neidit, he fayis, "I am verie feike!" And with that he fallis downe, cryand "Cauld! Cauld!" The vther tua tuike him quicklie up, kaist vp the windowis, and had him vp and doun the hous. At lenth he faid he was verie feike, and wald have bene in ane bed: Maister James Spittell convoyed him downe the stair. When he was thair doune, he remembered that he had forgottin ane coffer opin behind him, he turned againe, and the faid Mr James with him: and when thei had come againe, they fand the thrid man that was with thame, fallin deid over the coffer, and he on his wombe lyand over ane coffer! Johne Hammiltoun mycht make no help, be reafone him self was evill at case! Mr James Spittell rane doun, that brocht vp tua or thrie vther men, and cariet him downe the staire, and vp and doun the clofe the space of 2 or 3 houris; but could find no life in him. At lenth thei laid him in ane bed, quhair within ane whyle he recoverit, with sicing and fobbing, wrastling with handis, feit, and bodie; and ever as he got ony wordis, betwixt the fowning, he cryed "Cauld! Cauld!" And this lasted xij or xiiij houris, and I trow longer; gif he was fo weill avaitet on as the leive, as he was not, bot gave him leive to worke him alone, becaus he was ane fempale puire man. All these wrocht as the erle of Huntlie did in his deid-passiones, except thei vomite not, and fumed not at the mouth and nose thirles.

Vpoun that tuisday efter the deid, ane furrigioner of Abirdeine, called Williame Urquhart, come to Strabogie, and bowaled the deid corpis; which, efter the bowalling, was tane out of the chalmer, and had into the chaipell; whair it remaineth to the buriel. Johne Hammiltoun

refavit the key of the chalmer durre againe, when that deid corpis was tane out.

On Weddinfday nixt after the deid, Patricke Gordoun, the erles brother, was sittand on ane furme nixt to that chalmer durre, whair that the deid corpis was bowalled; he heiris a grit noyfe and din in that chalmer, whidder it was of speiche, of grayning, or rumbling, I can not tell! Thair was xvj or xx men in the hall with him. He garis call for Johnne Hammiltoun, and akis, Gif there was ony body in that chalmer? The vther said, "Nay." He bad him harken what he hard at the durre; wha hard as he did. Then the key was brocht to him. He commandit Johnne Hammiltoune to gang in; wha refuised. He skiped in him self; Johnne Hammiltoun followed ane step or tua, and come with speid againe to the durre, for feir. Patricke paf to the inner fyde of the chalmer, and hard the lyke noyfe as he did when he was thairout, yet could fie nothing; for it was evin, at the away-ganging of the day licht. He come bak againe very affrayedly, and out at the durre, and schew fo money as abade in the hall what he hath hard; wha affayed to pafs to the chalmer, to know what was thair; but none enterit over the durre thrafchell: All come abake for feir. This pastyme lasted thame moir nor ane heure. Candles wer brocht, the chalmer vifeit; no thing thair! Alse founne as thei come to the durre againe, the noyfe was als grit as it was of befoir, the candles burnand thair ben. They said to me that knowis it, "Thair is not fa meikle a quicke thing as ane mous may enter within that chalmer, the duiris and windowis steikit, it is fo cloife all aboute! Judge ze how ghaift and gyrecarlingis comes in amonges thame!" Thei wer ane hour or tua at this bickering, while ane man of the place come in amonges thame, and said to Patricke; "Fy, for schame! Gif ze wer not tentie, the brute wald pas through the cuntrey that the erle of Huntlie wer rifen againe!" Then Patricke called thaim that had hard it, and commandit that na sic word fould be spocken. Ane that was present, hard and faw thir proceidingis, tauld this taile to ane vther persone that I credite as my self.

The brute of the erle of Huntlies death was, at the begyning, commonlie as I have written; alswell amongft the puirest as amonges the ritcheft that fpake of it. Marie! after Adamis hame-cuming, that voice

was changit, how the erle had diet so perfytlie, and with sic kynd of speich, as give he had died with the grittest provifione that ever man died, and speikand to the letter moment of his lyfe. Then is it declaired, how weill my lord regent tuike with Adam, and with lamentable tearis bewailet his brotheris death; faying, that for the grit kyndnes that was laityly contracted betwixt thame, he wald be ane father to his fatherles, and protectore to his freindis and fervandis; defyring him come home againe, and make provifione for the buriell. Quhilk, fay thai, he did in every jote according to my lord regentis directiōne. Marie! thair is ane vther thing alledged, quhilk is this, that the king was lyke to breck his hart for greiting, that the lord Gordoun was not brocht incontinent to be his playfeir and fervant! I doubt not but ge will sweir, and I in your hand, that this can not fail to be trew, that the king wald soult, except he gat that goud fatheris sone and gude kynd on the motheris fyde to accompany his grace! Zit fall I not thinke while I heir farther, for ony bygane, that my lord regentis grace fall enterteany and nurishe tratouris, as thai wald haue it to be beleivit.

I man prais the Lord my God, and blife his holie name for ever and ever, when I behold the fyve that was in the conspiracie; not only of the king and the second regentis murther, quhilk was the kingis grace guid-schire, but also of the first regentis murther, quhairof experience teichis me some pairt: Four is past, with small provifione; to wit, the Secretar, Argyle, Bothuel, and last of all Huntlie! I hoip in God the fyft fall die mair perfytlie, and declair the leivis deidis with his own mouth, makand his repentence at the galloufe fute! For all his interpretatiōne of the lawis, giff he had interpreted the law of God rychtly, and followed the same, mony had nocht susteanit the truble that thei haue done; and so grit bloudfched had not bene in the cuntrey, quhilk I hoip in the Father of heavin to sic revengit!



LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY MAITLAND TO THE YOUNG  
LAIRD OF CARMICHAEL, TO BE SHEWN TO JAMES EARL  
OF MORTOUN, REGENT.

*This Lettre following was sent out of the Castle, fra Lethingtoun, to the Laird of Carmichale, that he sould schaw it to the Lord of Mortone, than Regent.*

MEMORANDUM. To defyre my cowfing, the laird of Carmichale, to speike to my lord of Mortone, and to schaw him, that heiring the extreame point that he was at, gif I had bene able to haue travellit my self, I wold haue focht ane assurance, and cumed to have spocken with him my self, for the declaratioune of the purposos following. Sen the indispositioun of myne persone will nocht suffer me, I will pray my said cowfing to defyre him, in my name, to call to his remembrance what frindschipe hes bene of auld betweine him and me; what guid offices I have done to him, and quhair of my credite with the quene hes monie tymes fervit him, alweill in advancing him to honore and reputatioun in the countrey, as in the fettelling of him and his dearest in the securitie of their leavings. I trow he will confes, that by my onlie laboris he was made chancelour, when the erle of Murray wes bent to purchese the rowme to his guidfather, the lord of Merfchell. I thinke also he will acknowledge, that I was the cheife instrument to laboure the quenis consent; and that specially by my credite the securitie was purchesed of both the houffes of Angus and Mortoun. I neid not to repute the guide pairt I keipit to him during his trouble; what danger mony wayis I put myself in, through that occasioun. This pairt is knowine to few sa weill as to him self; I trust in his conscience he man thinke he never received so monie guid turnes at any manis handis; and that all that I did was only of kyndnes, and not for his geir. I never focht landis nor rowme at him, in the recompence; and

when he offerit me geir, the messingeris ar yit on lyve, can testifie that I refused it. Swa that he man confes I was not his pensioner, and thairfoir deservit the moir guid will of him.

I desyre him, on the vther pairt, to remember how of lait tyme he hes vfit me! I will not reherse the whole, which wer over long; bot only tuiche the principall poyntis. He was the cheife procurer, solister, and fetter forward of my pretendit foirfaltoure, for a cryme whairof he knowis, in his conscience, I was als innocent as himself. Giue he had procured my foirfaltoure for repyning againtf the kingis auctoritie, I wald haue tane it in ane better pairt; bot I know he tuike the way he thocht wald make me maist odious to the people, whairthrow I am the les behaldin to him. Be his moyen and furthfetting, I am dispossesseth of my whole leving, and the same sparpled in diuerse handis; whairthrow he hes thocht to lay the mae blokis in my way to recover it. All my particular enemies dependis vpoun him, and he hes tane the protectione of the moit pairt of thame; not for ony freindschip was betweine him and thaim of befoir, bot only, as I may conjecture, becaus thei ar my enemies. Weill, after fo mony guid caufes as I made him, appeirandlie there fould haue preceidit fum grit caufe on my pairt, that fould haue movit him to chang the former freindschipe in fo grit inimitie. I desyre him lykwayes to call to his remembrance what falt he can alledge, for the which I haue deservit to be this evill vfed? He will perhapis thinke that I made not sic dependence on him as he desyred, and thairfoir tuke my mynd to be changed on him; igit was this no caus why he fould desyre or procure my destruetione. He may not alledge that I fought, be ony meanis, the wraike of his persone or his hous; or yit befoir he enterit in plaine hostilitie againtf me, I haue vfed ony pairt of ane enemie. He will perhapis fay, that without his advyfe I enterit in intelligence with the quene. Albeit I had fo done, it deservit not that, efter sa grit freindschip as I had sehawin him, he fould haue become my mortall enemie; and yit he man confes, that in that behalf also I gave some guide avife! And being affiured that with tyme shoe wald recover her libertie (as yit I have no doubt but scho will), I esteamed it nather wifdome for him nor me to deserve particular evill will at hir handis. As for my self, I went about to haue hir my freind;

fa, God is my judge, I meant in the begynning to procure ane vniverfall reconciliatioune with hir, of all them with whome I was joynd in a commone caufe.

Thus I haue tuiched his pairt towardis me, and myne towardis him; whair of reafone, I thinke I am and hes bene evill vfed! Yit I fpeik it not, at this tyme, to reproache him of ingratitude, but for ane vther intent, moir godly and honourabill for vs both, fen God hes vifiet baith him and me with corporall difeafes, and litle likliehoud that ever we fall meit face to face; I wold wifhe, for releife of baith our consciences, that these cauffis wer removed, and heirefter better effectis to follow. I know him to be a wyfe man, and is able aneughe to foirfie that the world is not fa tedderit but, gif he inlaike, they that he aught to cair for may have neid of freindis! It may be that, for all that is past, I may be in place whair I may both do guid and ill, stand my freindis in steade, and be ane evill neigboure to my enemeis. I defyre nocht to be the goate, to cast down at nycht the milk I haue gevin all the day! Sen I haue done fo meikle for the houfe of Angufe and Mortone, that fumtyme he said, thair fould a memoriall of my kyndnes remaine in thair chartour kiftis, I defyre nocht ony occasioun be left, may move me to wifhe the douncafting of that I helpit to build!

Giff befor he inlaike, he will make effectuell demonftratioune, that he myndis the reparatioune of my loffis, in a reffonabill maner, I can yit be content that all the evill offices past be buried in perpetuall oblivione; and I continow heireftir the guidwill I fumtyme buire him felf, to thaife he fall leive behind him. And I doubt not bot or it be long, and foner nor mony beleivis, the tyme will cum when thei will thinke my kyndnes worthie the purchaffing!

LETTER FROM JAMES EARL OF MORTOUN, REGENT, TO  
THE YOUNG LAIRD OF CARMICHAEL, IN REPLY TO THE  
FOREGOING LETTER OF THE SECRETARY MAITLAND.

*Ane Anfwer to this Lettre foirfaid, gevin be the Lord of Mortone, Regent,  
to everie heid thairof, in the moneth of December, 1572, befoir the  
vpegeving of the Abftinence.*

I HAUE fene a memoir, in write, of Williame Maitlandis, fend to my fervand the young laird of Carmichale, to be fehawin me; quhairby I am defyrit to call to my remembrance the freindfchip, of auld, betuixt me and the faid Williame. In it alfo is conteaned a reherfell of his guid offices done for me, and of my alledgit evill vfrage of him, laitlie. Bering in end his intentione, for releife of confcience, that the ill cauffis fould be removit, that the better effectis heirefter may follow; feaming the mair cairfull, becaus of the extreme poynt he takis me to be at, and opinione that I fall inlaike of my prefent difeafe; and that he is lickly, or it be long, to ftand his freindis in feid, and be ane evill nychtboure to his enemies; and that his kyndnes will be worth the purchaffing! Quhairvnto I haue thoecht guid thus fehortly to anfwer, for my owin difcharge of the thingis objeēt; and that, be my filence, the materis writtin fould nocht be farther credeetit nor the treuth is.

How fare the indifpofitione of his perfone impeidis him fra trawell, him felf beft knowis; flor my owin part, I thanke my God of his vifitatioun, and is not out of hoip, fhortlie, to haue that habilitie quhilk fall content my felf, and ferue me to difcharge my dewtie, fo long as Godis pleifoure is I leve.

It is true, and I deny not but that thair hes bene freindfchipe betwixt vs, quhilk as it decayed nocht in my default, fo during the continuance thairof it was profitable for vs baith; and his travelis wer no moir valiable

for me, but my freindschip stude him in als grit steade, weying how vnable he had bene to vnderly thair inimitie that then bure him evill will, gif I had not sustenit his querrellis, and declairit my self pairtie to his adversaries; quhilk drew me to the spending of geir that vtherways mycht haue done grit thingis. The chanclarie I had nocht be his only labouris; but evin my lord of Murray, whome now (being deid) he wald make my competidore, was thairin my freind and furtherer: Nather was Williame Maitland the cheife instrument of purchassing the securitie of the houffis of Angufe and Mortone, as he wald haue men to think; but thairin I had the freindschipe and furtherance of my said lord of Murray, whais travels in the mater of Mortone was sum part for respect of his brother, the laird of Lochlevenis interest, being placed nixt in the tailgea; and I gaue the quene a thowfand crownes, in a pource, for the confirmatioune of Angufe! For vther guid turnes, gif thei wer speciallie noted, I wer able to ansuer thaim.

Give he had nocht thocht my kyndnes and guid will worth that quhilk he was able to do for me, I doubt not but he wald haue baith socht and tackin geir and recompence at my handis. Giff he refused quhilk was offerit, the fault was nocht in me. Giff the alternatioune of this freindschip proceidit from ony actiones, or simple fra that quhilk tuiched my self in particulare, I wer the moir blame worthie; bot of that I referre the judgment to God, and all that fall judge indifferentlie in the world. Towardis his foirfaltoure, when it falbe considerit wha then had the governement, for what cause the foirfaltoure past, I think they will not esteame me the cheife procurere, solister, and setter forwardis thairof: ffor the erle of Lennox, then regent, having the administratioune of the justice in his handis, and the cause being the murther of the king, his sone, it mycht be weill thocht litle procuratioune or solistatioune neidit. That I knew him innocent in my conscience as my self, the contrarie thairof is trew; ffor I was and am innocent thairof, but could nocht affirme the same of him, considdering what I vnderstude in that mater, of his owin confessiounes to my self, of befoir. For that wryting that he was "the les behaldin" vnto me, indeid I thocht eftir inimitie in his owin default declaired I was not deat-bund to schaw him farther guid will; but lyk as his travell tendit to the overthrow of the kings estait, and consequently to

my wraike, and the noble men and vtheris whilkis be him wer brocht in the aëtion, fa was it na mervell that I wifhit him to be made vnable to annoy vs; ffor I judgit it meitter that men of guid feruice and habilitie fould be rather gratifiet with his poffeffiones, the better to beir out thair charges in our commone caufe, nor that it quhilk was his fhould be fufferit to come to his owin vfe, to maintene the weir againft vs!

A gritter caufe on his pairt could nocht be to move me to change my freindfchipe, nor when I fand him direëtie enterit in aëtion, not only of intelligence with the quene, but to overthrow that eftait, in the ereëtion whairof befor hir felf had bene a cheife instrument, and in defence of the quhilk he, be his perfuafiones, I had drawin all of my name that could not efcaipid wraike, gif we had anes flipped our ground, quhilk I always eftemed to be trew and honeft; and in that refpect could neuer lyke of it he callis his gude awyfe: ffor as it was vaine for him to thinke that he could deferue mair particular evill will at hir handis nor he had alreadie, fa was it grit prefumptione to pretend, be him felf, that vniverfall reconciliatioune. And his doing was nocht without evident fufpitioune and danger to thame with quhome he was joyned in the commone caus.

Giff I inlaike, I thank God they that I aught to cair for ar nocht deftitute of freinds, bot ar als able to do a guid turne for another to thair neighbouris as his fuceffione; and I fie not what gritter affurance he hes of his owin lyfe nor I haue of myne, whatfoeuer place he fall attene to! I wifhe his doingis may ftand in better fteid to him felf, his freindis, and his cuntrey, nor his lait aëtion hes declaired; ffor his neighbourheid, fic as he will profes inimitie vnto moft beare it as thai may.

Giff the memorie baith of his kyndnes and vnkyndlie behavioure fould be placit in our chartoure kiftis, I thinke the laft fould exceid the firft. And whither I inlaike or not, I wifhe he may confidder his offence to God, the king, the noblmen, and vtheris whom he was joyned with, in this comone caus; and that the loffis in this trubled cuntrey, whairof he hes bene the occafioune, may be repaired; and how fone he fall give demonftratioune of his mynd to the repairing thairof, nane falbe better content that the memorie of the bypaff evill defert be forgett, and he and his reftoirit to that quhilk fumtymes was his owin.

## APPENDIX.





# APPENDIX.

## No. I.

A BREIF NOTE OF THE THINGIS DONE BE THE ERLE OF LENNOX AND HIS ADHERENTIS, CONTRAIR THAIR PROMESSIS TO THE QUENIS MAIESTIE OF ENGLAND; BY THE QUHILK THAI HAIF VIOLAT AND BROKEN THE ABSTINENCE SUBSCRIVED BE THE SAID ERLE OF LENNOX, WHICH WAS PROMISED TO BE KEIPIT *BONA FIDE*.\*

I. **FIRST**, That the said erle hes causit hald a pretendit parliament, efter that he was required be the said erle of Sussex, in the quenes maiestie of Englandis name, not to hald the same.

II. *Item*, He hes compellit the subiectis to grant to a taxt of tuelfe thowsand pundis; and hes raised the same to mak the charge of thair commissionaris to cum into England.

III. *Item*, He hes chargit sindrie of the quenis guid subiectis to compeir befor him, vnder the pane of rebellious; and becaus thai did not compeir he denuncit thame rebellis, and pat thame to the horne; and vnder that coulour hes intromettit with thair houssis, landis, and guidis.

IV. [*Item*,] He hes sent laitlie, since the subscriueing of the Assurance, grypt cumpaneis of men of weir, bayth on fute and horse, to the duke of Chastellerhaultis landis, and his freindis, in Cliddisdale, Kynnele, and vtheris places; and hes spoilzeit and takin away

\* From the original MS. preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, W. 4. 26, fol. 165, b, being "A Collection of Lettres and Instructiones of State, concerning the affaires of Scotland, from the Earle of Murrays slauchter in January 1569, to that of the Earle of Lennoxes in September 1571."

the hail guidis, sic as horse, nolt, scheip, plennissing, insicht, alsweill of the pure tennentis and laubouraris of the grund, as perteynyng to the duke him self and landit men, to the gryt heirschip of the hail euntric.

V. *Item*, He hes lykewyse sent his men of weir to the castell of Haddingtoun, and hes spoyled the hail cornis and guidis perteyning to the auld laird and young laird of Lethingtoun, furth of all thair landis and possessiones; and the saidis men of weir withhaldis and remanes still within the said hous.

VI. *Item*, He hes send to the landis perteyning to the lord Flemyng, and to Johnne Flemyng his bruther; and compellis the tennentis of thair landis to mak payment to the said erle of the males and dewteis of thair landis and baronyis of Biggar, Thankertoun, Edmestoun, and Glenquhan, perteynyng to the lord Flemyng; and of Carwod and vther landis, pertening to the said Johnne Flemyng: And of vtheris gryt enormiteis perpetrat be the erles men of weir, thay haue slane and destroyed the dear of his forrest of Cummernald, and the quhyt ky and bullis of the said forrest, to the gryt destructioun of polecie and hinder of the commoun weill; ffor that kynd of ky and bullis hes bein keipit thir mony years in the said forest, and the lyke was not mantenit in ony vther partis of this Ile of Albion, as is weill knawin.

VII. *Item*, He hes intromettit with the said lord Seytones housis of Seytoun and Nudry, and disponis vpoun his guidis and cornes at his plesour.

VIII. *Item*, He caussis Alexander Hume of Manderstoun intromet with the hail males, fermes, and dewteis of the Abbay of Coldinghame, being the quenis good subiect.

IX. *Item*, He will not suffer the lord Humes sercandis intromet with his males and dewteis of his landis, nor with his cornes and guidis.

X. *Item*, He hes chargit the lord Seytoun, and George Dowglas, bruder to the laird of Lochlevin, to compeir befor him vnder the pane of rebellious, for conuoying of the quenis maiestie of Scotland, thair souerane, furth of Lochlevin; and incais of non comperance, intendis to denunce thame rebellis, and put thame to the horne, gif the same be not alreddie done.

XI. *Item*, He hes chairgit Johnne Simple to deliuer certane jowellis and fures of martrik and sabels, pertening to the quenis maiestie of Scotland, quhilk the said Johnnes wyfe hes had in keeping; and becaus Johnne Simple wald not deliuer the same to the erle, he hes caussit put him in prisoun, within the castell of Blaknes.

XII. *Item*, Since the subscriyving of the said Assurance, the said erle and his adherentis haue vsit getrar rigour nor it was in thair power to do befor; becaus, since the subscriyving of the said Assurance, the quene of S(cotlandis) guid subiectis wald not in onyways offend the Treaty; and swa the rather hes sufferit all thir iniureis nor to geif occasioun to the q(uenis) maiestie of England to be offendit with thame, or to leave of the Treaty begun, in thair default. And becaus the principall Assurance betuix the pairteis in Scot(land) hes bene taken be the q(uenis) maiestie of England, quhairvpoun hir hienes lieutenant did ressaue the promeis of baith the pairtes that all thinges suld be done and peace keipit amangis thame all during the said Abstinence, *bona fide*; quhilke neuertheles is violated be the foirsaidis actis, and mony vtheris done be the said erle of Lennox and his adherentis: Thairfoir, in moist humble wayis, desyres hir maiestie to caus the saidis iniureis and wrongis be repairit, out of hand, be the said erle and his adherentis, in Scotland; or ellis to caus the said erle Lennox guidis and landis within England to be ceased thairfoir, according to all ressoun; and beleues, assuredlie, the q(uenis) maiestie of Engl(land) will not refuse the same, in respect that it is conforme to the lawis of hir awin realme, and wald not be refuseit to the meanest that wald require the same within this realme, in vther priuat and particular causes, according to law and iustice.

XIII. And in consideratioun of the foirsaidis, that the quenes maiestie of England wilbe sa guid as to writt vnto S(cotland) to Lennox to caus the saidis wrangis be repaired; and to geif a copie of hir maiesteis lettres to the b(ischope) of Rosse to be send to the q(ueene) his maiestres, to the effect scho may aduerteis hir guid subiectis in S(cotland) of the q(uenis) maiesteis mynd to proced in this Treaty, and that hir hienes will not mantene the said erle in these vngodlie attemptis, contrair his fayth and promise.

XIV. Attoure, The q(ueene) of Scot(land) sent for Mr Robert Crychtoun, hir hienes aduocat, to cum there with the Commissioneris, quha can not be sufferrit to cum be the erle of Lennox, becaus he hes compellit him to find souertie, vnder the pane of foure thowsand pundis, that he sall not pas furth of the toun of Edinburcht, whiche is done for the hinderance of the quenis service, and of this Treaty. Thairfoir desyres, maist humblye, the quenis maiestie to caus the erle of Lennox discharge the surtyes, and him self licencit to cum thider to assist to this Treaty.

## No. II.

ANSUERIS TO A CERTANE NOTE OF SUM THING ALLEGIT DONE BE ME THE ERLE OF LENNOX, LORD REGENT OF THE REALME OF SCOTLAND, AND MY ADHERENTIS, AS CONTRAIR OURE PROMISES MAID TO THE ERLE OF SUSSEX, LIEUTENENT TO THE QUENIS MAIESTIE OF ENGLAND IN THE NORTH; BY THE QUHILK IT IS VNTREWLY ALLEGIT THAT WE HAUE VIOLAT AND BROKEN THE ABSTINENCE SUBSCRIUED.\*

I. ANSUERIT in my lettre and ansueris to the erle of Sussex, of the xxvij of November.

II. Answerit sielyke.

III. General: And quhen ony thing beis declairit in speciall, it sall appeir that na thing hes bene done bot be ordour of law, quhilk nawayis violattis the Abstinence.

IV. Answerit as in my lettre and ansueris to the erle of Sussex, of the xxvij of November.

V. Sielyke answerit of befor.

VI. I haue oft required to be resolued, quihidder the lord Flemyng wald be content to be comprehendit vnder the promisse of the duke and twa erles: and neuer ȝit ressaut ansuer: And besides, the lord Flemyng standis foirfaltit and declairit traitour. ffor Johnne Flemyng of Carwod, he is ane obedient subiect to the king, and hes not to complene. That quhilk is spoken of the quhyt ky and bulles, quhairof it is allegit the lyke is not mantenit in ony pairt of this yle of Albion; the same is a vane brag, the contrary being sa weill knawin to sa mony.

VII. Ansuered of befor, vpoun the 27 of November.

VIII. The like answer as for Lethingtoun. Subiect to (the) quene be cleamit not to be, quhill now; but of the king, and the regent that restis with God. He had the office of the keeping of the Priuie seill, and wes promovit to be ane of the Senatouris of the College of Justice; ffra quhilkis charges he withdrew him self, and vntrewly assistit and accompaneit the aduersaris, aganis his promised allegeances, he was worthelic callit, processit, and his leving of Coldinghame restranit, and chalmerlanes appointit thairto.

\* From the original MS. in the Advocates' Library, W. 4. 26, fol. 171.

IX. That article is a manifest vntrewth; ffor nane of the said lord Humes servandis, quhatsoever occasioun hes bene ministred, hes bein impedit to intromet with his males and dewteis of his landis, nor with his cornis and guidis, as is allegit, be me; nather zit hes the lord Hume disavovit the kingis obedience; and gif he had forborne the resset of the quenis maiestie of Englandis rebellis, na nobleman in Scotland, of his degrie, had bein in better stait or cause nor he.

X. For the lord Seytoun, and George Douglas, nane of thame can be comprehendit vnder the Abstinance; ffor that thai war baith departed out of Scotland, without licence, befor the first granting of the Abstinance; and ar practizand, in foreyne cuntreis, to bring strangearis to disturb the quietnes of the hail yle, quhilk is contrary course and aganis the meyning of the lettre subscriuit be the erle of Sussex.

XI. Johnne Simpill is at liberty, and hes not occasioun to mak ony complaint.

XII. Sen the subscriueing of the Abstinance, the kingis gude subiectis haif sustenit gretar iniureis, wrangis, and oppressiones, nor thai did of befor; and it was not in the aduersares powar to haue done the same, gif the Abstinance had not bene; it being well knawin how thair force of wageit men, quhairin thai maid thair boist, wer cut of at Brechin, notwithstanding thair bragging proclamatiounes to haue keipit thair pretendit parliament, at Linlythgow, be force.

And althocht thair war sic equalitie as that thingis done be order of law and justice suld be countrepassit with the actionis of declarit traitouris and rebellis, zit it wald be fund that the kingis guid subiectis had ressaut gretar losse, and had mair iust caus of complaint, nor thay quhilkis vntrewly allegis this violatioun of the Abstinance, on my pairt.

XIII. The quenis maiestie hes, and will, writt as vnto hir hienes seames expedient from tyme to tyme; as (and?) as gude reasone wald, hir maiesteis letteris aucht to be reuerencit and obeyit, for that I doubt not bot thai will always cary reasone with thame, and requyre nathing bot that quhilk is allowable in iustice. Off hir maiesteis maintenance I am not doubtfull, nether think I to haue to do in any attemptatis quhilkis salbe ather vngodlie, vnreasonable, or to hir maiesteis mislyking; and salbe fund to haue keipit my faith and promeis in all thingis that euer I subscriyvit, quhensoever the particulariteis of my doingis salbe examinat; quhair, on the vther pairt, the violat faithis of the aduersaris may be so manyfestlie proved, as thair awin hand writtis, fichting aganis vther, ar sufficient testimony of thair infamy. And gif the nominat B(ischope) of Rosse hes thus of him self allegit, amangis the remanent of his forgit leyis and doingis, gif it culd profite to contend with a defamet and vnable persoun, already declarit a traitour be law, thair suld not lake particular declaratioun of his faith and promise, sa oft falsefeid, and vtheris his schameles and vnworthy leyis and doingis; quhairin, beside the harme done to his natue cuntrie, he hes bein a seditious and wickit instrument in the realme of England.

XIV. I never knew that Mr Robert Crychtoun was sent for be the quene to the kingis moder, quhill the ressett of the saidis Notes, nor he, being always present, declairit that euer he was sent for.

### No. III.

NOTES OF CERTANE ACTES DONE BY THE ERLE OF LEVINAX AGANES THE TENOUR OF THE ASSURANCE TAIKIN SINCE THE SAME WES SUBSCRUIT.\*

FIRST, That he holdene a pretendit parliament at Edinburghe, the xij of October last, althought without croun, sceptour, and sword; where he wes confermit to be regent, which he wes not at the tyme of Murrayes deathe, for that offee wes than ceased by his death; and so thair wes a novatioun maid in the stait, contrarie to the tenour of the Assurance.

II. *Item*, He held the said parliament contrarie to the quenis maiesteis of Englandes writing, which wes brought to Edinburghe the night befor by therle of Sussex secretary, for the staying of the said parliament.

III. *Item*, He hath, in the said pairliament, compellit subiectis to grant to a taxe of tenne thowsand pundis Seottis, to be employed for the expense of the commissionaris who shall come heir for the Treaty, for thair pairty.

IV. *Item*, The erle of Lennox bath chairget the erles of Craufurde and Eglintoun, vnder the panes of putting of thame to the horne, and confiscating and vptaking of thair whole guidis; wherby he compellit thame to cum to Edinburcht, to seme to schew him thair obedience at the said parliament.

V. *Item*, He hath chargeit the young laird of Liddingtoun, secretary, to enter suche-like, and sindrie vtheris, vnder the same pane; and becaus they did not compeir, he hath taikin vp their coirne and guidis.

VI. *Item*, He hath causit intromet with the lord Seytounes houssis, coirne, and goodes sence the said tyme, and disponit thairvpoun; and thairfor it is required that the quenis maiestie cause writ to therle of Sussex to caus ordour be taikin for restitutioun for there coirnes and goodes taken; and that in tymes eumin, during the sufferance, the quenis good subiectis be not trublit, nether by thair guidis nor vtherwyse by hostilitie.

\* From the Original MS. in the Advocates' Library, W. 4. 26, fol. 145.

VII. *Item*, He hath put the ladie Seytoun in presoune, and haith chargeit hir to depart out of the realme.

VIII. *Item*, He will not suffer the merchauntis of Glasgw, Dumbartane, and other townes thairabout, to sell victuall to the lord Fleyming, for the victualling of his castell.

IX. *Item*, He intendis to intrude him self in the office of tutourie of the lord Frances, sonne to somtyme lord Johnne of Coldinghame, and thereby doth meddle with the fruitis of his leving, contrarie to ressoun and justice; in respect that the quenis maiestie of Scotland wes constitute tutoure by the said lord Johnne befor his deathe, and hathe appointed hir maiesteis deputyes and commissioneris, specialie Mr Johnne Spens of Condy, to intromet thairwith, as he hath donne, by vetew of the same, be the space of sevin yeris past. And thairfor, desiris the quenis maiestie of England will writ to the erle of Lennox not to trouble him in tymes cuming.

X. Besides these, there is many iniuyres done, not yet cum to our knowlege; for nochtwithstanding ony promise maid, Lennox, Mortoun, and vtheris, cease not to reave and spoyle the quenis good subiectis in Scotland.

#### No. IV.

THE ANSWER OF ME, THE ERLE OF LENNOX, LORD REGENT OF SCOTLAND, TO SUM NOTES OF CERTANE ACTIS ALLEGEIT DONE BE ME AGANIS THE TENNOUR OF THE ASSURANCE TAIKIN SEN THE SAME WES SUBSCRIUID.\*

I. THE halding of the parliament at Edinburghe, begun the x of October last, was lauchfullie and ordourlie done. The vali[di]tie of the same parliament consistit not in the bearing of the scepter, sword, and croun, being thingis indifferent, and not requisite of necessitie; the parliament wes lauchfullie proclamit, vpoun dew premonitioun; the estaitis willinglie and frelie conuenit, and condiscendit to the matteris intreatit in the said parliament; the confirmatioun of me Regent wes no novatioun of the stait contrair the tennour of the Assurance. Althocht the office of regentrie, by the tressonabill taking away of the erle of Murray, lait regent, of worthy memorie, ceissit for a season, zit did the auctoritie of the

\* From the Original MS. in the Advocates' Library, W. 4. 26, fol. 155.

king stand in full effeacy, and lefull it wes to confirme ane in that chairge of regentry quhilk the erle of Murray vseit leving; the meaning of the quenis maiestie of England being, that the state suld continew as at the erle of Murrays death, viz. in his lyfe, afoir his death; and not as efter his death, quhilk wes without all regiment; hir hienes rebellis oppinlie resset and mantenit, in his contempt, and hir realme invadit be fire and suerd.

II. I held not the said parliament contrary to the quenis maiestie of Englandis writing; bot the same being fensit and begun diuerse dayes befoir hir hienes letteris come to my landis, I, for reuerence and satisfioun of hir maiestie, omitting in effect the hail thingis that wer to be done in the said parliament aganes the withstanderis of the kingis auctoritie, stayit all proceeding aganis thame, and did nathing thairin that mycht be preiudicial to the quene, the kingis moder; satisfeing thairby, in effect, the desire of hir maiesteis lettre; and sa, onelic ratifeing my office that the state suld not confound, continewit the parliament quhill Januare, betuix and quhilk tyme it mycht appeir quhat gude fruit wald follow of the Treaty in hand.

III. Na compulsion wes vseit for granting of the taxt, bot the same wes frelie and willinglie offerit, according to the lovable and ancient custume, quhan sic necessitie and occasioun fell out, and na vtherwyse.

IV. The erles of Craufurde and Eglington come not to Edinburghe to the parliament by compulsion, nor for ony chairges vseit aganes thame at that tyme; bot come willinglie, to mak thair obedience to the king and his auctoritie, and for certane thair awin priuat matteris betuix thame and thair nychtbouris, viz.—the erle of Craufurde, for a matter in difference betuix him and the provest of Dundie;—and the erle of Eglington, for the contraversie betuix the erle of Glencairne and him, throw the slaughters laitle fallin betuix thair freindis, to the dissolitioun of ane ancient band betuix thair houssis, and trubill of the hail cuntry: In quhilkis contraverseis I sehew my self indifferent. And for the erle of Craufurde, he is evin presentlie in Edinburghe, attending on his effairis, without chairge or requisitioun.

V. Answerit of befoir, in my answer to my lord lieutenantis first article of the 18 of November.

VI. The lord Seytoun is not comprehendit vnder the Abstinence, for that sen the be-gining thairof, or very schortlie of befoir, he past furth of the realme, without lieence, and convoyit away the countesse of Northumberland to Flanders; quhair she, he, and Mr Thomas Maitland, brother to Lethingtoun, ar still travelland to bring strangeares in this realme, to perturbe the quietnes of this hail ile: And so they, and sic as wer participant of thair directioun, hes baldin a contrary course sen the notifeing of the Articles to thame



be the lord Levingstoun. And nochtwithstanding the jugement and executioun quhilk the said lord Seytoun worthelie meritit, and quhilk mycht haue bene at all tymes performed without contradictioun, ȝit the trewth is that nane of the said lordes house ar intromettit with, bot onelie the house of Nudrie, standing in the hie passage betuix Edinburghe and Striuling, quhair the kingis maiesteis persoun remanes; in quhilk house of Nudrie not onelie wer the kingis rebellis alwayis ressett, to the truble of all passingeris, bot hir maiesteis rebellis also; and that house wes spairit, quhen hir hienes army wes in Scotland, vpoun caution that it suld be furthummand, to be vseit as suld be accordit vpoun betuix hir maiestie and the king, or his commissioneris. And for the said lordis coirne and guidis, the same is not intromettit with, bot standing arreistit, and his wyffe and familie remanyng in his principall house of Seytoun.

VII. The jugement vseit aganis the auld ladie Seytoun wes deseruit be hir; be resoun of the diuerse slanderis and dispytefull lewis writtin be hir, as hir letteris interceptit testifeit; quhairof I send a copy to my lord lieutenant: ȝit, at the quenis maiesteis desire, I haue not onelie dischaigit all executioun of the said jugement, bot als, be my commandement, and the lordis of sessionis decreit, she, hir sone, and dochter, ar ordinit to be answerit of all rent and leving that they can pretend rycht and titil [to]; so as the said ladie hir self, I think, sall rather grant that she hes ressaut grit fauour, nor complene of ony hard in-treatment, as indeid she hes ressaut nane, nochtwithstanding her evill deservngis.

VIII. Giff I had inhibitte the merchandis of Glasgw, Dumbartane, and vtheris townis, to sell victuallis to the Lord Flemyng, for victualling of the kingis castell, withhaldin aganis his hienes auctoritie, in that doing I had not violat the Abstynence; for that I did specialie require to know gif the lord Flemyng wald be content to be comprehendit vnder the promise of the duke and tua erles, and nener had ȝit ansner of that demand. And for the lord Flemyngis awin behaviour, he hes nawise observit the Abstynence, bot takin and reft the victuallis and guidis of all the kingis guid subiectis, travelling vp and doun the river of Clyde, and in the cuntrey; he hes banished diuerse honest men of Dumbartane frome thair houssis, and hes dimolesched sum of thair houssis, with their kirkis, to the grund, evin sen the Abstynence began; and thairwith maid new fortificatioun and building in the castell of Dumbartane: and ȝit, with all this, na contramand wes gevin to the merchandis, as is (beside the trewth) allegeit in the said article, bot to sell thair guidis and victuallis, in sie sorte as suld pleas thame, at thair liberty.

IX. That I intend to intrude my self in the office of tutourie to the lord Frances Stewart, being a thing incertane and futemen,\* nedis no certane ansner. That I haue medlit

\* So in original MS.

with the fruitis of his leving, the contrair is trew; and Mr Johnne Spens of Condy can not say or allege that I haue trublit him in ony chairge that he had of the leving of that zounge gentle man; quhome, indeid, I will forder to be answerit of his leving be all the gude meanes I can.

X. Giff the othis iniureis not zit cum to knowlege haue na better grund, nor mair trewthe then is contenit in thir Notes, they may be ansuerit with little difficultie; bot sumthing mon be writtin, for the maner saik, to conterpasse, at least in wordis, the murtheris, heirschipis, bloodschedis, and grevous iniureis that the kinglys gude subiectis hes sustenit sen the begining of the Abstinance.

## No. V.

## LETTER FROM THE EARL OF LENNOX, REGENT.\*

I HAUE ressauit zoure twa letteris, the first by Mr Randolphe, that come by the post, and the other frome zoure servand Thomas Foulair, quhome yesterday I send to Striuling to sic the King; and gaif him also directioun to pas to the Doun, in Menteith, quhair Johnne Moone remanes, and to talk with him in the matteris concerning him. Becaus he is so schortlie to returne, I will presentlie mak na lang letter to zow, onelic at this tyme, finding the commoditie of careage, I thocht meit in thir few lines to let zow vnderstand of the receipt of zour lettres, and how of lait I haue passed a grit strait, be ressouf of a havey melody that I haue bene visiit with; quhair of the werst is past, praised be God! and I am already weill convalescit of the same. And so, for this tyme, I commit zow in the protectioun of Almighty God. At Edinburghe, the xxvij of November 1570.

Deliver the paequet to my lord of Dumfermling, quha will mak zow privie to the contentis thair of.

\* From the original MS. in the Advocates' Library, W. 4. 26, fol. 158, b.

## No. VI.

ANSUERIS TO CERTANE ARTICLES QUHAIRBY THE ABSTINENCE IS ALLEGIT  
VIOLATED BY ME, ERLE OF HUNTLY.\*

FIRST, Twicheing the chargeing of the erle of Errollis house, and taking of his men quha past betuix the maister of Erroll and me, [the same] was done in the moneth of August, lang befor the taking of the said Abstinance.

II. The laird of Wattertownis servand was hurt persewand a servand of my bruderis, aganis quhome first he drew his sword and woundit his horse; and so was hurt by him in his awin defence, as the man him self declairit thairefter, at the kirk of Allane, neir to the place quhair he wes hurt. Na practize was vsed he me or ony of myne for supprising of the laird of Wattertownis hous, quhilk I reffuiscit, being offerrit to be deliuerit in my handes. This was also done befor my returning from the assemblie at Strayth-Tay, quhair the Abstinance was grantit, for oure pairt.

III. As concerning Mr Archibald Lindesay, I wald haue bene maist hertlie sorie that he suld haue bene molestit, in ony sort, he haueing my particular assurance, impetrat be the erlis of Atholl and Crawford, quhilk I wald haue bein laith to haue violated, and was not neir to those pairtis quhair he was taken, and hard of his deliuering befor I knew of his taking. He repared to the boundis quhair certane of my suldiouris war lyand in garnysoun, quhair, heiring of the arrivell of an stranger in armes, challengit him, and willit him to repair to me and declair quhat he was; quhilk, quhen he refused, was takin and disarmit, and his servand, namit Broun, was sehote in the leg immediatlic efter taking. Sa sone as my bruther was aduertised thairof, he causit him to be put to liberty, and thair armes, with all vther thingis, to be restorit agane; nather beleue I him self will planit quhatsoeuer is spokin be the aduersares.

IV. Johnne Mansoun, servand to the Bischope of Caithnes, repairit within my boundis to speik with the erle of Sutherland; quhilk he was sufferit to do vnmolestit, and was nether stoppit of letteris nor claithis, as is allegit. And Allane Watsoun, citiner of Sanct-androis, is ane of my awin mercheandis; quha haueing particularis to do with my self, and for his traffique within my boundis, willinglie come to speik with me; and, as I am informit, for my caus is trubled by the aduersaris, and his escheit disponit.

\* From the original MS. in the Advocates' Library, W. 4. 26, fol. 166, b.

V. As twicheing the twa officiaris of armes, the ane came to Abirdene for excecuting of lettres full of contumelieis and opprobreis, quhilk sum of myne wald not permit him to do; and detenit him quhill thai had knawin my mynd: And how sone it come to my knowlege, I gaif command to suffer him to depairt. The vther repairit with his lettres for inbringing of eertane rentis allegit be thame to appertene to the prince, quhilk ought to remane vnlveyed befor the end of the Treaty; ȝit he was na wayis misvsed, bot willed to depairt.

VI. I think na man will juge the Abstinence in ony sorte violat be me, having weill considerit the premisses, quhilk I am content willinglie to refer to the arbitrimnt and interpretatioune of my lord of Sussex, at quhais sight I sall abyde; the aduersary pairt doing the lyke.

## No. VII.

LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM MATHEW EARL OF LENNOX, REGENT OF SCOTLAND, TO ROBERT PITCAIRN, COMMENDATOR OF DUMFERMLING, SECRETARY OF STATE, AND AMBASSADOR FROM SCOTLAND AT THE COURT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.\*

AFTER our maist hertlie commendationis: Albeit we dout not it is the meaning of the quenis maiestie that the Abstinence salbe weill and sineeirlic keipit in this realme, during the tyme aggreit vnto, ȝit sic obseruatioun as the aduersares hes vsed sen the subserving of the last Abstinence ȝe may persauc, be the particularis following.

First, The detentioun of James Craik, messenger, quha wes taken of befor at Dumbartane, excecutando the kingis lettres and eariit to Dunnvne, in Ergile; quhair he hes bene detenit in miserabill prisoun, in irnis, be the space of sax or sevin oulkis bipast, and ȝit not releiv, quhair of we haif at diuerse tymes heirtfoir aduertest.

II. *Item*, The ȝoung laird of Garleis past laitlie in Galloway with a few men, in fauour of our nepho lord Robert Stewart, Commendator of Qulitherne, to fortifie officieris of armes in excecutioun of the kingis lettres, past at the instance of our said nepho, quha wes

\* From the original MS. in the Advocates' Library, W. 4. 26, fol. 211, b.

proudit to that benefice befor we acceptit this chaarge of regiment; and without ony pro-uocatioun maid be the said laird of Garleis, or vther occasioun geuin, saullfing assisting to the proclamatioun, and vseing of the saidis lettres, he wes assaultit in the hous quhair he remanit within the toune of Quhitherne, be Patrik Flemyng, and the garnesoun intertynete be the lord Flemyng within the hous of Congiltoun; and thair, in his defence, twa of his ser-  
 vandis eruellie slane, thre deidlie hurt, in perrell of thair lyffis; and at the same [time] thair wes takin furth of his stabill sex horsis, quhilkis the personis being in the said hous of Congiltoun retenis, or hes disponit vpon thame at thair plesour; bot sensyne (as we ar newlie informit) thay haif slane his principall seruant that went with him, and hes takin and detenis him self, as presoner.

III. *Item*, Claude, the duikis sone, and vtheris of the Hammiltounis, declairit traittours, hes be proclamatioun dischairgeit, not onlie to ansuer James Cwninghame, sone to the erle of Glencairne, pensioner of Kelso, to be ansuerit of his pensioun, quhilk is assignit to be payit to him of the fruittis and rentis of Lesmahago; bot als, thay haif appointit Williame Hammiltoun, broder to Robert Hammiltoun of Inchemachan, as chalmerlane to thame, to intromit with and tak vp the said pensioun to thair vse; and hes compellit the tennentis to lay in alsweill thair fermes as teindis, alreadie, in the castell of Draffen.

IV. *Item*, Thay haue, be force, compellit the lord Simpillis tennentis of his barony of Glasfurde to mak payment to thame of thair haill rentis and dewiteis of the said baronie, the said lord being still kचित as presoner with thame, quhome thai haif laitlie convoyit furth of Ergile to Draffen.

V. *Item*, Thay haif vsed the lyk compulsioun and force aganis the tennentis of the laird of Cwninghamcheidis landis of Lamphlair, and of the laird of Glenberveis landis of Braidwod; constrenand the tennentis to mak payment to thame of the rentis thairof, and to lay in thair reddiest wictuallis in the said castell of Draffen.

VI. *Item*, Vpone weddinsday the xvij of Januar instant, the said Claud Hammiltoun, accompaneit with Johnne Hammiltoun of Drumry, sone to the bischope of Sanctandrois, Arthur Hammiltoun of Myrretoun, and vtheris of that name, with a nowmer of souldiouris, come and be force enterit in the abbay and place of Paislay, pertening to the lord Sempill, now being prisoner and captiue in thair handis; and hes takin sum of his freindis and ser-  
 vandis presoneris, and rest, spoilzeit, and away takin his horsis and vtheris guidis being thair, and put a garnysoun in the samin place and abbay, [in]tending to retene and keip it be force; the same being and continewing in the possessioun of the said lord Sempill sen the dispositioun maid to him thairof, efter the foirfaltour orderlie led, alsweill aganis the said bischope of Sanctandrois, vsufructuar and lyfrentar of that benefice, as aganis the said Claud Hammiltoun, nominat successour to the same; and sensyn, the said bischope, in

persoun, hes cum to the said abbay, and thair fensit and haldin courtis in name of the quene, the kingis moder, minassing the tenentis that he will be payit of thre ȝeris rentis bigane; and hes alredie begvne and spoiled and reft diuerse horssis and guidis furth of the grund of my awin proper landis of Dernlie, and Cancklystoun (Cruikystoun?)

VII. Thir sa frequent and manifest violatounis of the Abstinence acceptit, now, quhen hir maiestie willit the same to be maist sincerlie observit (as it hes bene on our pairt), declairis how lichtlie faith, honour, and promise is regairdit be that race and factioun; quhat thai intend farther, notwithstanding the Assurance; and how thai haif maid provocatioun, be arnes and vtherwayse, to vs to revenge thir attempttis, and seik amendis the best we may, befor thai proceed to forder interpryssis, in preiudice of the king and to our disadvantage.

VIII. All this we pray ȝow declair vnto the quenis maiestie, lettand hir lienes vnderstand quhat greit harme we daylie sustene vnder this Abstinence, quhilk we not onlie aggreit vnto at hir lienes desyre, bot als to the suspensioun of the parliauent, notwithstanding the wechtie materis concerning the kingis estait that wer to be intreated thairin; vsand all the expeditioun that possible we can in dispatching of commissioneris towardis hir maiestie, for hir further satisfacioun, in ony thing lyand in ws; not doutting bot hir maiestie will consider this dealing of our aduersaris to be purposlie vsed, to stay hir order and resolutioun intendit; and how we, vpon thir prouocatiounis and maifest iniureis, haif iust caus to seik the revange thair of the best we may.

IX. Albeit heirtofore we wrait vnto ȝow that the commissioneris suldbe thair again candilmes, ȝit sic hes bene the delay of the noble mennis convening, at the occasioun of the storme and tempestuous wether, and sa wechtie ar the materis heir to be deliberat, and quhairvpon thay mon cum instructed, the wethir still thairwithall continewing sa ewill, and the trawelling sa diffissill, that we trust it sall be about candilmes befor thai can be abill to depart frome this: Off the quhilk we thocht meit to gif ȝow kuawlege, that ȝe may excuse the delay the best ȝe can.

X. Furthermoir, ȝe sall vnderstand that the aduersaris not onlie attemptis thir murderis and iniureis aganis the effect of the Abstinence, bot als perswadis all men that the twa quenis ar fullie agreid; that we dar not pas in the West cuntrie, nor resist ony of thair interpryssis, as thoht we wer tyit in this toun, quhair indeid we haif bene constrainit to remane langar nor our meaning wes, pairtlie be resouun of our infirmitie, and pairtlie for the suspensioun of the parliament; and dispatche of my lord of Mortoun; swa as ȝe may declair vnto hir maiestie the greit wraik and skaith that we daylie sustene vnder this Abstinence, quhilk we haif bene sa willing heirtofoir to obserue, at hir maiesteis motioun and desire.

XI. And finalie, We pray ȝow to exped the money for payment of the men of weir, how some possible ȝe can; for swa is mister, considering the thingis ellis attemptit be the aduersaris, and thair apperand preparatioun to work further mischeif. We haif haid mekle ado to stay our suddertis ane day efter this, without payment at leist of a monethis waigeis in hand; and with difficultie hes perswadit thame, for a verie schort tyme, vpon promise the same day of half a monethis waige, quhilk we traist sall be hard anewch to do, and ȝe knaw thair hes not bene gretar necessitie of thair seruice nor now; quhilk we dont not bot [on] ȝour pairt ȝe will regard with als grett cair as the mater twechis ws all: Indeid, the gretar expeditioun in this behalf be vsit, the mair acceptabill will the thing be that cumes. And sa, leiffing forther writting to new occasioun, we commit ȝow in the protectioun of Almychtie God. At Edinburgh, the xxij of Januar, 1570.

## No. VIII.

ANSWER TO THE NOTES OF THE INIUREIS ALLEGIT DONE BY THE QUENIS MAIESTIE OF SCOTLANDIS PAIRTY, SEN THE GRANTING OF THE LAST ABSTINENCE.\*

I. *Item*, to the first article, makand mentioun of the detentioun of James Craik, messinger, in prisoun—The same appeiris to haue bene deservit be him, for that he passit to Dumbartane, and thair maid executioun of the princes lettres in that toun, quhilk is not nor hes not bene at ony tymes befor at the princes devotioun, nor at the devotioun of ony of thame that professis thair obedience for the quene; sa be this resson it seamys the Abstinence to haif bene in that poynt infrigit be the complineris; the quhilk wes innovatioun.

II. *Item*, for ansuer to the secund article, It is of veritie that the benefice of Qutherne pertenis iustlie to the lord Fleming, and to na vther; and hes, sen the death of the last priour thair of, continually possessit the same, and vplifit the revenewis of it, according to the strenth of his gift maid to him thairvpon be the quenis maiestie, his souerane; sa that gif ȝoung Garleis has past thither, at ony time, with suldiouris men of weir, vnder quhatsumeur cullour, or be command of the erle of Lennox, for fortifeing of officeris of armes in fauour of his nepho, pretending ony rycht to the said benefice; and speciallie, gane thither now, during the tyme of the Abstinence, as he preparit himself to do, in taking vp of suldiouris in Edinburgh to the same effect, befor the departing of my lordis commissioneris, for the quenis maiesteis pairt, as thai knaw notourlie—It seamys weill that the said ȝoung

\* From the original MS. in the Advocates' Library, W. 4. 26, fol. 220, b.

Garleis hes bene occasioun of his owin displeasour and of all the allegit evillis happynit thairvpon, gif ony sic be, and first he ressou of the manyfest and plane brek of the Abstinence at the persute of the said young Garleis, be commandment of the erle of Lennox, and alsua be inuading of the just possessouris of thair plaeces and leving, aganis all law, conscience, and equitie, *quia vim vi repetere omni iure permissum est*. And thairfore, in this complaint, appeiris evidentlic the foirsaidis perseweris to haif bene, as it wer, directit and fortifit expreslie be the erle of Lennox to infring the Abstinence, quhairof be this fact, and vtheris thair former doingis, may weill be vnderstand quhat litle aecompt thay mak thairof.

III. *Item*, to the third article, As concernyng lord Claud for his allegit introumissioun of the pensioun of Lesmahago, allegit pertening to the erle of Glencairnes sone, and appointit ane chalmerlane for introumissioun of the same, and hes compellit the fermes to be led into Draffene: It is notourly knawin, that the said lord Claud, and the rest of the Hamiltounis, wes neur from the begynning vnder the princes obedience; and in the tyme of the erle of Murray him self, quhair he be force cansit intromet with thair landis and guidis, thay in lyk maner at diuerse tymes, and continuallie, tuk vpe the proffittes of Lesmahago, and of the said pensioun, for furnessing of the said castell, as now thay do in lykwayse; and thairfore it is na brek of the Abstinence, becaus thay do na vtherwayse now nor thai did evin in the tyme, and befor, the death of the said erle of Murray.

IV. *Item*, to the fourt and sext article, tuechng the lord Sympillis landis of Glasfurd, It is maist trew that in the begynning of the trobillis the said lord Sempill, be assistance of the erle of Murray, reft, spoilzeit, and detenit, besydis all ordour, law, and equitie, the hous and lands of Cochno, pertenyng of auld heretage to Andro Hamiltoun, he neur being callit nor ordourly put thairfra; throw the quhilik occasioun, the duikes freindis intromettit, in lyke sort, with the baronic of Glasfurd, pertening to the said lord Sempill; and that of guid equitie, as just compensatioun, *quia de iure dolus cum dolo, fraus cum fraude, et dilictum cum dilicto compensatur*; and hes bene in possessioun and vplifit the fruttis thairof, alsweill in the tyme befor the death of the erle of Murray, as thay do now; notwithstanding it is to be supponit, in respect that thai haue brocht the said lord Sempill out of Ergile to Draffene, that thai ar'appointit amangis thair selfis, and in speciall, that he hes consentit to the randering of the abbay of Paislay, quhilik being ane place of sic strenth culd not easelie be takin, gif him self haid not consentit to the same; besydis that the said bischop of Sanctandrouis hes at all tymes intromettit with the maist pairt of the proffittes of the said abbay; as alsua my lord Fleming hes vplifit ane greit pairt of the revenewis thairof, befor the begynning of the troubles, quhilikis wer assignit to him by the quenis maiestie for sustentatioun of the castell of Dumbartane, for that the landis of Paislay lye adiaacent thairto. And quhair it is complenit that the bischope of Sanctandrouis hes haldin courtis in the quene our soveranis name, the same is nawayis brek of the Abstinence, becaus



in the erle of Murrays tyme, and ay sen, the duik, bischope of Sanctandrois, and the rest of the Hammiltounis, held neur court bot in the quenis name; and the lord Sempill, quha is thair baillie heretabill, being now, as we suppose, appointit with thame, condiscendis thairto; and thairfore thair is na innovatioun maid vther nor wes vsit befor the deceis of the said erle of Mvrray.

V. As to the fyft article, of the intrometing with the profitfis of the landis of Braudwod and Lomphlair, pertening to the lairdis of Cwninghameheid and Glenbervie, for the wictualling of Draffene: Gif sic things be, as is allegit, anserit conforme to the precedent article.

VI. And as to the sevint\* and last article, quhair it is allegit that the quene, our souerane, nor na vther in hir name, hes writtin for relaxatioun of the merchandis schippis in France, as the bischope of Rosse did promise—The contrarie wes trew, ffor the said bischope, at the quene our maistres command, and the ambassadour of France, heir resident, wreit in the begynning of the moneth of November last in France, be vertew quhair of the saidis schippes ar all relaxit, and hes na further impediment; quhilk wes done be the ernist desyr of the quenis maestie of England: Quhilk is notourlie knawin to hir hienes and counsals heir, be report of diuerse merchandis cum fra France lang syne, testifeing the same; sa it is easelie to be considerit that all thair allegiances haid na guid grund, bot onlie intentit and cassin in for delay of Treaty, as it euidentlie dois appeir be thair commissiонерis, quha onlie with the coulour of sic vane furnist trifflingis, excusis, and differris, that hes cuming aganis thair diuerse promissis maid be thame to that effect.

VII. *Item*, we desyre to haif ansuer and redres of the spoyll maid vpon the duik of Chastellerhault, and his freindis, in the moneth of November last; becaus we haif neur hard as git ony defence allegit for thair pairt.

## No. IX.

## THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF RICHARD BANNATYNE.†

THE TESTAMENT TESTAMENTAR AND INVENTAR of the guidis, geir, sowmes of money, and dettis pertening to viquhile RICHARD BANNATYNE, seruitour to Mr Samuell Cockburne of Tempill, within the parrochin thair of and scherefdome of Edinburgh, the tyme of his de-

\* See answer to article iv, where the sixth article is also included.

† From the Records of Confirmed Testaments of the Commissariot of Edinburgh, preserved in the General Register House, vol. xlii.

ceis; quha deceist vpoune the feird day of September, the 3<sup>e</sup>ir of God I<sup>o</sup> vj<sup>e</sup> and fyve 3<sup>e</sup>iris; flaythfullie maid and gevin vp be him self vpoun the xxvij day of August, the 3<sup>e</sup>ir of God foirsaid, as concerning the nominatioun of executouris, legatees, inuentar of his guidis, 3<sup>e</sup>ir, and dettis awin to him for the maist pairt; and gevin vp be Mr Sammuel Cokburne of Tempill, and James Bannatyne, burges of Air, his broder, insafar as concernis ane vther pairt of the dettis awin to him; quhome he nominatis his only executouris in his Lettre Will, vnder writtin: As the samyn, of the dait foirsaid, subscrivit with his awin hand, in presens of the minister and witnesses vnderwrittin, mair at lenth beiris.

IN the first, the said vmquhile Richart Bannatyne had the guidis, 3<sup>e</sup>ir, sowmes of money, and dettis, of the awail and proces efter following, perteing to him the tyme of his deceis foirsaid, viz.

*Item*, in abuilgementis of his body, estimat to ten pundis.

SUMMA of the Inuentar, . . . . . x li.

FOLLOWIS THE DETTIS AWIN TO THE DEID.

ITEM, thair was awin to the said vmquhile Richard Bannatyne be Richard Cass, conforme to his Obligatiounes, the sowme of v<sup>e</sup> l merkis; quhilkis Obligatiounes ar in the handis of Mr James Sandielandis. *Item*, mair be him, of byrun annuell of the terme of Witsonday lastbypast, xxvij merkis, v s. viij d. *Item*, be Thomas Somerwell, conforme to his obligatioun, ij<sup>e</sup> merkis; quhilk Obligatioun is in the handis of the said Mr James Sandielandis. *Item*, mair be him, of byrun annuell for thrie termes, xx li. *Item*, mair be George Mair, xxx li. *Item*, be Mr Johne Chalmeris, for the terme of Witsonday lastbypast, x li. *Item*, be James Mitchell, burges of Air, j<sup>e</sup> merkis. *Item*, be Adam Stewart, burges of Air, and Hew Kennedie, burges thair, for the superplus of the fermes of the landis of Clewis and vtheris, resten of the erope and 3<sup>e</sup>ir of God I<sup>o</sup> vj<sup>e</sup> tua 3<sup>e</sup>iris, ij<sup>e</sup> iij li. *Item*, mair be thame, for the fermes of the saidis landis, resten of the eroppis and 3<sup>e</sup>iris of God I<sup>o</sup> vj<sup>e</sup> thrie 3<sup>e</sup>iris, and vj<sup>e</sup> four 3<sup>e</sup>iris, and for the half of the [I<sup>o</sup>] vj<sup>e</sup>, fyve 3<sup>e</sup>iris, xv bollis beir at ten merkis per boll, and xl bollis meill at iij li. the boll, *summa*, ij<sup>e</sup> lx li. *Item*, mair be thame, l li. *Item*, be Mr James Sandielandis, iij li. *Item*, be Adame Alexander in Darneholme, x li.

SUMMA of the dettis awin to the deid, . . . . J<sup>o</sup> j<sup>e</sup> lxxj li.

SUMMA of the Inuentar, with the dettis, . . . . J<sup>o</sup> j<sup>e</sup> lxxxj li.

FOLLOWIS THE DETTIS AWIN BE THE DEID.

ITEM, thair was awin be the said vmquhile Richart Bannatyne to Alexander Barelay, Ipothear, xl s.

SUMMA of the dettis awin be the deid, xl s.

Restis of frie 3<sup>e</sup>ir, the dettis deductit, J<sup>o</sup> j<sup>e</sup> lxxix li.

Na diuisioun.

Quhair of the Quot is composit for xx merkis.

## FOLLOWIS THE DEIDIS, LEGACIE, AND LETTRE WILL.

BE IT KEND till all men be thir present lettres, me, RICHARD BANNATYNE, howbeit seiklie in bodie zit hail in mynd, and being of nathing mair assurit than of death, albeit the tyme is maist vncertane, and the maner how vncertane: Thairfoir, at the plesour of God, wald provyde for my warldlie affairis, incaise it sall pleis his hevinlie maiestie to visite me be deathe, be this present seiknes, I haue nominat, thairfoir, maid and constitut, and ordanit, and be this present nominatis, makis, constitutis and ordanes my louing maister, or rader father, Mr Samuel Cokburne of Tempill, and my brother James Bannatyne, burges of Air, my onlie executouris and intromitteris; and willis thame that this my Last Will and Legacie be faythfullie disponit as I appoint, in all thingis, as followis: Of the quhilkis sowmes, and in speciall of the fyve hundreth merkis quhilkis ar in Richard Cassis handis, I leif to my broder James the zeirlic deutie of thrie hundreth merkis; and quhan it sall pleis God to call vpoune him, ane hundreth pundis of the foirsaid fyve hundreth merkis to Margaret, dochter to my broder James, and the vther hundreth pundis I ordane it to be gevin to his dochter Issobell: And thairfoir gevis and grantis my full power to my said broder to vplift the deutie of the foirsaid thrie hundreth merkis, during his lyftyme; and to his tua dochteris, Margaret and Issobell foirsaid, my full power to vplift the principall sowme of thrie hundreth merkis, as said is, for thair vse. *Item*, I leif vnto Ailis Cokburne, dochter to my loving maister, Mr Sammuell Cokburne, tua hundreth merkis, whilkis ar also in Richard Cassis handis, as ane pairt of the foirsaid fyve hundreth merkis; and geuis vnto the said Mr Sammuell, my maister, my full power to vplift and intromet with the foirsaid tua hundreth merkis, at martymes nixtocum, in the zeir of God I<sup>co</sup> vj<sup>e</sup> and fyve zeiris, gif the Lord call vpoun me befor that tyme; and ordanis Mr James Sandielandis to delyuer vnto my foirsaid maister the Obligatioun maid vnto me be Richard Cass, for his searuce. *Item*, I ordane that the ij<sup>e</sup> merkis quhilkis ar addettit to me be Thomas Sommervell and his airis, be gevin to Susanna Bannatyne, and hir husband, Hew Kennedie; and the Obligatiounes and rychtis of the samyn to be randerit be Mr James Sandielandis vnto thame. *Item*, I ordane that the xx li. quhilkis ar addettit to me be Thomas Somervell and his airis, for the deutie of the thrie termes of the foirsaid tua hundreth merkis, be gevin to Mr James Somervell and his bretherene, and that for the dischaarge of ane Obligatioun maid be me to thair said father Patrik Sandielandis; thay doand thair deutie, in randerig that quhilk thai haife of myne to my executouris foirsaid. *Item*, I ordane the xxx li. auchtand to me be George Mair to be gevin to my broder James, to dispone vpoun as he thinkis guid; and ordanes my rychtis and lettres vpoun the samyn to be delyuerit vnto him. *Item*, the ten pundis quhilkis ar in Johnne Chalmeris handis I leif to be gevin to Johnne Scheirar, quhen my executouris foirsaidis sall vplift it. *Item*, I leif the sowme of money addettit vnto me be Adam Stewart and Hew Kennedie, according to ane compt subscryuit be me, to be distributed vnto my brother James and Mr Samuuell Cokburne, my maister, be equall portiounes: That is to say, I ordane my maister, Mr Sammuell, to vplift the iust half of the foirsaid sowmes, and to dispone thairvpoun as he pleissis; and my broder James to vplift the vther half, to dispone thairvpoun as he pleissis. *Item*, gif the xlviij s̄. quhilk I wes addettit to Alexander Barclay be not payit,

I ordane Mr James Sandielandis to pay the samyn; and the rest of the thrie pundis, addebit to me be him, I leif to himselff. *Item*, according to my Dispositioun alreddie maid be me to Robert Reid, I ordane that, efter my broderis deceise, the hundreth merkis addettit be James Mitchell to me be given to the said Robert Reid, to vse and dispone as he pleissis. *Item*, it is my will that my broder James, of the reddiest of the foirsaid sowmes left be me to him, pay for the littill barrell of aquavitæ quhilk he send to me; and lykewyse it is my will that of the reddiest of the foirsaidis sowmes he giue to Johnne Lokart, sone to James Lokart, ten merkis. *Item*, I leif to my brother James ane syde blak eloik, quhilk is in my kist that is in Patrik Sandielandis house; ane pie of blak, and tua blak cloikis, quhilkis ar in my mail, in my awin chamber; four sarkis, with the buikis that ar in the kist, in Patrik Sandielandis house; and ordanes him to gif vnto Johnne Lokhartis wyff, Bullinger vpoun the Revelatioun. And as for the rest of my movabillis that are in my chamber in Temple, I leif thame to be disponit vpoun be my maister, as he thinkis gude; and willis him, in speciall, to give the eloik quhilk he gave to me lang syne to Marrioun Corbet, and my auld cloik to Margaret Scheill. And last of all, quhairas Hew Kennedic and Adame Stewart ar addettit to me ten merkis be geir, for my guidwill in geving ouer to thame my land, as the decreit of the Ministeris Mr Johne Welsche and Johne Porterfield beiris witnes, I leif that quhilk thai ar addettit, that way, to be disponit to Jonet Bannatyne, wyffe to Adame Stewart. The quhilk my Lettre Will I ordane my maister, Mr Sammuell Cokburne, and my broder James, faythfullie in all pointis to put in execution. Subseruyit with my hand, At TEMPLE, the xxvij day of August, 1605.

(*Sic subscriptur*)

RICHARD BANNATYNE, with my hand.

Mr James Hastie, Minister at Tempill, witnes.

W<sup>B</sup>, Maisteris Johnne Arthour, &c. geuis and committis the intromissioun with the samyn to the saidis Mr Sammuell Cokburne and James Bannatyne, Executouris Testamentaris nominat be the said v<sup>m</sup>quhile Riehard Bannatyne, &c., and Johnne Lokhart of Boghall is becum caution, &c. as ane act beiris.

## No. X.

### THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF JOHN KNOX.\*

THE TESTAMENT TESTAMENTARE AND INVENTARE of the guidis, geir, sowmes of money, and dettes pertening to v<sup>m</sup>quhile JOHNNE KNOX, minister of the evanggell of Christ Jesus,

\* From the Record of Confirmed Testaments of the Commissariot of Edinburgh, vol. ii.

the tyme of his deceis; quha deceissit vpoune the xxiiij day of November, the zeir of God J<sup>co</sup> v<sup>e</sup> lxxij zeiris, faithfullie maid and gevin vp be him self vpoune the xij day of Maij, the zeir of God foirsaid; and presentlie, be MARGARET STEWART, his relict;\* quhome, with MARTHA, MARGARET, and ELIZABETH KNOXIS, his dochteris, he vpoune the xij day of Maij, in his Lattir Will vnderwritin, nominate his Executoris Testamentaris: As the samin, of the dait foirsaid, beiris.

In the first, the said vmquhile Johnne grantit him to haif had, the tyme foirsaid, tua syluer drinking cowpis, markit with J. K. M. one the ane syde, and on the vthir syde with E. B. N. contening xxv vnecs, or thairby; tua saltfattis of syluer, of xiiij vnec wecht and ane half; auchtene syluer spvnes, contening xx vnec wecht and a quarter, price of the vnec xxvj s. viij d., *summa*, ffoureskoir pundis; off the quhilk syluer work abone written, the airschip is to be deducit and takin of. *Item*, the said Margaret, ane of the saidis excecouris, grantit that the said vmquhile Johnne had at the tyme of his deceis foirsaid, in pois, ane hundredreth pundes. *Item*, his buikis, alsweill vpoune the Scriptures as vther prophane authoris, worth vj<sup>xx</sup> and x li. *Item*, in vtensile and domicile, the airschip being deducit, to the avall of xxx li.

SUMMA INVENTARII, . . . . . ij<sup>c</sup> lxxxxvj li. vj s. viij d.

FOLLOWIS THE DETTIS AWIN TO THE DEID.

ITEM, thair wes awing to the said vmquhile Johnne, the tyme of his deceis foirsaid, be Andro Lord Stewart of Velhiltrie, his guidfader, the sowme of lxxx li. of lent money. *Item*, be Williame Fiddes, baxter, x li. restand awand to the said vmquhile Johnne of quheit, quhilk he ressaunt to gif breid for. *Item*, be Agnes Weymis, relict of vmquhile Andro Mernis, cietener of Sanctandros, xix li. xj s. j d. j ob. for the rest of beir, quhilk scho ressaunt fra the said vmquhile Johnne to mak aill of. *Item*, be Margaret Spens, spous to Mr Robert Glenne, xvij li. xv s. ij. d. for beir, quhilk scho ressaunt fra the said vmquhile [Johnne] to delyuer aill of. ITEM, restand awand to the said vm<sup>q</sup>le Johnne, the tyme foirsaid, for ane pairt of his pensioune quhilk he had furth of the Kirk of Hadingtounne, be the persones following, the victuales vnderwritin, of the zeiris and croupes respectiue vnder-specificeit, viz. of the croupe and zeir of God I<sup>co</sup> v<sup>e</sup> lxxj zeiris, be James Fiddes, for ane pairt of his teyndis of the Nunland, liand in the parochin of Hadingtounne, ane boll of quheit, ane boll ane firlothe beir, vij bollis aittis. Be Adame Ethingtounne in Qubitrig ane boll of quheit, sex bollis aittis, price of the boll of quheit, the said zeir, l s.; price of the boll of beir, the said zeir, twa merkis; and price of the boll of aittis, the same zeir, xx s.; *summa*, xix li. xij s. iij d. *Item*, by the said James Fiddes, for his teyndis of the saidis landis of Nunland, of the croupe and zeir of God I<sup>co</sup> v<sup>e</sup> lxxij zeiris, ane boll of quheit, ane boll ane firlothe

\* Daughter of Andrew Lord Stewart of Ochiltree, and sister of James Earl of Arran. She was afterwards married to Sir Andrew Ker of Faudounside, knight. Her daughters were married to three ministers of the Church of Scotland, viz. to Robert Pont, minister of St Cuthberts, James Fleming, and John Welch, minister of Ayr.

beir, sevin bollis aittis. Be James Oliphant and Robert Hepburne, for thair teyndis of the landis of Stenestoune, liand within the said parochin, the said ȝeir, sex bollis quheit, sex bollis beir, and sex bollis aittis. Be the said Adame Ethingtoun, in Qubitrig, for his teyndis of the saidis landis, the said ȝeir, ane boll of quheit, ane boll of beir, and sex bollis aittis. Be Johnne Gulanis wyfe, in Alderstonne, for hir teyndis thairof of the ȝeir foirsaid, twa bollis quheit, twa bollis beir, and viij bollis aittis; price of the boll of quheit the said ȝeir l s., price of the boll beir the said ȝeir twa merkis, and price of the boll aittis the same ȝeir xx s.; *summa*, lxxix li. xiiij s. iiij d. *Item*, restand awand to the said vmquhile Johnne, the tyme of his deceis foirsaid, be the personis following, the sowmes of money and victuale vnderwrittin, as for ane pairt of his stipende assignit to him for seruing in the Ministrie, of the said erope and ȝeir of God I<sup>o</sup> v<sup>e</sup> lxxj ȝeir; in the first, be Margaret Haldane, lady Colingtoun, for the Lambes terme in the said ȝeir, xxxiiij li. vj s. viij d. Be Mr Robert Wynrahame, collectour of Fyfe, xxxij li. xvij s. for the said vmquhile Johnnis victuale of the said pensioun, sould be him the said ȝeir. Be Robert Bennet, thre firloftis quheit, price of the boll l s.; *summa*, xlviij s. vj d. *Item*, restand awand to the said vmquhile Johnne the victuale vnderspecifeit, as for ane pairt of his said stipend, the crop and ȝeir of God I<sup>o</sup> v<sup>e</sup> lxxij ȝeir; in the first, be William Merelngstoune, in Inneresk, thre bollis tua firloftis tua pectis quheit. Be Williame Vernour, thair, tua bollis tua firloftis thre pectis quheit. Be George Forman, thair, thre bollis tua firloftis tua pectis quheit. Be Robert Dowglas, thre bollis tua firloftis tua pectis quheit. Be Johnne Crannstonne, in Monktonhall, thre bollis thre firloftis quheit. Be Johnne Kerse, thair, thre bollis ane firloft tua pectis quheit. Be Thomas Thomsoune, thair, tua bollis tua firloftis tua pectis quheit. Be Adame Wricht, tua bollis ane firloft quheit. Be William Johnestoune, foure bollis ane firloft quheit. Be Dauid Hill, in Inneresk, ane boll thre firloftis thre pectis quheit; extendene to tua chalder quheit, price of the boll of quheit, the said ȝeir, l s.; *summa*, lxxx li. Be Helene Cowtis, relict of vmquhile Richard Prestoune of Qubithill, ane chalder beir. Be Jonet Betoune, in Litill Monktonne, ellevin bollis beir. Be Williame Wauchop of Nudry, Merschell for the teyndis of the landis of Calcottis, thre bollis beir. Be Johnne Hill of that ilk, tua bollis beir. Be the tennentis of the parochin of Kynglassie, four chalderis beir, as followis; be Johnne Boswall, in Gaitmylk, ane chalder beir; Williame Swyne, thair, viij bollis beir; George Tod, in Kynninmonth, ane chalder beir; Helene Mertyne, in Kynglassie, and Williame Boswall, hir sone, tuelff bollis beir. William Boswall, in Stintoun, xij bollis beir; extendene in the haill to sex chalderis beir, price of the boll, ouerheid, tua merkis; *summa*, ane hundreth twentie aucht pundis. BE the tennentis of the parochin of Newbirnslyre in Fyffe, foure chalderis aittis, as followis, viz. Williame Dischingtoun, in Ranelery, fourtene bollis aittis; Thomas Alcheur, thair, xiiij bollis beir; Johnne Young, in the Coittis, sex bollis aittis; be David Sympson, thair, sex bollis aittis; and be Andro <sup>\*</sup>,\* thair, sex bollis aittis; be Dauid Johnesoune, in Montturpie, aucht bollis aittis; be Sympsonne, foure bollis aittis; price of the boll, ouerheid, xx s.; *summa*, lxxiiij li. *Item*,

\* This blank and those which follow are left so in the original record.

resting awand to the said vmquhile Johnne, the sowmes vnderspeeifeit, as for ane pairt of the syluer of his said stipend, of the said ȝeir of God I<sup>co</sup> v<sup>e</sup> lxxij ȝeiris; in the ffirst, be James Rig of Carberry, for the half teynd of Cowsland, xxxiij li. vj s. viiij d.; be lady Edmestoune, spous to Andro Ker of Hirsell, knyght, for the vther half of the teyndis of the landis foirsaidis, xxxiij li. vj s. viiij d.; be the said Margaret Haldane, lady Colyngtowne, for the teynd of Hailis, lxxv li. xiiij s. iiij d.; be Robert Bennet, xxxiiij li. vj s. viiij d.; be Mr James Maegill of Rankelour-nethir, for his males of the landis of Pinkie, for the termes of Witsunday and Martymes, in the said ȝeir of God I<sup>co</sup> v<sup>e</sup> lxxij ȝeiris, ljj li. vj s. viiij d.; and als, resting be him of the males of the landis foirsaidis of the ȝeir of God I<sup>co</sup> v<sup>e</sup> lxx ȝeiris, xlv s. viij d.; be the exeentouris of vmquhile Gilbert Edmestoune, for the males of the landis of Wowmet, of the terme of Martymes of the said ȝeir of God I<sup>co</sup> v<sup>e</sup> lxxij ȝeiris, xxij li. viiij s.; be Jonet Betoune, for the males of Litill Monktonne, nyne pundis; be the said lady Edmestoune, and Archibald Prestoune of Wallefeld, for the males of Netoune, xiiij li. xj. s. vj d.; be James Rig of Carberry for the maill thairof, xx li. ITEM, be of Nudry for the males of Caleottes, thre pundis; be Robert Douglas, in Inneresk, for his males, iij lib. xix s. iiij d.; be Williame Merehinstonne, thair, for his few-maill, xxvij s. x d.

SUMMA OF THE DETTIS, ABONE WRITTIN, } viij<sup>e</sup> xxx li. xix s. vj d.  
AWING TO THE DEID,

NA DETTIS AWING BE THE DEID.

SUMMA OF THE INVENTARE, WITH THE } I<sup>co</sup> v<sup>e</sup> xxvj li. xix s. vj d.  
DETTIS AWING TO THE DEID,

TO BE DIUIDIT IN THRE PAIRTIS. THE } iij<sup>e</sup> lxxv li. xiiij s. ij d.  
DEIDIS PAIRT THAIROF EXTENDIS TO

FOLLOWIS THE LATTER WILL AND LEGACIE.

LORD JESUS, I commend my troublit spreit in Thy proteccioune and defence! and thy troublit Kirke to thy mereie! BECAUS I haif had to do with dyuers personages of the Ministrie, quhairvnto God of his mereie creetit me, within this realme, my dewetie cravis that I sall leve vnto thaim now ane testimony of my mynd. And first vnto the Papistis, and to the vnthankfull warld I say, that althocht my lyfe hes bene vnto thaim odious, and that oftintymes thaim haif socht my destructioun and the destructioun of the kirk, quhilk God, of his mereie, hes plantit within this realme, and hes alwayis preservit and kept the

samin fra thair crewale interpryis; ȝit to thaim I am compellit to say, that onles thai spedelie repent, my departing of this lyfe salbe to thaim the grettest calamitie that euir ȝit hes apprehendit thaim; sum small apperance thai may ȝit haife in my lyfe, gif thai haif grace to sie; ane deid manne haif I bene, almaist thir tua ȝeiris lastbipast, and ȝit I wald that thai suld rypelic consider in quhat bettir estait thai and thair materis standis in, than it hes done befor, and thai haif hard of lang tyme befor threatnit: Bot because thai will nocht admit me for ane admoniser, I gif thaim ouir to the judgement of Him quha knowis the hartis of all, and will disclose the secretis thair of in dew tyme. And this for the Papistis. To the faithfull God, befor his Sone, Jesus Christ, and befor his halie angellis, I protest that God be my mouth, be I neur so abieet, hes schawin to ȝow his trewth, in all simplicite. Nane I haif corrupted; nane I haif defraudit; merchandies haif I not maid; to Godis glorie I write of the glorious evangell of Jesus Christ, bot according to the measour of the grace graunted vnto me, I haif dividit the sermont of trewth in just pairtis; beatin doun the pryde of the proude, in all that did declair thair rebelloun againis God, according as God in his law gevis to me ȝit testimonie; and raising vp the consciences trublit with the knowledge of thair awin synnis, be the declaring of Jesus Christ, the strenth of his death, and the michtie operatioune of his resurrectioun, in the hartis of the faithfull: Of this, I say, I haif ane testimony this day, in my conscience, befor God; how that euir the world rage: Be constant, thairfor, in doctrine that anis publictlic ȝe haif professit: Lat nocht selandrous dayis draw ȝow away fra Jesus Christ; nather lat the prosperitie of the wickit move ȝow to follow it nor thame; ffor howsoeuer it be that God appeiris to neglect his awin, for ane seasoune, ȝit He remanis ane just juge, quha nathir canne nor will justifie the wickit! I am nocht ignorant that mony wald that I suld entir in particulare determinatioune of thir present troubles; to quhome I planelie and simple ansuer, that as I neur exceedit the boundes of Godis Scriptures, sua will I not do, in this pairt, by Godis grace; bot heirof I am assurit be Him quha nathir canne dissave nor be dissavit, that the castell of Edinburch, in the quhilk all the murthour, all the truble, and the hail destructioun of this pairt commounweill wes inventit, and as our awin eis may witnes, by thaim and by thair mantenaris, wes put in executioun, sall cum to destructioun, mantene it quha sa list; the destructioun, I say, of body and saul, except thai repent! I luik not to the momentary prosperitie of the wickit, ȝe, not althocht thai suld remane conquerouris to the cuming of our Lord Jesus! Bot I luik to this sentence, that quhasaeuir scheddiss innocent bluid defyles the land, and provoikis Godis wraith againis him self and the land, vntill his bluid be sched agane, be ordour of law, to satisfie Godis anger. This is not the first tyme that ȝe haif hard this sentence, althocht that mony at all tymes sturrit at sik severitie, I ȝit afferme the same, being redly to entir to gif compt befor His Maestie of the stewartschip He committit vnto me. I knaw in my death the rumouris salbe strange, bot be ȝe nocht trublit aboue measour, belouit in the Lord Jesus! Bot ȝit agane I say, remane constant in the trewth, and He quha of His mercie send me, conductit me, and prosperet the work in my hand aganis Sathan, will provide for ȝow abundantlie, quhenne that athir my bluid sall wattr



the doctrine taucht be me, or He of His mercie vtherwayis provide to put ane end to this my battell. My executouris I mak, constitute and ordane MARGARET STEWART, my spous; MARTHA, MARGARET, and ELIZABETH KNOXIS, my dochteris; and the faithfull to be ouersmenne. To my tua sones, NATHANAELL and ELEAZARE KNOXIS, I vnfenedic leif that same benedictioun that thair darrest moder MARIORIE BOWSE\* left vnto thaim, to witt, that God, for his Sone Christ Jesus saik, wald of his merci mak thaim his trew feireris and als vpricht worschipperis of him as ony that euir sprang out of Abrahames loynes; quhairto now, as thanne, I fra my troublit hart say, Amenne! Farther, I haif delyuerit, be Maister Randulphe, to Mr Robert Bowse, schereff of the bischoprick, and bruder to the said Mariorie, my vmquhill darrest spous, the sowme of fyve hundreth pundis of Scottis money, to the vtilitie and proffett of my saidis tua sones: The quhilk money is that pairt of substance that fell or pertentit to thaim be the deceis of Mariorie Bowse, thair moder, of blissit memorie, and augmentit be me as I mycht or may spair, to mak out the said sowme; for I ressaute of thairis bot ane hundreth merkis stirling, quhilk I of my povirtic extendit to fyve hundreth pundis Scottis: And that in contentatioun of thair bairnis pairt of geir, quhilkis may fall to thaim be my deceis. ITEM, I leif to my saidis tua sones, tua sylver drinking cownis, the ane of thaim markit with J. K. M. one the ane syde, and one the other syde with E. B. N., and in lyke maner the tother with the same mark and lettres; the wecht of the saidis tua cuipis contenaend xxij vnce, or thairby; tua saltfattis of syluer, and xvij syluer spones, weyand xxxiiij and ane quarter vnces, price of the vnce ouerheid xxvj s viij d. The quhilkis cuipis, saltfattis, and spvnes, I leif in keping to the said Margaret, my spous, quhill my saidis sones be of the aige of xxj ȝeiris; at the quhilk tyme, I ordane and commandis hir to delyuer the samin to my saidis sones, or to ony ane of thaim, gif be deceis the vthir faillis. ITEM, I leif also to my saidis sones, ane pairt of my saidis buikis, of the availl of xxx li. And failȝeing of my saidis sones, and thair airis, I ordane the foirsaidis fyve hundreth pundes, with the syluer cuipis, spvnes, saltfattis, and buikis, to returne agane, as efter followis; that is to say, the ane equale half thair of, to the said Margaret, my spous, and my saidis thre dochteris; and the vthir half of the same to my bruder, Williame Knox, and his airis quhatsumeuir. ITEM, I leif to my said spous, Margaret Stewart, the aucht hundreth merkis whilkis ar laid vpoune the landis of Pennymoir, quhairin scho is infett be Andro Lord Stewart of Vchiltrie, my fader of law; and failȝeing of the said Margaret, I leif the samin to my saidis thre dochteris; and failȝeing of thaim, I leif the samin to the said Andro Lord Stewart of Vchiltrie, and his airis quhatsumeuir: Chairgeing and requyring my said fader of law, and his airis, as thai will answer befor that incorruptible Juge, the Lord Jesus, that thai suffer not my said spous and childrene to be defraudit, or evill payit, of the males and annuelrent of the saidis landis, during the non-redemptioun of the samin. ITEM, I leif to Paule Knox, my bruder sone, and

\* John Knox's first wife, Marjorie Bowes or Bowse (sometimes called *Joune*, to distinguish her from another sister "Margery"), was the fifth daughter of Sir George Bowes of Stretham, in the county of Durham, Knight Marshal.

hundreth pundis, quhilk lvis in wodset vpoune Robert Campbellis landis in Kynzeaneleucht, and quhairin the said Paule is ellis infest; and that to be ane help to hald him at the scuilis. And as concerning the rest of my haill guidis quhatsumeuir, I leif to be dividit betuix my said spous and my saidis thre dochteris. And becaus my said spous man tak the cair of my saidis dochteris, and faithfullie travell for thair guid nurishment and vbringing, thairfoir I leif my said spous the vse of thair geir, quhill thai be mareit, or cum to perfite age; at quhilk tyme I ordane that euery aire, as the tyme approteches, to haif thair awin that to thaim appertenis.

(*Sic subscriptur*)

JOHNE KNOX.

JOHNE ADAMESONE, witness.

ROD. WATSOUNE, witness.

JOHNE JOHNSTOUN, witness.

THE QUOTE of this Testament is gevin *gratis*, at speciale command of my Lordis Commissaris.

WE, Maisteris Robert Maitland, &c. Commissaris of Edinburghe, specialie constitut for confirmatioune of Testamentis, be the tennour heirof, ratefeis, appreuis, and confirmis this present Testament or Inuentar, insafar as the samin is deulie and lauchfullic maid, of the gudis and geir aboue specifeit alanerlic. And gevis and committis the intromissioune with the samin to the saidis Margaret Stewart, relict of the said vmquhile Johne Knox, Martha, Margaret, and Elizabeth Knoxis, his dochteris, his Executouris Testamentaris nominat be him, conforme to the Lattir Will aboue writtin: Reseruand compt to be maid be thame thairof, as accordis of the law. And the said Margaret Stewart, ane of the saidis Executouris, being suorne, hes maid faith treulie to exerce the said office; and hes fundin cautionne that the gudis and geir aboue specifeit salbe furthcumand to all pairteis havand interes, as law will; as ane act thairupoune beiris.

INDEX  
TO THE MEMORIALES.



## INDEX.

### A.

- ABBAY.** See Halyrudhous.  
 Abbay-kirk, minister of, 316.
- ABERBROTHOCK (Arbrothe), ABBOT** (Lord John Hammiltoun, afterwards Marquis of Hammiltoun, Commendator) of, 4; Bothwell-hauch escapes on his horse, *ib.*; 120, 122, 134; forfeited, 185; a commissioner for the Hammiltouns, 306; undertakes that their forces should be disbanded, 309, 310, 313;—Minister of, 222.
- Aberdeen**, Earl of Mortoun, leaves Edinburgh for, 22; 50 “hagbutteris” sent by Huntlie, 196, 212; Mr James Lowsone leaves it, and proceeds to Edinburgh, to succeed to John Knox, 263; mass said in Old A., 278;—Bishop of (William Gordon) forfeited, 185; (William) 309;—Minister of, 215.
- Abbottishall**, John Knox retires to, at the pressing desire of the brethren, 119;—Laird of, 174.
- Adair** of Kinhilt, 192; Mathew his son taken by Laird of Carmichael, *ib.*
- Adamsons**, Donald, commendator (commissioner?) of Ross, 96.
- A Darnlie!** a Darnlie! a slogan, 105.
- Admirallis factione** (Coligny), 11; 208.
- Admiral of France** (Coligny), his murder, 265.
- Aikman**, Mathew, lieutenant to Capt. Wauchope, 314.
- ALBANY, DUKE** of, 132.
- All is oures! a slogan, 184.
- ALMANY, PRINCES** of, 11. See Germany.
- Ane Hammiltoun!** a slogan, 184.
- ALVA, DUKE** of, 2, 11; sends envoys, 51; they return, 52; 208, 232.
- Anderson**, Corporal, shot by some of the town soldiers, while fighting “at singulare combat with ane suddart of the tounce,” 217.
- Angus**, the country of, 302.
- ANGUS, EARL** of (Archibald), Bothwell visits him shortly before Darnley’s murder, 318;—and Mortoun, house (family) of, 341, 343.
- Annand**, castle of, destroyed by the Earl of Sussex, 51.
- Annandale-men**, 133.
- Anstruther**, 11,000 Spanish ryallis taken from a ship, and sent to the Regent Mar, 216;—Minister of, 222.
- Apilgirth**, young Laird of, 173;—Laird of, a fight with Wormestoun, 25 on each side “stayed,” 178; he is taken, *ib.*
- Arbuthnet**, James, lieutenant to Captain Ker, 314.
- Archbishop**, edict for choosing one, 222. See St Andrews.
- ARGYLE, EARL** of (Archibald, 5th, Justice-General), 2, 10, enters into bond with the Hammiltouns, 18, 19, 20, 25, 31, 38, 39, 52, 120, 121; leaves Edinburgh, 124; two of his servants slain at the surprise of Stirling, when the Regent Lennox was slain, 184; is proposed as Regent, but Mar is chosen, 185.

- 186; gives a letter to the Bishop of Cashall, who proves a Popish emissary, 235; the Bishop is warded and sent to Queen Elizabeth, *ib.*; one of the commissioners to treat with the Hammiltouns, 306, 315; seeks to be divorced from his wife for non-adherence, 316; (Colin) accused by Morton of giving "partiall counsell" on his trial, 324; his death alluded to, 338.
- Arkynles, Laird of, 18. See Campbell.
- Armour made use of in duels, &c. viz., "jake, speir, steil-bonnet, sword and whingar," 145, 150; "horse, jak, steil-bonnet, plait-sleivis, speiris, sword, dager, corslat, murione, picke, tuo handit sword, gantilotis, two sword strypes, or plattis for the theise and legis," 152.
- Armstrang, Eckie (Hector of Harlaw), takes the Duke of Northumberland prisoner, 2.
- Army, expedition against the Border thieves, 2; forces of the King's party, 41, 51, 62.
- ARRAN, EARL of. See Chastelherault.
- ARREI, EARL of. See Erroll.
- Artailzeric, arrives at Leith from Stirling, 192. See Ordnance, &c.
- Arthe, Laird of. See Bruce.
- Articles, Lords of the, complaint to, 299.
- ARUNDELL, EARL of (Henry Fitz Alan, 21st), 1.
- Assault, mock, of the Castle of Edinburgh, 91. See Dumbarton, &c.
- Assembly, General, of the Kirk, at Ayre, 81; at Edinburgh, 90 to 103; send commissioners from Leith "to the castle, to pacifie the troubles," 125; held at Stirling, 178; letter from Protestant gentlemen and barons, 182; articles given in by the Kirk, 186; Collectors for the Ministers discharged, &c. 197; at St Andrews, 227; held at Perth, 249; John Knox's letter, 250; articles sent, *ib.*; answer by the Assembly, 252; letter from the Kirk and brethren to Knox, 254; delivery of it, 255; in Edinburgh, 276; articles proponed to the Regent, *ib.*; meets again, 315;—door, libel affixed to, 92, &c.
- ATHENS, BISHOP of (Alexander Gordon, Archbishop of Athens, Bishop of the Isles, and Commendator of Inchaffray; afterwards Bishop of Galloway), 138, 141, 164; is one of those named to treat for "the pacification," 239. See Galloway.
- ATHOLL, EARL of (John, 4th), 10; accused of being "ane idolater and dependar vpon witches," 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 25, 31, 38; a council held, 52; the dispatches to the Queen intercepted, *ib.*; his "poysoning," 320;—COUNTESS of, [Margaret, second wife of John 4th earl, third daughter of Malcolm 3d lord Fleming; relict of Robert Master of Montrose, killed at Pinkie 1547, and of the Master of Erskine, son of John earl of Marr,] accused of casting "all the pyne of childbirth" on lady Reirres, when the Queen was lying in jeasing, 174;—Witches of, send a remarkable present to Mary Queen of Scots, 61.
- Auchindoun, Laird of. See Gordoun.
- Auchingassill, Laird of, 185.
- AUSTRIA, EMPEROR of, Joannes, 235.
- Ayre, sheriff of. See Campbell;—town of, 69; General Assembly held, 81;—Lairds of Fife and Lothian warded there, 218, 233.

## B.

## BABINES, 10.

Baillie, Alexander, seizes 3 coffers of the Clerk Register's, worth L.1000, 119;—of Carfin, James younger, 43;—of Carnstoun (Tormestoun), William, forfeited, 185, 310;—of

Lamyntoun, Alex. III. See Lamyntoun;—of Littlegill, Alex., 310.

Balake, counsell of, 52.

Balcalquhen (Balcanquhall), Mr Walter, minister of Edinburgh, attends the Regent Mor-

- ton before his death, and on the scaffold, and attests his confession, 317 to 333.
- Balcone, bacon, found at the taking Dumbarton castle, 108.
- Balfour of Burlie (Sir Michael), 52;—Gilbert, forfeited, 185;—Harie, hurt in the head with a "spelise," or "spelch" (a splinter), and dies, 264;—of Pittendreich (President of the Court of Session, &c), Sir James, 9, 20, 25, 33, 39, 40, 47, 52, 110, 111, 125; reported to be taken prisoner, 180; forfeited, 185; is one of those named to treat for "the pacificatioun," 239; makes terms with Morton, 296; his conduct narrated, and charges against him, 301, *et seq*;—Robert, forfeited, 185.
- Balgavie, Laird of, 192.
- Ballat from the Captain of Edinburgh Castle, 86.
- Ballenden of Auchinowle, Sir John (Clerk of Justiciary), commissioner for the King in the treaty with the Hamiltons, 306, 308, 315.
- Bannatyne, Richard (Secretary to John Knox, the writer of these "Memoriales"), 94, 95; letter from him to Alexander Hay, 207, 210, 211; malicious report of his death, 216; and that Knox having raised the devil, he had "ran woude, and so died," *ib.*, 261; John Knox commands him "to gar make his kist" (coffin), 287; he calls on Knox to make a "signe" before his death, 289, 290.
- Bar, Laird of. See Glen. Lokhart.
- Barbarity, inhuman. See Cassillis.
- Barclay of that Ilk, George, forfeited, 185, 310.
- Barganye, Laird of, 63, 65; delivers the Abbot of Crossraguall, 69, 82, 118. See Kennedy.
- Barnbugall, young laird of, 233; the house garrisoned, and the laird sent in ward to Ayre, *ib.*
- Barrace (a barrier to fortify the castle of Edinburgh) erected at the Butter-trone, 114; another at the strate of the Wester boll (bow), 117, 124;—be-west the West-port (the old tournament-ground where duels, &c. were decided), 151, 154.
- Barse, "singill" and "dowbill," ordnance, 108.
- Bartenye falcones, wall-pieces, ordnance, 108.
- Bartholomew's day, massacre of Protestants, 265, *et seq.*
- Bassandyne, Thomas, printer, 243, 296.
- Bass, "the auld Craig," 6, 9.
- Battering-ram used, 71.
- Battards, or "batteris," ordnance for battering at sieges, wall-pieces, 108, 133.
- Baxter, Jamie, robberies committed by him, 119.
- Bell, the "commoun" or alarm, 71, &c.
- Bellman, 94.
- Belstane, Laird of, 43.
- Bennand, Laird of, 82.
- Berwick, Marshal of, ambassador from Queen Elizabeth, 4; returns home, *ib.* See Drewrie;—Under Marshal of, 177;—English commissioners to meet with the Scottish commissioners, to arrange controversies as to the crown, &c. 177. See Drewrie. Hunnisdoun;—Gunpowder sent to Edinburgh, 197.
- Beynstoun, Laird of. See Hepburne.
- Biggar, Lord Fleming carried there, in a litter, and dies, 264. See Fleming.
- Bishops termed "idle-belleis," 11.
- Bisquite breid (biscuit) found on taking Dumbarton castle, 108, 120.
- Black-freir-3aird, 123, 124;—wynd, cannon placed there to batter the Abbay, 177.
- Blackness, castle of, 117, betrayed to Queen's party for 800 crowns, 229; 22 soldiers taken prisoners and sent there, 231; composition for the recovery of, 297; Morton sends troops to besiege, *ib.*, 298.
- Black Voute of Dunvre, where the Abbot of Crossraguall was tormented, 66. See Cassillis.
- Blackwood, Laird of, 43.
- Blair of Atholl (the principal seat of the Earl of Atholl), 43;—Clerk, 12;—Mr Homere, his oration against St Leonard's College, St Andrews, 257, 260.
- Blairquhan, Laird of, 234.
- Blak Ormestoun, 239. See Ormestoun.
- Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women, by John Knox, 8, 100, 101.

- Blewcoate, used as a term of reproach, 91.
- Boghall, Laird of. See Fleming.
- Borders, expedition against the thieves, 2; invaded by Fernihirst, &c. 4; Carrham burnt, 26; Queen of England's proclamation, 33; Baron's castles destroyed by Earl of Sussex, for harbouring English rebel Lords, 51; thieves and broken men of, 239.
- Borrow-mure of Edinburgh, 133, 136, 214; Captain Hakkerstoun taken near Borrow-loche, *ib.*
- BOATHWICK, LORD (William 6th), 25; "inhumane handling and schamfull dealing with Thomas Davidsons, his owin guid-brother," 197;—of Colla, James, forfeited, 185; taken by laird of Carmichael, 192;—Mr David, 38, 41;—James, son to Michael, forfeited, 185; is seized at Kinghorn going to France, 187.
- BOTHWELL, EARL OF (James, afterwards Duke of Orkney &c.), statement by the Queen's party relative to, 28; 126; Mary's sonnets and letters to him, &c. published, 207; his divorces, 209; bishop of Dumblane's excuse for his marriage with the Queen, *ib.*; excepted from abstinence from hostilities, 239, 241, 244; his creation as Duke of Orkney, 300; his proposal to Morton to murder Darnley, 317, *et seq.*; acquitted by an assize, 319; bond subscribed by his partisans to support each other, *ib.*; his death, 338;—Provost of. See Hammiltoun.
- Bothwellhauch, Guidman of. See Hammiltoun.
- Boulton, Mary Queen of Scots there, 301.
- Bow, Edinburgh. See Nether-bow. Westerboll.
- Bowalling (embowelling) "deid corps," 336.
- Bowes, Mr, Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth, 322.
- Bowmen of Lady Crawford's, 212.
- BOYD, LOAN (Robert, 4th), 2, 18; a servant of his slays Gibbie (Hammiltoun), a soldier, *ib.*; tumult in Linlithgow, in consequence, 19; 20, 25, 38, 39, 43; attempts an accommodation with the Queen's party, 117, 120, 121; leaves Edinburgh, 124, 186; appointed a senator of College of Justice, 229; is one of those named to treat for "the pacification," 239; visits John Knox on his death-bed, 285; a commission for the King to treat with the Hammiltouns and Huntley, 306, 308, 315.
- Bradford's "treatise of the meditatione of death," used by Morton previous to his execution, 328; he presents it to Lady Ormiston, before his death, 329.
- Braid, 133, 135;—Laird of, 106; Captain Meluing's letter as to John Knox, 115; his reply, 116; gallantly repulses Captain Meluing's party, 135; visits John Knox in his last illness, 283; takes leave of him, 286.
- Braids-craigs, 133.
- Brand, Mr John, minister of St Cuthbert's, is charged, under the severest penalties, to pray for the Queen, 179; writes Lord Lindsay to save the Captain of Halyburton's life, 187; delivers a letter of Richard Bannatyne, 207; enters Edinburgh with those who had been banished the town, 247; the remarkable form of their entry, *ib.*; minister of the Abbay kirk, 316; visits Regent Morton before his decapitation, 330.
- Brasen-pieces ("or falcones"), ordnance, 133, 136.
- Brawad, a mock assault and defence of the Castle of Edinburgh, 91.
- Brechin, convention of the Queen's party there, 47, 50, 51; Robert Cunningham condemned for hanging of the "shuldartis" (soldiers) there, 176; an innkeeper and his wife murder their guests with "a mell" (mallet), "sleiping in thair beddis," 216;—"Remember on," a singular scuffle on streets of Edinburgh, 112;—place of, and steeple, 302.
- Breill, town of, taken, 232; images of saints, &c. destroyed by the Protestants, *ib.*
- Bricoll, Captain, an envoy from England, 193.
- Brochtie castle, or fort, 302.
- Broken men of the Hielandis, 239.
- Bruce, of Arthe, 177; his son Robert taken prisoner, *ib.*;—Captain, 175; is taken at Blackness, 297, 314.
- Brutes, brutis, reports, 152, 153, *et passim.*
- Bruscellis, Lord Seaton said to have procur-



- ed "money, men, and munitione," there, 207.
- Buccleuch, Laird of (Sir Walter Scott), protects Earl of Westmoreland, 3; rebels against Regent, *ib.*; raises fire in England, 4; enters into band with the Hammitouns, 18, 22; burns Carrham, in England, 26; 37; is invaded by the English army, 38, 48; arrives in Edinburgh, 141, 180; Earl of Morton surrenders himself to him, when the Hammitouns surprised Stirling, and shot the Regent Lennox, 184; his life saved by Morton, on being rescued *ib.*; fails to mediate between the parties, when Phernihert goes to burn Jedburgh, but is routed by Lord Ruthven, &c. 224.
- BUCHAN, LORD (Buquhane), 235.
- Buchanan, Mr George, pensioner of Crossraguall, 68; the printer's house searched for his "Camelione," 110.
- Burlie, Laird of. See Balfour.
- Burrio (Fr. *bourreau*), an executioner, 300.
- Busscheis and wachteris, Dutch vessels, 208.
- Bussyne, corporall, a Frenchman, 122.
- Butter-trone of Edinburgh, 114; a "barrace" erected there, for defence of the castle, *ib.*
- Byeris, place of, Lord Lindsay's, 6; pillaged by the Queen's party, 179. See Lindsay.
- C.
- CADER, Captain, shoots the Regent Lennox, in Stirling, 184; is killed in the pursuit, *ib.*; is said to have been commanded to do so by Huntley and Lord Claud Hamilton, 184; confesses it before his death, 186.
- Caen in Normandy, massacre of Protestants, 269.
- Cairns, John, minister of Edinburgh, interrupted in "ministering marriage and baptyisme," 117.
- Cairny (Murdo-cairny), Laird of, 185.
- Caise, Captain (see Cassa), an envoy from England, 193, 194; returns to Berwick, *ib.*; and to Edinburgh, with articles to submit to those of the Castle, 195; is sent to Leith by Lord Hunsdoun, 196, 216.
- CAITHNESS, BISHOP of (Robert Stewart, Prior of St Andrews, afterwards Earl of Lennox and Earl of March), 223, 252, 262, 263; visits John Knox on his death-bed, 286;—
- EARL of (George 4th), 25.
- Calleveris, a sort of musket, 108, 173, 174.
- Calvinists, 273. See Protestant.
- Camelione (by Geo. Buchanan), the printer's house searched for copies, 110.
- Camnethane, Laird of, 5.
- Campheir (Campvere), 232.
- Campione, a "kemp" or champion, 152, 155.
- Campbell Alexander (Captain), with his horsemen go north to aid the Forbeses, 212; they are routed, 213;—of Arkyntes, 18;—of Kyngencleuch, Robert, visits John Knox on his death-bed, 288; who leaves the care of his "wife and barnies" to him, *ib.*;—of Loudoun, Sir Matthew, Sheriff of Ayre, 2, 37, 186.
- Canno-crose, the cross of Canongate, Edinburgh, 113.
- Canno-mylnes, Edinburgh, 124.
- Cannones, "the grit" (Mons-Meg?), 123. See Battardis;—Falconis, &c.; 133.
- Caunone-feir, ordnance, 133.
- Canongate, parliament held there by Regent Lennox, 123, 125, 130, 133, 172, 175.
- Carbary-hill, taking of the Queen, 126.
- Carden, Laird of. See Forrester.
- Cardonall, Laird of, 63.
- Carey (Carie), Mr, Lord Hunsdoun's son, arrives at Leith, 216; goes to party in the castle, *ib.* See Hunsdoun.
- Carlauerocke, castle of, destroyed by the Earl of Sussex, 51.
- Carmichell, Captain, "dung fra his hors," 137; sent with a force to watch Blackness, 297;

- takes captain Bruce, *ib.*;—Mr James, minister, visits Regent Morton before his decapitation, 330;—Laird of, takes lady Phernilherst and her company of horsemen, 191; list of prisoners, *ib.*; the "auld" Laird taken prisoner by lord Claud Hammiltoun, 221;—Young Laird, Lethingtoun's letter to him, to be shewn to Regent Morton, 339; Morton's reply, 342.
- Carnall, Laird of, 82.
- Carnby, Laird of, 192.
- Carrail (Crail), minister of, 222.
- Carrham, in England, burnt by Fernilherst and Buccleuch, 26.
- Carrick, 69.
- Carrick, king of, a *sobriquet* of the Earl of Cassillis, 64.
- Cartells (challenges) between Laird of Grange and young Laird of Gairleis, 141 to 158; style of armour and of conducting the fight, 145, &c.
- Carthage, destruction of, cited, 10.
- Cassa, Mr, vnder merchell of Berwicke, 177. See Caise.
- CASSHALL, BISHOP of. See Irland Bishop.
- CASSILLIS, EARL of (Gilbert 4th), 17, 25; his barbarous cruelty to Mr Allan Stewart, abbot of Crossraguall, 63; the abbot's complaint to the Privy Council, 65; retaliation by the Laird of Bargany, 69; delivery of the abbot, &c., *ib.*; is sent prisoner to Dumbarton castle, 117; 186;—Master of, Thomas, 65, 69.
- Castellis parliament, the, 164.
- Castle-wynd, disastrous fire in Edinburgh, from it to Forrester's-wynd, 299.
- Caterenis (Gray), Lady, factione, 11.
- Cathcart of Carriltoun, John, 82;—LORD, Paisley delivered in keeping to him, 82.
- Challenge, between Apilgirth and Wormestoun, to fight 25 on each side, 178; between soldiers of Leith and the castle, 196, 217; to fight 50 on each side, 216; Anderson shot by some town soldiers, while "at singulare combate with an suddart of the toune," 217. See Garlies. Kirkaldy.
- Chantour of Murray, 96;—of Ros slain, 227.
- CHASTELHEAULT, DUKE of (James Earl of Arran, who formerly was Regent, during Queen Mary's minority), 2, 4, 5, 47; letter to him from the Earl of Huntlie, *ib.*, 52, 109; enters Edinburgh with horse and foot men, 117, 118, 119; interview with commissioners of General Assembly, 125, 134, 137, 141, 164, 179; forfeited, 185, 194, 306; wishes to be reconciled to Regent Morton before his decapitation, 331. See Hammiltoun.
- Chesoure, John, taken with his coffer, and the Queen's dowry from France, &c., 174.
- Child-birth ("jeasing"), "all the pyne" of, said to have been cast upon lady Reirres by the Countess of Atholl, when the Queen was lying in jeasing, 174.
- Chisme, Captain, goes out of Leith, to resist the invasion of Lord Adam Gordon, "who play's king Herrot in the north," 197; goes with 100 men, 212; is slain, 212.
- Clattie, Laird of, 178; two brothers, *ib.*
- CLAUD, LORD. See Hammiltoun;—Madame, king of France's sister, 208; her marriage to the Prince of Navarre, *ib.*
- Cleghorn, Laird of, 43.
- Cleland, of that ilk. See Kueland.
- Clerk, Alexander, 12.
- Clerk Register of Scotland. See M'Gill.
- Cliddesdail, the Hammiltouns retire from Lintlithgow to, 19; 300 or 400 men of, enter Stirling 183; the Regent shot, 184.
- Clyde, water of, 43.
- Cochneche (Cushno), Laird of. See Hammiltoun.
- Cockburn, John, arrives from Flanders with "kalliveris," gunpowder, and money, 173;—of Ormistoun (Sir John), his lady, Alice Sandilandis, 13, 329.
- Cocke, Mr John, baillie of St Andrews, 223.
- Coldinghame, Commendator, Prior of, son of Secretary Maitland, 113, 122; is forfeited in the Regent's parliament, 123, 164; is one of those who were named to treat for "the pacificatioun," 239.
- Coldingknowis, Laird of. See Home.

- Coligny, Admiral, his faction, 11, 208; his murder, 265.
- Collin, Laird of. See Borthwick.
- College of Justice, senators of, the spiritual estate to be nominated to vacant places, 316. See Session.
- Combate, *singulare*. See Duel.
- CONDIE, PRINCE of, he and the Princess forced to go to mass, after the massacre of Bartholomew's day, 269, 270;—Laird of (Spens), 168.
- Conference, pretended, between Regent Murray, Lord Lindsay, &c., 5; John Knox exposes it from the pulpit, 14.
- Confession on the scaffold of Mr John Kello, of the murder of his wife, 53; of the Regent Morton. See Mortoun, &c.
- Corsletis, 120; "of pruiife," 133, 136, 152, 174.
- Corstorphine, soldiers stationed there, 230;—Laird of, escapes, 232.
- Cousting, Mr Patrick (alias Adamsoun, afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews), preaches, 223.
- "Coup de jarret," 6.
- Countis, Captain, 47; hanged, 50.
- Cowbairdie, Laird of. See Murray.
- Cowgate-port, Edinburgh, 133.
- Cowhill, tower of, destroyed by the Earl of Sussex, 51. See Maxwell, &c.
- Cowpar in Fyffe (Cupar), minister of, 222; town, 257.
- Craig, "the auld" (the Bass), 6, 9;—Mr John, minister, 72, 75, 96, 118, 119, 121, 124, 125 to 132, 170, 253.
- Craigcaffie, Laird of, 82.
- Craigengait (Craingelt), near Edinburgh, trenches cast by the pioneris, 193; "singulare combate" (duel) there, 217.
- Craighall, soldiers stationed there, 230.
- Craigmillar, castle of, 113;—hill, Captain Mehuig blown up with gunpowder, 136; soldiers stationed there, 230;—Laird of, Symon, 163. See Prestoun.
- Cranstoun of Morstoun, John, forfeited, 185.
- CRAWFOOD, EARL of (David 9th), 19, 20, 25, 32, 39, 47; agreement with, 210;—LADY. See Towey;—of Jordanhill, Captain Thomas, takes the castle of Dumbarton in a remarkable manner, 104 to 108, 132, 149, 184; defeated by the Hammiltounes, 237;—Robert, called "gantilat," 314;—Thomas, cites Secretary Maitland, at Stirling, as being guilty of Darnley's murder, 1.
- Crawmond, 170.
- Creare, a kind of Highland boat or galley, 170.
- Creiche, Mr Patrick, readmitted to read prayers, 227.
- Crichtoun of Newhall, 192; Harie his son taken by Laird of Carmichael, *ib.*
- Crichtoun of Drylay, Alex., 71, 149; forfeited, 185.
- Crocke, Monsieur la. See La Crocke.
- Cross-guard of Edinburgh, ludicrous rencontre between them and the watches upon the steeple, 112.
- Crossraguall, Abbot of, barbarous treatment of him by the Earl of Cassillis, 63; complains to the Privy Council, 65; is delivered by the Laird of Bargany, 69.
- Crugleton, 140 or 160 men from France intended to be landed there, 227.
- Crytisone, Wm., minister of Dundee, 95; his letter concerning "the Irland Bischop," 234.
- Culan, Captain (James Cullen), 113, 123; takes all the sheep out of the park, 136; orders the foir stairs at Leith Wynd head, &c. to be taken down, 137, 170; taken prisoner in the Canongate, "hidd within a meit almerie," 172; is beheaded, 176; his heirs restored, 314.
- "Culbado," 6.
- Culrose, Laird of, 310.
- Culvering, a kind of musket, 71; gross culvering, 107, 174.
- Cunyngame, district of, 69;—of Caprintoun, Wm., 82;—of Drumquhaisell, takes castle of Dumbarton, 104 to 108. See Drumquhaisell;—James, his brother, brings dispatches to Regent Mar from Queen Elizabeth,

193 ; returns to England for men, money, &c. 194 ;—he arrives at Leith, 196 ;—Robert, condemned for burning Hammiltoun, &c., 176.

Cunnynghamheid, Laird of, 82.  
Cushno, Laird of, 135, 310, 314.  
Cypheris, letters written with, 230.

## D.

DAG, a short gun or pistol, 113, 191 ; Mr Robert Gordon accidentally killed, 232.  
Dakeris, Edward (of Morton), 32.  
Daling, Thomas, ensign to Capt. Ker, 314.  
Dalkethe, 37, 133 ; plot to burn, 136 ; Cartell by Laird of Grange challenging King's party, 141 ; acceptance by young Laird of Garlies, and subsequent cartells, &c., 142 to 158, 172, 192 ; 20 or 30 houses burnt by Queen's party, 224. See Mortoun.  
Dalquharran, Laird of, 82.  
Dalrymple, James, minister at Ayre, 99.  
Dalsersf, Laird of, 310.  
Dalzell of that ilk, Robert, 43 ;—of Kippie, Alex. 43.  
Darnley, Henry. See HENRY.  
Darsie, minister of, 222 ; Archbishop's visit to Darsie, 229.  
Davidson, Mr John, minister, visits Regent Morton before his decapitation, 330 ;—Thomas, "inhuman handling and shamefull dealing" of him, by Lord Borthwick, "his owin guid-brother," 197.  
David's tower, in Edinburgh castle, 123.  
Deacones of Craftsmen, punished for a riot "for staying of victuallis," 26.  
Deip (Dieppe), contribution therein payment of money borrowed from Queen Elizabeth, 5000 francs, 208.  
DENMARK, KING of, 11.  
Devil, report that John Knox had "raisit some sanctis, amonges whom thair come vp the devil with hornis !" 216.  
Donaldson, Peter, hanged for conspiring to betray Leith, 187.

Donoun, castle of, taken by Regent Lennox, 51.  
Doors, practice of affixing libels to Kirk and Assembly doors, 92, 93, 94, &c.  
Douglas, Mr Arch. parson of Douglas, 164 ; taken and sent prisoner to Stirling, 230 ; sends 4000 to castle of Edinr., *ib.* ; alleged conspiracy to murder Earl of Morton, *ib.* ; interest used for his pardon, 231 ; his part in Darnley's murder, 318, *et seq.* ; Regent Morton declines before his execution to criminate him, 331 ;—Charles, hanged, 303 ;—of Drumlanrig. See Drumlangrike ;—Mr John, Rector of St Andrews, made Archbishop, 178, &c. See St Androis ;—of Whittinghame, 190 ; Robert, his brother, "servand" (secretary?) to Lord Mortoun, 190 ; delivers the proclamation by the estates to Lethingtoun in Edinburgh castle, and dies (by poison?) within 2 or 3 hours after his return to Leith, *ib.*, 192.  
Doune, castle of, 117 ; Earl of Eglintoun warded there, *ib.* ;—Laird of, 51.  
Dover-raid, "schipis" there, 188.  
Dow-craig, near Edinburgh, 122, 124 ; a fort there, *ib.*  
Downy, John, his ship taken, with about 500 hagbuts and culverings for the Queen's party, 174 ; also Chessoures coffer, with Queen's dowry from France, 174.  
Draffan, castle of (belonging to Earl of Arran), 43.  
Dranyie, Laird of, 310.  
Dreghorne, Laird of. See Foulertoun.  
Drewrie, Sir Wm., Marshal of Berwick, ambas-

- sador from England, 4; Lieutenant to the Earl of Sussex' army, 41; takes castle of Hammiltoun and burns the palace, 43; sends a messenger to the Regent at Glasgow, 85; arrives at Dalkeith, 135; at Stirling, *ib.*; plot against his life, 136; his instructions, 171; strives for abstinence from hostilities between King and Queen's parties, 172; the under Marshal, 176, 211, 225, 226; goes from Leith to St Andrews, &c., and visits King at Stirling, 229; his wife arrives, "and held hous in Restalrig," 230; she intercedes for the Parson of Douglas, 231; Drury returns to Berwick, *ib.*; in Leith again, 235; tries to make peace, 237; abstinence from hostilities granted for two months, 240, 246;---the Queen's (dowry) out of France, 171; supposed to be seized with Chesoures coffer, 174.
- Drum, Laird of, attempts to rescue Lady Towey, when she and 24 persons were inhumanly smothered and burnt to death, in the house of Towey, under assurance, 212.
- Drumlangrike, Laird of, taken prisoner, 173; Wm. his son escapes, *ib.*; singular letter written to ascertain if his son was alive, and to save his purse, *ib.*; letter to him from John Knox, 236; visits Knox on his death-bed, 285;---Wm. younger, escapes from Laird of Wormestoun, 173; nearly takes Phernihurst, *ib.*
- Drumquhaisell, Laird of (Cunninghame), he and Captain Crawford take the castle of Dumbarton, 104; particulars, *ib.* to 108, 174; his brother, James, comes from England with letters to the Regent, 193.
- DRYBURGH, ABBOT of, accompanies Lord Ruthven to Jedburgh, when Phernihurst was routed and his houses taken, &c. 224; they return to Leith, *ib.*
- Drylay, Laird of. See Crichtoun.
- Drymmen, Morton meets Huntlie and Atholl there, 22.
- Duels. See Cartells; challenge between Campbell and Smyth, 196; another between two soldiers, 217.
- Duffois, parson of, 142.
- Dumbar, "conditiones of the randereng" of, 209; minister of, 222.
- Dumbarton, Regent rides to, 3; Viracke the French envoy received there, 26; taken prisoner, 105, 290;---Castle of, 9, 53; taken by the Regent, 104; the particulars of this remarkable transaction, 104, 106; inventory of the "mwnitione," 107; Lord Cassillis is sent to Dumbarton in ward, 117; Morton confined there, previous to his trial and execution, 328.
- DUMBLANE, the old BISHOP of (William Chisholme), 12; (William C. his nephew) his excuses for the Queen's marriage to Bothwell, 209.
- Dumbucke, hill of, 105, 106.
- Dumfries, in Murray, 313.
- Dumfries, castle of, destroyed by Earl of Sussex, 51.
- Dunce, minister of, 222.
- Dundas, Laird of, 232, 233;---place of, plot to take, 232; hagbutters put into it by the Regent, 233.
- Dundee, 48; soldiers sent to, 137; master of Forbes raises soldiers to resist Lord Adam Gordon, "who playis King Herrot in the north," 197, 212; the Master is taken prisoner and his force defeated, 213; arrival of the "Irland Bischope," 234; is warded, 253; ---Minister of, 96; his letter concerning "the Irland bischope," 234. See Halyburton.
- DUNFERMLING, COMMENDATOR of. See Pitcairn;---Kirk of, 73;---Minister of, 96, 222; ---town of, 70, 73.
- DUNKELD, mass said there, 278;---Bishop of (Robert Crichtoun), forfeited, 185.
- Dunn, Laird of. See Erskine.
- Dunvre, house of, barbarous cruelties inflicted on the Abbot of Crossragull by the Earl of Cassillis, 63, &c. See Cassillis;---Black Voute of, 66.
- Durie, John, exhortare in Leith, 247; he attends Regent Morton before his death, and on the scaffold, and attests his confession, 317 to 333.

Dury of that ilk, 73; George, his brother, 70,  
73; Lowry, his brother, 73.  
Dutche Hannis, the gunner, 221.

"Dyrt vpon your teithe," used as expressive  
of reproach, 91.  
Dysert, minister of, 222.

## E.

## EAST PORT OF EDINBURGH, 119.

Edinburgh, gates of shut on Fernherst and  
Bucclench, 3; riot for staying of victuals,  
27; proclamation for the nobility of both  
factions to remove from, 39; the prison  
forced by the Laird of Grange, and a homi-  
cide liberated, 71, &c.; singular rencontre  
on street between the watches upon the steeple  
and the cross-guard, 112; Regent pro-  
claims that all should join the King's stand-  
ard, 113; his troops repulse Huntley's, and  
drive them into the Kirk of Field port; Tol-  
booth and Council house entered by Queen's  
party, 117; they spoil the Regent's lodging,  
*ib.*; the ports of the town reinforced, 118;  
all the ports closed, except the East and  
West ports, 119; King's party ordered to  
leave town, 120; they attempt to force en-  
trance at the Nether-bow, 122; hostile pre-  
parations, &c., 123; Cowgate-port, 133; an  
attempt to assault the Abbay fails, 175;  
skirmishing, 177; again between Edinburgh  
and Leith, 179; proclamations to be-  
siege the town, 188; another by the states  
of parliament to all persons remaining in the  
burgh and castle, *ib.*; trenches are cast at  
West-port and Craigenгаite, 193; duel be-  
tween Campbell and Smyth, 196; skirmish-  
ing about the Borrow-mure, when Captain  
Hakkerstoun was taken, 214; aggressions  
by people of the castle, *ib.*; 10 or 12 score  
of citizens summoned to "underly the law,"  
at Leith, for favouring castle, 218; skirmish-  
ing, 229; they burn two of Lord Morton's  
granges, 230; the mills broken to prevent  
supply of victual to town and castle, *ib.*; 5000

crowns sent from Flanders, *ib.*; retaliations,  
&c., *ib.*; 231; sally to take the Lord Claud,  
*ib.*; a drum is sent to Leith, "desyring that  
fair weiris may be visit," 232; burn "lauche  
houssis" of Merchinstoun, 234; dearth of  
provisions and firing, *ib.*; houses demolished  
to procure fuel, *ib.*; a dead horse brought  
into town for food, 235; 12 or 13 French  
soldiers desert from the Regent Mar and join  
those in the castle, 237; heads of articles  
for pacification, 238; form of the abstinence  
from hostilities granted for two months,  
240; those who had been banished from  
Edinr. return, 246; form of their entry, 247;  
"band and league" between them, *ib.*;  
their bill to the "sessione," 274; declaration  
how matters proceeded during the absti-  
nence, 290 to 296; expiry of the absti-  
nence, 296; disastrous fire, destroying all  
from the Castle wynd to Forrester's wynd,  
299; the castle guns discharged the whole  
time, and the citizens pillaged by the sol-  
diery, *ib.*; oppression of the King's parti-  
zans, 303; castle of, 3, 70; ballat from the  
Captain, "compleaining as he lay vpon the  
craig," 86; a "brawd" or mock skirmish  
of attack and defence, 91; a trench is cast, and  
measures taken to prevent scaling the walls,  
112; gabions filled, *ib.*; the "barrace" be-  
gun above the Butter-trone, for defence of  
the castle, 114; the Captain's proclamation,  
*ib.*; another "barrace" made at the "strate"  
of the Wester boll (bow), 117; David's  
tower, 123; proclamation that none take  
part with the rebels in the castle, 159;  
bond betwixt them and the town of Edin.,

- 163; a parliament held in the tolbooth, called "the Castellis parliament," 164; Duke of Norfolk's secretary taken at Newcastle, bringing 25,000 crowns to the castle, 187; proposal to place the castle in the hands of the French, *ib.*; a proclamation by the estates of parliament to all persons in the burgh and castle, 188; 211; Mr Carey admitted to a conference, 216; 50 men of Leith offer to fight 50 of the castle, *ib.*; 20 or 30 Lairds of Lothian and Fife warded for favouring the castle, 218; Lord Meffane (Methven) slain, 227; skirmishing, 229;---mills of, broken by Regent's party, 230;---Ministers of. See Knox, &c., 72, 75, 96; petition to examine collector's accounts, 190, 222; take leave of John Knox before his death, 285;---Provost of. See Kirkcaldy, Prestoun, &c.
- EGLINTOUN, EARL OF (Hugh 3d), 25; is sent prisoner to Doune castle, 117; mass said at Eglintoun, 278.
- Eglisgreig, minister of, 223.
- Eksame (Hexham), near the Tyne, Northumberland, 2.
- Elgyne, minister of, 215.
- ELIZABETH, QUEEN, sends ambassadors, 4; again, 17, 19; letter addressed to her by the Queen's Lords, 23; plots by her rebel Lords who took refuge in Scotland, 2, 3, 32; her declaration, 34; her letter to Earl of Sussex, 44; he destroys castles of Border barons, for succouring her rebels, 51; commissioners sent by King's party, 82; her answer, 83; letter from her, 84; sends Harringtoun, 85; instructions to the marshal of Berwick, 171; Norfolk's conspiracy, 187; his secretary taken at Newcastle bringing 25,000 crowns to castle of Edinburgh, 187; sends letters to the Regent, 193; appoints Lord Hunnisdown, governor of Berwick, to act on her part, 194; articles submitted to those of the castle of Edinburgh, 195; sends Mr Carey, 216; Randolph and Drurie arrive, 226; sends an embassy to France, 227, which delays embarkation of troops for Scotland, 227; her ambassadors go from Leith to St Andrews, &c., and visit the King in Stirling, 229; they return to Berwick, 231; return to Leith, 235; they effect a pacification for two months, 240; form of the treaty, 240; in case of difference, reference made to Queen Elizabeth and King of France, as umpires, 244; was Morton her pensioner? 321, 322; she writes Morton, *ib.*; as does Mr Bowes, 322; alleged intentions of her marrying with France, to unite the two crowns of England and France, 325.
- Elphinstoun, Laird of, 115.
- England, ambassadors from, 4, 17, &c. See Elizabeth.
- English army enter Scotland, 38; arrive in Edinburgh, 40; they take castle and burn palace of Hammiltoun, 43; gunpowder sent to Edinburgh, 197;---rebels succoured in Scotland, 2, 3, 32; conveyed to Leith, *ib.*; the Queen of England's declaration, 33; castles and towers of Border barons overthrown, for harbouring the English rebels, 51.
- Ernocke, Laird of (Robertoun), 43, 192.
- ERROLL, EARL OF (Andrew 7th), 25.
- Erskine of Dunn, Mr John, superintendent of Angus and Mernes, 95; his letter to Regent Mar as to poor estate of the ministers, 197; again, 203; Regent's reply, 204, 213, continued in his office, 228, 252;---Alexander, (parson of Monybreck), brother of Earl of Mar, 15.
- Evan, brig of, 302.
- Erismen (Western Highlanders, but not denoting natives of Ireland), "graceless garrison" of, 32.

## F.

- FADOWNSYDE, Laird of, 149.
- Fairlie of Braid. See Braid;---Mungo, keeper of the West-port, 111.
- Falcones, ordnance, 108; Bartenyie falcones and quarter falcones, *ib.*; of brass, 136; a dowbill falcon, "baptized Knox," burst, and killed and wounded several, 175.
- Falkirk, proposed meeting of the Hammiltouns at, 18.
- Falsyde, belonging to Laird of Abbotshall, 174.
- Feg, to call "a feg a feg, and a spead, a spead," 97.
- Fergusoune (Fergusell), Cuthbert, 134; slain at the siege of Edinburgh, 195. See Forgesone.
- Fernihirst, Laird of. See Ker.
- Fettercarne, minister of, 222.
- Fife, superintendent of, 213, 223; inaugurates the Archibishop of St Andrews, *ib.*;---country of, 302.
- Fire, a disastrous one in Edinburgh, when all from the Castle Wynd to Forrester's Wynd was consumed, 299.
- Fisch-mercate, "Madie in our," 27, 51.
- Flanders, "pincke" arrives from, 51; envoys return to Duke d'Alva, 52; ship arrives with "kalliveris," gunpowder, and money, 173, 207; Prince of Orange, &c. on the frontiers, 208; 5000 crowns sent to Edinr. Castle, 230; Bishop of Cashall warded, when, as an emissary of the Pope, he professed to "visit the scholes," 235.
- FLEMING, LORD (John 5th), Great Chamberlain and Governor of Dumbarton Castle, 9, 18, 25; escorts Viracke the French ambassador to Niddry, 26; brings Earl of Westmoreland from Dumbarton to Linlithgow, 32; counsels the taking of Glasgow castle, 40; called "the goat of the giteane horne," 104; escapes in a boat at the taking of Dumbarton Castle, *ib.*; raises 500 men in France, 227; their embarkation delayed, *ib.*; accidentally wounded, 237; is carried in a litter to Biggar, and dies, 264;---LADY, liberated, after taking the castle of Dumbarton, with her plate, &c., 106;---of Boghall, taken prisoner at taking of Dumbarton Castle, 104; is sent to Blackness, 117.
- Flisck, parson of, 122.
- Foot-ball, the match at, when Huntly died suddenly (by poison?), 333, 334, *et seq.*
- Flushing, 232.
- FORBES, ARTHUR, brother to Lord Forbes, slain, 194;---LORD (William 7th), 25, 26; his brother Arthur slain, 194; William his son slain, *ib.*;---LADY, searched for by Lord Adam Gordon, to put her to death, 213;---MASTER OF, raises troops in Dundee, &c. to resist invasion of Lord Adam Gordon, "who plays King Herrot in the north," 197; his forces advance, and are defeated, 212; he is taken prisoner, 213, 293; stipulated to be set at liberty, 308.
- Forbeses, invaded by 1000 Gordons, and put to flight, 194; Arthur, Lord Forbes's brother, slain, *ib.*; threatened with fire and sword by the Gordons, 197; raise troops, *ib.*; and are again defeated, 212, 213.
- Forester (Forest) of Carden, David, called "the general" (of the mint), 13, 164;---of Corstorphine. See Corstorphine.
- Forgesone, Mr David, minister at Dunfermling, 96; visits Regent Morton before his decapitation, 330.
- Forgone, in Mearnes, minister of, 223;---Long, minister of, 223.
- Forrester's Wynd, destructive fire in Edinburgh, from the Castle Wynd to, 299.
- Foulertoun, Adam, commissioner for the kirk of Edinburgh, 96;---of Dreghorne, John, 82.
- Fowles of Brownside, Thomas, 43.



- Fox, John, his "Leges ecclesiasticæ Anglicanæ," 208.
- France, 11; assistance sought for restoring the Queen, 22; about 500 hagbuts and culverings, remittance of the Queen's "drewrie," &c. captured, 174; another ship taken with arms and money, *ib.*
- FRANCE, KING of, sends Mons. Viracke as his ambassador to the Queen's Lords, 26; again, 53; proposal to place castle of Edinburgh in hands of the French, 187; Viracke's servant taken with dispatches to the King, to send 200 hagbutters, &c., 191, 193; marriage of his sister, Madame Claud, to Prince of Navarre, 208; Mons. La Crocke sent, 225; embassy from Q. Eliz. 227; form of the abstinence from hostilities at length granted, 240; is named umpire with Q. Eliz., 244, 293, 295; murder of Admiral Coligny, and massacre of St Bartholomew's, 265, *et seq.*
- Fraser. See Frissall.
- French suture, the, 220;—smyth (Guilliam), *ib.*;—soldiers, 12 or 13 desert from Regent Mar, 237.
- Frissall (Fraser), Mr Duncan, chantour of Ros, slain, 227.
- Fuel, great dearth of, in Edinburgh, 234; houses are demolished to procure, *ib.*

## G.

- GABIONS, erected for defence of Edinburgh castle, 122, 123.
- Gairdein, Mr Gilbert, minister at Mootho, 96.
- Gairleis, Laird of. See Stewart.
- Gaitis, Sir Harie, ambassador from England, 3.
- Galloway, 69.
- GALLOWAY, BISHOP of (Alex. Gordon), 138; his extraordinary "preiching" in Edinr., *ib.* &c., 172; forfeited, 185; Alexr. 310. See Athenis.
- Gallowley of Edinr., 145, 150, 177; meeting proposed to be held there, for the "pacificatioun," 239.
- Gantilat. See Crawford.
- Gantilotis, gauntlets, 152.
- Garne, Laird of, 310.
- Garthlie, 165; taken prisoner, 177.
- GERMANY, PRINCES of, 208. See Alman; persecution of the Protestants, 267, 268, *et seq.*
- Gibbie (Hammiltoun), slain by a Boyd, 18.
- Gibson, captain of the steeple (of St Giles), 122;—Geo., clerk of Session, 123.
- Glaikis, "get the," 89.
- GLAMMIS, LORD (John), 308.
- Glasgow, meeting of the Hammiltoun's faction at, 18; march of the English army thither, 41; return after taking castle and burning palace of Hammiltoun, 43, 62; Regent gets dispatches from Queen Eliz., 85; he leaves it for Dumbarton castle, which is taken, 104 to 108;—castle of, assaulted by the Hammiltouns, 40; betrayed, 134.
- Glasgow, articles, in March 1561, 209.
- Glen of the Bar, James, to be set at liberty, 308, 310; William his son, *ib.*
- GLENCAIRNE, EARL of (Alex. 5th, "the good Earl)," 19; is beset by the Hammiltouns, 38, 41, 82; made prisoner in Stirling by the Hammiltouns, when the Regent was shot, 184, 235; visits John Knox on his death-bed, 286.
- "Goat of the giltene horne," a *sobriquet* of Lord Fleming, 104.
- God and the King! a slogan, 105.
- God and the Queine! a slogan, 184.
- Gogeis, 11. See Gogy.
- "Gogy Lairdis," 6. See Gogeis.
- GOANON, LORD ADAM, 52; forfeited, 185; invades the Forbeses, 194; puts them to flight, *ib.*; "playis King Herrot in the North!" 197; inhumanly burns house of Towey with twenty-four persons, and routs the Forbeses, 212, 213; Master of Forbes taken prisoner,

- 213; present when Huntly dies (by poison?) at the match of foot-ball, 333;---of Auchindoun, Adam, 214, 308;---Mr John, taken prisoner, 177;---of Lochinvar. See Lochinvar;---Lord, 338; the "King like to breck his hart for greiting" at his not being sent to court, 338;---Patrick, brother of Earl of Huntly, 334, *et seq.*;---Mr Robert, Earl of Huntlie's brother, killed, 232.
- Gordons, put the Forbese to the rout, at Tullieangus, 194; Lord Adam "playis King Herrot" in the north, 197; they again defeat the Forbese, 212, 213.
- Goslintoun, Laird of, 310.
- Gowrie, kirk of, 203. See Ruthven.
- GRAHAME, MASTER OF, 289.
- Grange, Laird of. See Kirkcaldy.
- Grant, Laird of, agreement with, 210; the auld Laird, 333.
- Grantoun-craigs, near Edinr., 50; "hagbut-teris" embark for Aberdeen, 196.
- GRAY, LADY Catharine, her "factione," 11;---John, scribe, 96;---LORD (Patrick 5th), 25.
- Greek Testament, 218.
- Grypacia (Xenophon's Cyropædia) quoted, 10.
- Guidman, Mr Christopher, letter to John Knox against Regent Murray's murder, 21, 258; his successor was Mr Robert Hammiltoun, *ib.*
- Guilliam, the French smyth, 220.
- Gurley (Gourlay), Robert, servant (secretary?) to the Duke of Hammiltoun, forfeited, 186.

## H

- HACQUEBUTES (hagbuts) of fownd, small ordnance, wall-pieces, 108, 174.
- Hacquebutteris, 113, 124, 132, 134, 176, 177, 191, 196, 213.
- Hacquet, Mr Geo., sends 5000 crowns from Flanders to Edinburgh castle, 230; parson of Douglas is sent to Stirling for transmitting them, *ib.*
- Haddingtoun, the minister of, 222; a deposed reader restored to read prayers, 227.
- Haggartanis craft, before the castle of Edinburgh, 119; Morton's soldier's ride there, and defy the Queen's party, 119; skirmishing, 177.
- Hakkarstoun (Haggartoun), Captain, 133; taken, 136; taken again with 50 soldiers, 213; near the Borrow-loche, 214.
- Haltoun, Laird of, 96.
- Halyburtoun, James, Captain, of that ilk (Provost of Dundee, and Commendator of Pittenweem), his life saved by Lord Lindsay when under sentence of death, 187; his letter, 187.
- Halyrudhouse, Lord Seaton assembles his force there, 38, 159; attempt to assant the abbay fails, 175; cannon placed at Blackfreir-wynd to batter the abbay, 177; ambush when Captain Hakkerstoun taken, 214; treason detected to betray the abbay, 231; the traitor hanged by Captain Mitchell, 231; bishop of Orkney made abbot, 296; minister of the abbay kirk, 316.
- Hammiltoun, Mr Alexander, vicar of Kilburny, forfeited, 186;---Mr Archibald, 226, 262; his protestation against John Knox, 263;---of Bothwellhauch, James, murders the Regent Murray, 4, seen in Paris, 112, 237, 241, 244, 247;---in Burnbray, James, 310;---castle and palace of, the castle assaulted and taken by Sir William Drewrie, 43; palace spoiled and burnt, 43; part of the Regent's troops there, 62, 134, 168; Robert Cuninghame condemned for burning Hammiltoun, &c., 176; proclamation "at the incuming of the Englismen" to, 210;---LORD CLAUD, Commendator of Paisley, 109; takes a boy of Earl of Mar with clothes, &c., 109; is received into Edinburgh castle, 111, 117, 118, 119, 122, 133, 134; returns with Lord Semple, 136, 137, 141, 164; is said to have

- given orders to shoot Regent Lennox, 184, 186; murders the Laird of Wasterhall, and takes auld Carmichael prisoner, 221; sally from Leith to take Lord Claud, 231; fails in an attempt to surprise Kilsythe, 233, 306, 310;—of Cochrane (Cushno), 135; Andro, 310; Archibald and Andro “brether sonnes to,” 310; his heirs to be restored, 314; John his son, 314;—of Culrose, John, 310; of Dalsersf, Robert younger, 310;—of Drauyie, John, 310; John his brother, 310; family of, 4, 10;—of Garne, Robert, 310;—Gavin, Abbot of Kilwinning. See Kilwinning;—of Goslintoun, Sir Alexander, 310;—of Inchemachan, Robert, 109;—of Inverweike, Alexander, 309;—Sir James, 2, 18, 37, 179;—Lord JOHN, Commendator of Arbroath. See Aberbrothock;—John, Provost of Bothwell, 241, 244;—John, confidential servant of the Earl of Huntley, 335, *et seq.*;—Mr John, called “the skirmeisher,” 51;—of Kilbwo, John (Lieutenant to Captain Bruce), forfeited, 185, 314;—of Leckprevicke, Alexander, 310; of Lethame, Andro, 43;—of Marktounmaives, James, 310, ---of Meritoun, Arthur, 109, 111; denies entry to Regent Lennox into Edinburgh, 120; run through with a spear, 125, 310;—of Milkesland, Mr James, 310; Mr Archibald, his brother, 310;—of Muirhouse, Robert, 42;—of Netherfield, Alexander, 310; of Peill, Mr James, 42;—of Priestfield, John, forfeited, 186; Thomas, 310;—Mr Robert, 226; chosen Moderator of General Assembly, 227, 229; preaches in St Andrews in favour of the Hammiltounes, 256; succeeded Mr C. Guidman, 258;—Robert, cutlare, taken by Laird of Carmichael, 192;—of Roploche, Gavin, 310;—of Ruichbanke, James, 310;—of Sproustoun, James, 310; of Stenhouse, 112; John, 310;—the wood of, skirmishing there, 237;—of Woodhall, James, 309.
- Hammiltounes, faction of the, 2, 4, 5, 16; enter into mutual bond, 18; convocation at Glasgow, 18; their proclamation as causes of convening of the nobility, 27, 37; leave Edinburgh for Linlithgow, 38; assault Castle of Glasgow, 41; take Paisley from Lord Sempill, 82; it is retaken by Regent and delivered to Lord Cathcart, 82; they return to Edinburgh, 117, and plunder the citizens, &c. 119; commissioners from them attend Morton's first parliament, 296; convocation at Perth, 296; the Regent goes there to treat with them, 305; the treaty, 305; their forces stipulated to be disbanded, 309.
- Hampton Court, 36, 85.
- Hannibal, his example cited, 10.
- Hannow, the Counte of, 268.
- Hannis, Dutche, the gunner, 221.
- Hardheidis, a coin, 139.
- Harlaw, William, minister, charged to pray for the Queen in St Cuthbert's kirk, 179; relieves Captain Lambie, 180.
- Harlaw-wood, Duke of Northumberland taken prisoner by Eckie Armstrang, there, 2.
- Harrington, is sent as an envoy from Queen Elizabeth, 85.
- Hartispoile (Hartlepool), 2.
- Hawick (Hayke, Haik), town of, 224.
- Hawking, 6, 178.
- Hay, Alexander, his letter from Leith, 207; another, 210;—Mr Andro, 132;—Mr George, moderator of the Assembly, 95;—of YESTER, LORD (William 5th), 25.
- Heill waige, 6.
- HENRY, KING (Darnley), 1; Queen Mary accused of his murder, 1; his late secretary drowned, 3; his murderers to be pursued, 42, 56; Regent Morton's confession before his death and on the scaffold, 317 to 332. See Mary, &c.
- HERRIES LORD (John, 4th), 2, 10, 25; set at liberty, 32, 33, 37, 38, 48, 51; arrives in Edinburgh, 110; returns home, 110; in Edinburgh, 124, 132, 133; departs, 134; in Edinburgh, 138, 173; in Edinburgh, 224; goes to Leith to the Regent, and fails in his mediation between the parties, 225.
- Hepburn, of Beynstoun, Patrick, 239, 241, 244;—Mr John, chantour of Murray, 96;—Robert, 137;—of Wauchtoun, 324.
- Hepburnes, accused of murder of Darnley, 61.

- Herrot (Herod), King, playing, 197.
- Hielandis and Bordouris, thieves and broken men of, 239.
- Hoastlare (innkeeper) and his wife systematically murder their guests "sleiping in their beddis, with a mell" (mallet), 216.
- Hoddom. See Howdome.
- Hogheidis of hisquite breid, 108.
- Home, Captain, at taking of Dumbarton castle, 105; 12 or 13 of his French soldiers desert from Regent Mar, 237; ---Captain, Alexander, 1, 132; ---Captain, David, 173, loses the place of Lethingtoun, 229; it is retaken by Lord Lindsay, 229; ---Captain, Patrick, leader of the Regent Mar's horsemen, slain, 237; ---castle of, taken by the English, 38; of Coldingknowis, 178; ---LADY, 216; ---LOAD (Alexander 5th), 2; rebels against the Regent, 3, 10, 15, 19, 25, 32, 38, 71, 110; is repulsed by some of Regent's troops, 113, 122, 141, 164; is taken prisoner by the Regent's troops, 172; his servant taken by Laird of Carmichael, 192; is one of those named to treat for the "pacificatioun," 239.
- Honouris. See Regalia.
- House of the Muir, 180.
- Howdome (Hoddon), castle of, destroyed by Earl of Sussex, 51.
- Hugonotes, 273. See Protestants.
- Humfrie, Dr Lawrence (professor of divinity and head of one of the colleges, Oxford), writes John Knox as to murder of Regent Murray, 21.
- HUNNISDOUN, LORD (Hunnisdail, Hunsdon, Henry Carey, 1st), governor of Berwick, to be authorised by Queen Elizabeth to act on her part, 194; returns to the English court, 195; is at Stamford, and sends back the Scottish envoy, 196; arrives at Berwick, 196; interview with Morton there, 206, 207, 210; his son, Mr Carey, arrives in Leith, 216.
- HUNTLEY, EARL OF (George 5th), 2, 10, 19, 20, 22, 25, 31, 38, 39, 47; letter from him to the Duke, 47, 52; arrives in Edinburgh, 110; rides on Leith sands, 110; follows some of the Regent's forces but is repulsed, 113; he, with Queen's party, pierce the roof of St Giles' kirk, to "schoutie whome thai pleise," 118, 122, 123, 127, 137, 141, 164, 179; is said to have given orders to shoot Regent Lennox, 184, 186; forfeited, 185; siezes the Captain of Halyburtoun, who is relieved by Lord Lindsay, 187, 191, 194; sends 50 "hagbutteris" to Aberdeen, 196; agreement with, 210; his brother Robert killed accidentally, 232; is one of those named to treat for the "pacificatioun," 239, 293; commissioner to Morton's first parliament, 296, 302; Regent meets them in Perth, 305; the treaty, 305, *et seq.*; to disband his soldiers, 309, 313; the manner of his death narrated, from 333 to 338.
- I.
- IBLE-belleis, the bishops so termed, 11.
- Images, Prince of Orange's troops destroy them on taking of Breill, 232.
- Inchmachane, Laird of, 109.
- Inglis, James, taken, 111; is restored to liberty, 112; ---of Murdochstoun, Thomas, 42.
- INNERMEATH, LORD (John 6th, afterwards created Earl of Atholl, 1594), 25.
- Innerweike, Laird of, 309.
- "Insomniun," a pasquill on the election of Mr John Douglas, as Archbishop of St Andrews, 225.
- Invasion of England with fire and sword by Buccleuch and Fernherst, 4; Carrham burnt, 26; Queen of England's declaration as to her rebels succoured in Scotland, 34.
- Inventar of mwnitione in Dumbarton castle, on its being taken, April 2, 1571, 107.
- Irland bischop (Bishop of Cashall), 234; arrives in Dundee from Ireland "to visite the

scholes," 234; plot to introduce Popery, 235; put in ward in St Andrews, 235; is sent for by Queen Elizabeth, 235; he escapes from the castle, "out at a window," &c., 249.

Irving of Drum. See Drum.  
Irwing (Irvine), Lairds of Lothian and Fifie, warded there, 218.  
Italian craft (poisoning), 190.

## J.

JACK, mail, 145, 150, 152.

Jacquesta, secretary to Darnley, 3; is drowned, 3.

Jail of Edinburgh forced by Laird of Grange, and a homicide liberated, 71, &c.

Jeasing, lying-in, childbed, 174; Countess of Atholl is accused of relieving the Queen by casting "all the pyne of child-birth" upon the Lady Reirres, 174.

JAMES VI, KING, 8, 9, 18, 19, 21, 27, 44, 47, 53; Queen Elizabeth's letter as to settlement of disputes of the nobility, &c., 83; proclamation that none take part with the rebels in Edinburgh castle, 159; security demanded for his safe custody by Earl of Mar, 172; opens the parliament in Stirling, 178; his speech, 178; "luiking vp aboute his heid," he exclaims, "Thair is ane hole in this parliament!" 185; Earl of Mar chosen regent, 185; ceremony of King's touching with sceptre, to ratify proceedings of the parliament, 186; proclamation by the estates to all persons remaining in the burgh and castle of Edinburgh, 188; letters from Queen Elizabeth, 193; proclamation after massacre of Bartholomew's day, to prevent Popish

conspiracies, &c., 271; death of Regent Mar, October 29, 1572, 279; Morton chosen at the convention in Stirling, November 24, 280; John Knox dies the same day, 280; plot to carry him to England, 321; to keep him captive in Stirling castle, 322; he is "lyke to breck his hart for greiting," at Lord Gordon not being sent to him, 338. See Chastelherault, Lennox, Mar, Mary, Mortoun, Murray, Parliament, &c.

Jedburcht, Provost of, caused a pursuivant to "eat his letteris, and thairefir lowsit downe his poyntis, and gave him his wages vpon his bair buttockis with a bridle," &c., 177, 179; Pherniherst goes to burn it, but is routed, 224; his houses taken and manned, 224.

Jerreswood, Laird of, 43.

Johnstoun, Edward, servant to Lord Home, taken by Laird of Carnichael, 192;—John, scribe, commissioner for the kirk at Edinburgh, 254.

Jonat, corporall, "ensinggie," to Captain Wauchope, 314.

Jardine of Applegirth, 173, 178.

## K.

KALLIVERIS. See Calliveris.

Kavert, Laird of, forfeited, 186.

Kello, Mr John, minister of Spott, murders his wife, 53; his remarkable Confession on the scaffold, *ib.*; his execution, 60.

Kennedy of Barganye, 63, 65, 69, 82, 118;—of Bennand, Hew, 82;—of Blairquhan, his horse killed, 234;—of Dalquharan, Gilbert, 82;—of Lamby, Thomas, 82. See Cassillis, Crossraguall.

Ker of Fadownsyde, Andro, 149;—of Kavert, Thomas, forfeited, 186;—Mark, Commendator of Newbottell, 308;—of Fernihurst (Fernihurst), Sir Thomas, protects the Earl of Westmoreland, 3; and rebel against the Regent, *ib.*; raises fire in England, 4, 10; enters into bond with the Hammiltounes, 18, 22; burns Carrham in England, 26, 37; is invaded by English army, 38, 48; returns to Edinburgh, 121; takes some of Regent's horses "at the garse," 123, 133; departs from Edinburgh, 134; returns, 141, 165; narrowly escapes being taken prisoner, 173, 175, 177, 180; forfeited, 185; his wife taken by Laird of Carmichael, 191; goes to burn Jedburgh, 224; he is routed and his houses taken and garrisoned, *ib.*; Buccleuch fails to mediate between the parties, *ib.*, 237;—Captain Thomas, 314.

Kilbowy, Laird of, 185, 314.

Kilbuffe (Kilbuith), near Rouen, massacre of Protestants in Normandy, 268, *et seq.*

Kilburny, vicar of, forfeited, 186.

Killgrave (Killigrew), Mr Henry, the English ambassador, arrives, 265, 267, 274, 276; is present, at Perth, at the treaty between the King's party and Huntley and the Hammiltounes, 306.

Kilsythe, place of, Lord Claud and the Hammiltounes fail in an attempt to surprise, 233.

KILWINNING, ABBOT of (Mr Gavin Hammiltoun), 2, 5, 14, 15, 52, 112, 113, 118, 122; he and his son are forfeited by Regent's parliament, 123, 134, 137, 164; taken prisoner and dies after he reached Leith, 172; his heirs to be restored, 314.

King, Alexander, advocate, 220;—of Carrick See Cassillis.

Kingair (Kinnoquhor), minister of, 223.

King's Lords, 41; go to Stirling with Earl of Lennox, 43; send Commissioners to England, 82, &c. See James, Lennox, Mar, Mortoun, &c.

Kinhilt, Laird of, 192.

Kinghorne, two persons going to France with dispatches seized there, 187; minister of, 222.

Kingeancluch, Laird of. See Campbell.

Kirk. See General Assembly.

Kirkcaldy of Grange, Sir William, knight, Captain of Edinburgh Castle, 1, 2; resets Fernihurst, 3, 11, 22, 33, 37, 70; forces the prison and liberates a homicide, 71; John Knox denounces him from the pulpit, *ib.*, 74; his letter to Mr John Craig, minister, 72; complains against John Knox to the Kirk Session of Edinburgh, 73; Knox's answer from the pulpit, 76; in writing, 77; new complaint to the Session, 79; letter from the Brethren in the West, 81; his proclamation to inhabitants of Edinburgh, 114; prepares his defences for the castle, *ib.* &c.; his Cartell or Challenge sent to Dalkeith, 141; answer by Alexander Stewart, younger of Garleis, 142; the subsequent Challenges, *ib.* to 158; proclamation against him and the other rebels in the castle, 159; his protest against it, 161; bond betwixt the castle and town, 163, 171; forfeited, 185, 230; John Knox's conduct towards him on his death.

- bed, 284;—John, slain by George Durie, 70; tumult in consequence, 71, 73;—Mr James, said to be seen in Paris with Bothwellhauch, 112; returns from France, 120, 170; goes with 50 hagbutters from Lord Huntlie to Aberdeen, 196; composition for Blackness castle, 297; becomes Captain of the castle, *ib.*; Helen Leslie, his wife, sent to him, 298; Captain Lambie recovers it, *ib.*;— . . . “danced vp at the cocke” of St Giles’ steeple, Edinburgh, 122;—minister of (Mr George Scot), 222.
- Kirk-door, libel affixed to, 93, &c.
- Kirk of Field, cannons “stellit” there at siege of Edinburgh, 195;—port, 113, 213;—yard, at Darnley’s murder, 319. See Morton, Darnley.
- Kirk-Session of Edinburgh, 73, 79.
- Kirkwood, Laird of, 43.
- Kneland of that Ilk, William, 43.
- Knight, Sir William, ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to France, 227.
- Knox, a “dowbill falcon,” baptized, burst and killed and wounded several men, 175;—“a suddart of Leith, being knowin to be so callit,” mutilated, 229;—John, 5; pretended speech by him, 7, 12, 13; exposes the pretended conference from the pulpit, 14; a prayer of his, 16, 20; letters to him relative to murder of Regent Murray, 21, 22; has a stroke of apoplexy, 62; reports spread by his enemies, *ib.*; denounces the Laird of Grange from the pulpit, for forcing the jail and liberating a homicide, 71; complaint by Grange to Kirk-Session of Edinburgh, 73; Knox’s answer from pulpit, 76; his written answer, 77; new complaint, 79; Brethren in the West write Grange, 81; libels against him, with consequent proceedings, 91 to 103; his “Blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women,” 8, 100, 101; an account of the taking of Dumbarton castle sent him, 106; is watched all night by “some bretherin,” 111; letter, Captain Meluing to Laird of Braid, 115; his reply, 116; Knox leaves Edinburgh, “sore against his will,” 118; he retires to Abbotshall, 119; John Watson taken prisoner, as his servant, 124; false reports of his having been banished from St Andrews, &c. 216; and that he had raised the devil, and Bannatyne, his secretary, “ran woude and died!” *ib.*; preaches before Lord Mortoun at St Andrews, 223; he refuses to inaugurate the Archbishop (Douglas), *ib.*; letter to Laird of Drumlanrig, 236; his letter to General Assembly at Perth, 249; articles sent with it, *ib.*; answer by the Assembly, 252; letter from the Kirke to him to return home, &c. 254; delivery of it, 255; departs from St Andrews, *ib.*; controversy with Provost of St Salvador’s College, &c. 256 to 262; his protestation, *ib.*; he lands at Leith, 263; preaches in St Giles’s, *ib.*; his letter to Mr James Lowsone to take his place, 264; is settled in the Tolbooth kirk, *ib.*; dies Nov. 24, 1572, the same day that Mortoun is elected Regent, 280; on Nov. 9 he “inaugurates” Mr James Lowsone as his successor, *ib.*; his last illness, 281, *et seq.*; Lethington’s letter to the “Sessione,” complaining of John Knox, 281, who is then too feeble to answer it, 282; he receives a deputation from the Kirk, 283; his answer to Lethington, 284; he orders his “kist” (coffin), 287; the manner of his death, 282 to 289; his character, 289; his funeral attended by the Regent and nobility, &c. 290; his wife and children, 288. See also Index to the Appendix.
- Kowhill, tower of, destroyed by the Earl of Sussex, 51.
- Kyle, district of, 69.

## L.

- LA CROCKE, Monsieur, the French ambassador, 225, 227; returns to Leith, 235; tries to effect a "pacificatioune," 237; heads of articles and answers, 238; abstinence from hostilities granted for two months, 240, 246, 270; complains against the Ministers dishonouring his master, after the massacres in France, 273; leaves Edinburgh, *ib.*
- Ladie-brig-end, 137.
- Lamytoun, the auld Lady, sister to Duke of Chastelherault, 111. See Baillie.
- Lambie, Captain, almost taken, 180; recovers Blackness castle, 298.
- Lamby, Laird of, 82.
- Langsyde, field of, 209; negotiation with England "while we past to Yorke," *ib.*
- Langtoun, Laird of, 4.
- Lathrisk, minister of, 233.
- Law, John, the post of St Andrews, 216.
- Leckprevicke, Robert, printer, 53; his house searched for George Buchanan's Cameleon, 110;—Laird of, 310.
- Leith, 50 men of Leith offer to fight 50 of Edinburgh castle, 216; parliament there, 217; above 200 summoned to "vnderly the law" at Leith, for favouring the castle of Edinburgh, 218; skirmishing, 229; retaliations, &c. 230, 231; sally to take Lord Claud, 5 prisoners hanged, *ib.*; a drum arrives desiring that "fair weiris may be vsit," 232; John Knox lands on his return home from St Andrews, 263;—minister of, 38, 96, 222;—siege of, 89, &c.;—town of, 120, 121; commissioners sent to Edinburgh castle from General Assembly, 125, 133, 134, 137, 175; Lord Lindsay is chosen lieutenant, 178; soldier hanged for conspiring to betray the town, 187; Regent Mar brings 4000 men, 192; artillery arrives from Stirling by sea, *ib.*;—water of, 133.
- Leith-wynd, 122; "foir-stairis" ordered to be taken down, 137, 177.
- LENNOX, EARL of (Mathew, 4th) [REGENT], 10; proposal that he should return to Scotland, 21, 39; arrives in Edinburgh with the English army, 40, 41; goes to Stirling with the King's Lords, 43, 44, 45; chosen Regent, 47, 210; holds a parliament at Linlithgow, *ib.*, 49; holds a parliament at Edinburgh, 60, 62; takes Paisley from the Hamiltouns, 82; letter from Queen Elizabeth, 82, 84; Harringtoun sent to Glasgow by Q. Elizabeth, 85; and Hope from the marshal of Berwick, *ib.*; leaves Glasgow, and surprises castle of Dumbarton, which is taken in an extraordinary manner, 104 to 108; two bands of his troops accompany Morton from Stirling to Dalkeith, 112; they make proclamation at Leith and Canongate, asking all to take wages from the King, 113; they shoot in at Netherbow port, *ib.*; they are followed by Queen's party, who are repulsed and driven in by Kirk-of-Field port, *ib.*; his lodging in Edinburgh spoiled by Queen's party, 117; his adherents ordered to leave the town of Edinburgh, 129; he arrives in Linlithgow, *ib.*; goes to Leith with 6000 horsemen, *ib.*; is refused entrance into Edinburgh, *ib.*; holds a parliament in the Canon-gate, 123; receives Drury at Stirling, 135, 149; proclamation against the rebels of Edinburgh castle, 159; Grange's answer to it, 161, 167; letter sent to him by Protestant barons and gentlemen, 180; Stirling is surprised, and the Regent shot by Captain Cader, 184; he is brought to the castle and dies, *ib.*, 186; letters from Queen Elizabeth as to his slaughter, 193, 210, 240, 303, 321, 343;—house (family) of, 9.
- Lethame, Laird of, 43.
- Lethingtoun, place of, 18; is taken by Queen's party, 229; retaken by Lord Lindsay, *ib.*
- Lethingtoun, Secretary. See Maitland.



- Levingstoun of Jerreswood, William, 43;—  
**MASTER** of, made prisoner at taking of Dum-  
 barton castle, 105.
- Libels against John Knox, with his answers,  
 &c. 91 to 103.
- Liddisdaill, 303.
- Liddisdaill-men, assye of, 176.
- LINDSAY OF THE BYRES, LORD** (Patrick, 6th),  
 curious pretended speech by him, 6, 131, 132;  
 seizes Downie's ship with about 500 hag-  
 buts and culverings, and the Queen's dowry,  
 remitted from France, 174; is liberated on  
 payment of a sum of money, 176; chosen  
 lieutenant in Leith, 178; three of his geld-  
 ings taken from Struthers, *ib.*; his place of  
 Byres pillaged by the Queen's party, 179;  
 saves the Captain of Halyburton's life, 187;  
 retakes the place of Lethingtoun, 229; visits  
 John Knox on his deathbed, 286;—Mr  
 David, minister of Leith, 38, 96, 223, 252;  
 charged with a message from John Knox, on  
 his deathbed, to Laird of Grange, 284; visits  
 Regent Morton before his decapitation, 330.
- Linlithgow, Regent Murray shot in passing  
 through, 4; convocation of the Hammil-  
 tounes there, 18; another great convocation,  
 32; Lennox's first parliament held there,  
 47;—minister of, 222.
- Linlithgow Lords, 37.
- Lions, massacre of Protestants there, 269.
- Little, Mr Clement, 75.
- Lochinvar, Laird of (Sir John Gordon), enters  
 into bond with the Hammiltounes, 18, 20,  
 48; arrives in Edinburgh, 110; returns home,  
*ib.*; in Edinburgh, 124; departs, 134, 138,  
 335.
- Lochleven, Earl of Northumberland sent to,  
 3, 52;—Laird of, brother to Regent Mor-  
 ton, 17.
- Lokhart of Bar, John, 82;—of Cleghorn,  
 Mungo, 43;—of Kirkwood, Gavin, 43;—  
 Mr Robert, 96.
- Long Forgone, minister of, 223.
- Lorane, Cardinal of, 207; was at the Council  
 at Bruxellis, *ib.*, 208.
- Loudoun, Laird of. See Campbell.
- Lowsie-law, near the Borrowmure, Edinburgh,  
 skirmish there, 214.
- Lowsone, Mr James, sub-principal, Aberdeen,  
 he is appointed to succeed John Knox, 255;  
 Knox's letter to him to hasten to Edinburgh,  
 264; inducted, *ib.*; his inauguration by John  
 Knox, 280, 283; is with him in his last ill-  
 ness, 285, *et seq.*; visits Regent Morton be-  
 fore his decapitation, 330.
- Lowthiane, superintendent of, 38, 80, 223;—  
 Laids of, committed to ward as favourers  
 of the castle of Edinburgh, 218, 276.
- Lubbard, a term of reproach, 91.
- Lucharis, minister of, 223.
- Lundie, Laird of, 276.
- Lunttis, torches, 111.
- Lutheranis, 273. See Massacre of Bartholo-  
 mew's day, Protestant.

## M.

- MACALYENE**, Mr Thomas (Senator of the Col-  
 lege of Justice), 218; readmitted to his  
 place in the session, 229.
- MACCRONE**, John, minister at Stenton, 96.
- MACGILL** of Rankellor-nether, Mr James, Lord  
 Clerk Register, 5, 12; sent as commissioner  
 to England for King's party, 82, 113; three  
 of his coffers, worth L.1000, seized going to  
 Pinkie from Leith, 119; his house in Edin-  
 burgh destroyed by the garrison to procure  
 firewood, 234.
- MACHLING**, 139.
- MACKIESON**, Mr George, 95, 96.
- MACKYNTOSCHE**, Laird of, agreement with, 210.
- MADIE** "in our fisch mercate," 27, 51.
- MAITLAND**, of Auchingashill, John, younger, for-

- feited, 185;—Mr Thomas, supposed author of the pretended conference between the Regent, &c., 13; is said to have died going to Rome, 13; is forfeited by Regent's parliament, 123;—Mr Robert, 20, 110;—Sir William, secretary, cited, at Stirling, for the murder of Darnley, 1, 2, 3, 10, 15; makes oath to his innocence, 15; leaves Edinburgh castle and visits Lord Seatoun, 18; returns to Edinburgh, 19, 20; meets the French ambassador to the Queen's Lords, 26, 32, 37, 39; dispatches from Atholl intercepted, 52; lands at Leith, 110; is carried to Edinburgh castle, 110; his son the Prior of Coldingham, 122; the young Laird, the Prior, and Mr Thomas, are forfeited by Regent's parliament, 123; conference with commissioners from General Assembly, 125 to 132, 164, 171; receives the proclamation by the Estates against all who remained in burgh and castle of Edinburgh, 190; receives Morton's secretary with this proclamation in the castle, who dies (by poison?) two or three hours after his return to Leith, 190; auld Lethington and his wyfe in place of Dundass when taken, 232, 237, 253; his complaint to the session against John Knox, 281; who is then too feeble to answer it, 282; the answer, 284; his death, 338.
- Malt found in Dumbarton castle after it was taken, 108.
- MAR, EARL OF (John 6th.) [REGENT], 9, 15, 19; is beset by the Hammiltouns, 38; a boy taken with some of his clothes, 109; security required for preservation of the young king, 172; is chosen Regent, 185, 186; arrives in Leith, and proclaims Mortoun chief lieutenant, 187; returns again with 4000 men, 192; dispatches from Queen Elizabeth, 193; besieges Edinburgh, 194, 195; his "pavillione shot throw," *ib.*; discharges the collectors for the ministers, 197; letter from Laird of Dunn as to poverty of the clergy, &c., 197; another letter, 203; Mar's reply, 204; 11,000 Spanish ryallis sent him taken from a ship, 216; Mr Carey arrives from England, 216; 12 or 13 French soldiers desert, 237, 243; arrives in Leith, when a new "abstinence" for four days concluded, 270; proclamation to prevent Popish conspiracies, 271; death of the Regent Mar, October 29, 1572, 279; convention for choosing a new Regent, 279; Morton elected, 280; alleged prodigies at his death, 279, 280.
- Marchinche, minister of, 223.
- MARISCHALL, EARL OF (William 4th), 25, 26, 339;—MASTER OF, attempts to rescue Lady Towey, when she and 24 persons were inhumanly burnt in the house of Towey, underassurance, 212;—of Berwick. See Drewrie.
- Marktounmaines, Laird of, 310.
- MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, projected marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, 1, 19; her Lords' letter to Queen Elizabeth, 23; their proclamation as to the Queen's conduct, &c., 27; great convention of her party at Linlithgow, 32, 37, 38, 41; Queen Elizabeth's letter to the Earl of Sussex, in Scotland, 44; convention of her party at Brechin, 47; dispatches from her Lords from Atholl intercepted, 52; a remarkable present sent her from "the Witches of Athole," 61; reports that she would return "befoir Yule day," 62, 70; Dumbarton castle taken from Lord Fleming, 104, &c.; a new convention of her party, 109; her party returns to Edinburgh, 117; pierce roof of St Giles' to "schoute whome thai please," 118, 119; depredations committed, *ib.*, &c.; the Lords work at the trenches, &c., 122; her party hold a parliament in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, 123; clerks of Session warded, &c., 123; taken at Carberry hill, 126; imprisonment at Lochleven, 126; her party hold a parliament, and declare the King and Regent's authority null, 164; they require the Assembly of the Kirk to meet, and desire the Queen to be prayed for, "and the prince" her son, 164; her dowry ("drewrie") from France, 171; is supposed to have been seized with John Chessoures coffer, 174; another parliament held by her party, 179;

- a minister charged to pray for her, 179; Norfolk's conspiracy, 187; 25,000 crowns sent to the castle of Edinburgh seized, with his secretary, at Newcastle, 187; Mary is more strictly guarded in consequence, *ib*; her "lyfe and proces, both in Latine and Englis, set out in England," 207, 209; papers relative to her and Bothwell noted, 209; her party get Blackness castle betrayed for 800 crowns, 229; narrative of Darnley's murder, creation of Bothwell as Duke of Orkney, &c., contained in a complaint to the Lords of the Articles, 300.
- Mass said in Old Aberdeen, &c., 278.
- Massacre of Bartholomew's day, 265, *et seq.*; proclamation against the persecution of the Protestants in France, &c., 271; ministers of Edinburgh "invevy" against it, 273.
- Matchvellis (Machiavel's) disciples, 6, 7, 12, 51.
- Mattockis, 122.
- MAXWELL, LORD (John, afterwards created Earl of Morton), invaded by Earl of Sussex for succouring English rebel Lords, 51; arrives in Edinburgh, 110; returns, 110; in Edinburgh, 124; departs, 134; returns, 138, 164;—Harbert, forfeited, 186.
- Mayboll, 63.
- Meal seized on taking Dumbarton castle, 108.
- Mearnes, 302.
- Medle (mellic), personal encounter (Fr. *melée*), 154, 155, &c.
- MEFFANE, LORD. See Metlwen.
- Meill-mercat, Council of the, 301.
- Meit-almerie, a larder, Captain Culan found hid in one in the Canongate, and taken prisoner, 172.
- Meldrum of Segie, 192; David his brother taken by Laird of Carmichael, 192.
- Mellie. See Medle.
- Melvin (Meluing, Melville), Andro, accompanies Captain Caise, the English envoy, to the castle of Edinburgh, 197;—of Cairny (Murdocairny?), Robert, forfeited, 185;—of Carneby, 192; Robert, his son, taken by the Laird of Carmichael, 192;—David and Andro, forfeited, 185;—Capt. Robert, 85; goes forth to receive Claud Hammiltoun
- 111, 113; his letter to Laird of Braid as to John Knox, 115, 118; his party gallantly repulsed by Laird of Braid, 135; one of his soldiers is charged with attempting the life of the marshal of Berwick, 136; and shot at Berwick, 136; is blown up with gunpowder at Craigmillar, 136; dies, 137; buried "with grit solemnitie," 137.
- Merchinstoun, 133; soldiers stationed there, 230; "twelve houssis" burnt, 234; Regent sends 20 foot and 12 horsemen there, 234;—Laird of, 135.
- Meritoun (Meringtoun), Laird of. See Hammiltoun.
- MERSHELL, LORD. See Marischall.
- Messane, a mongrel or lap-dog, 130.
- METHUEN, LORD (Henry 2d), 17; slain by a shot from Edinburgh castle, 227; complaint against his holding the Bishoprick of Ross, which had been given to him, 251;—minister of, 223.
- Middleburgh, 232.
- Middlerig, Laird of, 191.
- Milkesland, Laird of, 310.
- Milns of Edinburgh broken, to prevent victuals getting into the town and castle, 230.
- Mitchall, Captain, 175; is taken, 213; he detects treason to betray the Abbey, 231; and hangs the traitor, 231; a prisoner "flowred" his "gallous," 231.
- Mitchell Wylie (Machiavel), 51, 52.
- Mock-fight, pretended assault and defence of Edinburgh castle, 91.
- Moffat, Captain, hurt with a spear, 113; dies, 124.
- MONTGOMERIE, EARL OF (Hugh 3d, Earl of Eglintoun), 2, 186.
- Monthe, minister of, 96.
- MONTROSE, EARL OF, John, 274; was one of the commissioners for the king, in treaty with the Hammiltouns, 306, 315.
- More, Captain, 19; his house and corn burnt, 19.
- MORTOUN, EARL OF, James [REGENT], 9, 10, 12, 17, 19, 41; sent as commissioner to England for King's party, 82; his return from England reported, 108; he arrives, 110; goes

- from Stirling to Dalkeith, 112; his soldiers ride on Haggartanis croft, before the castle of Edinburgh, and defy the "traitors," &c. 119; King's adherents ordered to leave Edinburgh, 120, 132, 133, 138, 171, 172, 183; is made prisoner in Stirling by Buccleuch, when the Hammiltouns shot the Regent Lennox, 184; he is rescued, and saves Buccleuch's life, *ib.*; is proposed as Regent, but Mar is chosen, 185, 186; proclaimed chief lieutenant, 187; Robert Douglas, his "servand," (secretary?) delivers the proclamation by the Estates to Lethingtoun, in Edinburgh castle, and dies (by poison?) two or three hours after his return to Leith, 190, 192; supports Archbishop of St Andrews, 197; goes to Berwick to confer with Lord Hunsdoun, 206; returns, 213; at St Andrews for choosing an Archbishop, 222; at Dundee, 223; returns to Dalkeith, owing to Queen's party burning 20 or 30 houses, 224, 229; two granges of his corns burnt, 230; alleged conspiracy to murder him, *ib.*; sally to take Lord Claud, 231; is one of those named to treat for "the pacificatioun," 239; death of the Earl of Mar, 279; Morton goes to Stirling, *ib.*; convention for choosing a Regent, *ib.*; Morton is chosen, 280; visits John Knox on his deathbed, 285; he and the nobility attend Knox's funeral, 289; after the parliament, he goes to Perth, to treat with the Hammiltouns and Huntley, 305; the treaty, *ib.*, 307; his Confession the day he was beheaded, June 2, 1583, 317 to 332; the manner of his death, *ib.*; letter by Lethingtoun to be shewn Morton, 339; Morton's reply, 342.
- Moscrop, Mr John, and his son Patrick, forfeited, 186; his wife taken by Laird of Carmichael, 191; list of the prisoners, *ib.*
- Movne, Mr John, "servand" to the Regent, apprehended, 52.
- Moutraise-of-the-hill (Moutressy-hill), Edinburgh, 124, 175, 232.
- Mowtrais-treis, two men hanged there, 231.
- Munqhanyie, Laird of, seized by Lord Lindsay, 187.
- Muntrose-haven, surveyed for landing a foreign force, 52, 197; prodigies alleged to have occurred in the water at Regent Mar's death, 279, 280.
- Muirhead of Lanschip, James, 310.
- Muirhouse, Laird of, 42.
- Murdochstoun, Laird of, 42.
- Mure, Captain, 47; hanged, 50.
- MURRAY, BISHOP of (Patrick Hepburn), forfeited, 185;—chantour of, Mr John Hepburne, 96;—COUNTESS of, at John Knox's intreaties, sends to Regent to "desyre him to avoyde Linlithgow," 290;—of Cowbairdie, his mother marries one Car a soldier, 334;—David, 12;—EARL of, James [REGENT], cites Secretary Lethingtoun for Darnley's murder, 1; expedition to the Borders against the thieves, 2; conspiracy against him, *ib.*; rides to Stirling and Dumbarton, 3; Fernherst and Buccleuch rebel against him, *ib.*; receives English ambassadors at Stirling, 4; on his return is shot in Linlithgow by Bothwellbauch, *ib.*; escape of the murderer, *ib.*; pretended conference between him, Lord Lindsay, John Knox, &c. 5; the barons and gentlemen demand punishment of authors of this murder, &c. 15; his funeral, 16, 45, 108, 141, 163; acts and doings after his murder, 210; John Knox's repeated counsel to avoid Linlithgow, 289, 290;—schereff of, 214;—of Tullibardine, Sir William, 10, 38, 274.
- MURDER—Mr John Kello, minister of Spott, murders his wife, 53; confession on the scaffold, *ib.*; execution, 60;—by an hoastlare and his wife of their guests "sleeping in thair heddis, with a mell" (mallet), 216;—of Admiral Coligny, 265;—of David Rizzio, 317. See King Henry, Lennox, Murray, Poisoning, &c.
- Murdocairny, Laird of, 185.
- Murrione, a morion, 152.
- Mwnitione, taken at Dumbarton castle by Regent Lennox, 107.
- Mynto, Laird of (Sir John Stewart), keeper of the castle of Glasgow, 41, 134.
- Myonis "monted for the wallis" and for the "feildis," 108, 133.

## N.

**NAPIER** of Merchistoun. See Merchinstoun.  
**NAVARRÉ**, KING of, 265; persecution of the Protestants, and massacre of St Bartholomew's, &c. *ib. et seq.*, 269;—**PRINCE** of, his marriage with Madame Claud, the King of France's sister, 208.  
 Neilsoun of Craiggaffie, John, 82.  
 Netherbow-port of Edinburgh, 113, 118; Regent's party attempt to force entrance, &c. 122, 124; trenches, 133; Captain Culan appointed, 138; skirmishing there, Captain Weymis mortally wounded, 172; dies in ten days, *ib.*, 175, 180.  
 Netherfield, Laird of, 310.  
**NEUBOTTELL**, COMMENDATOR of (Mark Kcr), 308.  
 Nidry, Viracke, the French ambassador, received there, 26.  
 Nobility, proclamation by the Hammiltouns as to causes for convening the, 27; Queen Elizabeth's letter as to a final settlement of all disputes, &c. 83.

**NORTHFOLK**, DUKE of (Thomas Howard, 9th), projected marriage between him and Mary Queen of Scots, 1, 19; his secretary taken at Newcastle, coming to castle of Edinburgh with 25,000 crowns, 187; Norfolk is sent to the tower of London, and Q. Mary more strictly guarded, *ib.*; publications in England to make him "odious," 207; report that he and twenty-four others were beheaded, 223, 301.  
 Northland Lords (Queen's partizans) write to the Lords of Session to suspend the administration of justice, 26.  
**NORTHUMBERLAND**, EARL of (Thomas Percy, 19th), insurrection in the north of England, 2; taken prisoner by Eckie Armstrong, 2; beheaded in York, 249;—**LADY** (Countess of), at Halyrudhouse, 38; she returns with Lord Seatoun, 52. See Elizabeth, Maxwell, Westmoreland, &c.  
 Nuturie. See Nidry.

## O.

**OCHILTRIE**, LORD (Andrew, 2d), 16, 17, 82.  
**OGLVIE** of Airlie, LORD (James, 6th), 19, 20, 25, 32, 39, 47; agreement with, 210;—Patrick, taken for betraying castle of Edinburgh, 111;—of Balgavie, Arch., 192; Patrick his son taken by Laird of Carmichael, 192.  
**OLIPHANT**, LORD (Laurence, 4th), 25;—James, taken by Laird of Carmichael, but let go on parole, to be cured of his wounds, 192, 314.  
 Ordnance, carted, 302. See also Cannonis, Battardis, Myonis, &c.

**ORKNEY**, 11;—**DUKE** of (Bothwell), 300;—**BISHOP** of (Adam Bothwell), silver work belonging to taken between Edinburgh and Leith, 119; named to treat for "the pacificatioun," 239; made Abbot of Halyrudhouse, 297.  
 Orleans, persecutions of the Protestants, 267. See Bartholomew's day, Protestants.  
 Ormistoun, Lady (Alice Sandilandis), 13, 329;—of that ilk, James 241, 244;—Blak, 239.  
**ORANGE**, PRINCE of, 208; takes town of Breill, 231; all the "images" are broken, *ib.*

## P.

- PAISLEY, Abbey and Castle, &c. taken by the Hammitounes from Lord Sempill, 82; re-taken and delivered to Lord Cathcart, *ib.*, 134; the mass said there, 278;—COMMENDATOR of, Lord Claud Hammitoun. See Hammitoun.
- Parbrothe, Laird of, forfeited, 185.
- Paris, Bothwellhauch seen on streets of, 112; murder of Admiral Coligny, and massacre of St Bartholomew's, 265, *et seq.*
- PALSGRAVE, THE, 268.
- Parliament held at Linlithgow, 47; in Edinburgh, 60; in the tolbooth of Edinburgh by the Queen's party, 123; and in Canongate by the Regent, *ib.*; forfeitures, *ib.*; in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, called "the Castellis parliament," 164; the regalia is borne by them, 165; ceremony of King's touching with the sceptre, in token of ratification, 186; new money ordered to be coined, 230; first parliament of Regent Morton, 296.
- Pasche or Pace, Easter, 88.
- Pasquill on inauguration of Mr John Douglas as Archbishop of St Andrews, 225.
- Peill, Laird of, 42.
- PEMBROKE, EARL of (William Herbert, 20th), 1. See Northfolk, &c.
- Perth, 48, 203; convention at, 210; minister of, 222; General Assembly to meet there, 228; again, 249; Knox's letter to them, &c. 250, *et seq.*, 253, 257; convocation of Queen's party there, 296; Regent Morton's there, 305; commissioners to sit there, 308. See Assembly, Knox.
- Pettindreiche, lands of, 313.
- Phairniherst, Laird of. See Ker.
- Phrogmortone. See Throgmortone.
- Pikemen, 113.
- Pikes "and other long weapons," 71, 145, 150, 152.
- Pinkie, three coffers seized going to, worth L.1000, 119.
- Pioneris (pynouris) cast trenches, 193, &c.
- Pitcairn, Robert, Commendator of Dunfermling, Secretary of State, Ambassador to the Queen of England, 42, 82; Queen Elizabeth's answer, 83; another letter, 84; is one of those named to treat for the "pacification," 239; a commissioner for the King in treaty with the Hammitouns, 306, 315.
- Pitcurre, Tutor of, 10; is taken prisoner, 180; liberated, 197. See Halyburtoun.
- Pittarrow, Laird of. See Wischart.
- Plait-sleivis, 152. See Plettis.
- Plettis (plate-armour) "for the theise and legis," 152.
- Pleasance, Edinburgh, 124.
- Poisoning, termed "Italian craft," 190; of the Earl of Atholl, 320; of the Earl of Huntley, &c. 333, *et seq.*
- Pont, Mr Robert, commissioner for the Kirkis of Murray, 96; letter to him as to the state of the "puire faithfull Ministeris in the north," 214; presents Articles from John Knox to the General Assembly at Perth, 250; their answer, 252; visits Regent Morton before his decapitation, 330.
- Pore, THE, sends gold into Scotland, to suppress the Reformation, 3; offers to supply men and money for erecting "the mess," 52; Bishop of Cashall, a popish emissary, sent from Ireland under pretence of visiting "the scoles," 234; he is warded and afterwards sent to England, 235; massacre of St Bartholomew's day, &c. 265, *et seq.*, 273.
- Portmoak, Prior of, 222.
- Preiching, a remarkable, by Bishop of Gallo-way, 138.
- Preistfield, Laird of, 186, 310.
- Present, a remarkable one sent to Mary Queen

- of Scots from "the Witches of Athole," 61.
- Prestoun of Craigmillar, Sir Symon, knight, provost of Edinburgh, 163;—Dr, 121; attends John Knox in his last illness, 288;—Mr John, commissioner for the Kirk of Edinburgh, 96.
- Pricking, horsemen on skirmishing parties, 173, &c.
- Prison of Edinburgh forced and a homicide liberated by the Laird of Grange, 71.
- Prisoners put to death by both factions, 231, &c. See Edinburgh, Leith.
- Proclamation by the Hammiltoun's faction as to causes for convening the nobility, 27; by the Queen of England as to her rebels being succoured in Scotland, 34.
- Prodigies on Earl of Mar's death, 279, 280; on Huntley's death, 334, *ct seq.*
- Prophecy, a forged, 62.
- Protestant gentlemen and barons' letter to the Regent Lennox, 180; another to the General Assembly, 182;—of France, 208; "band and league," 247; persecution in France, massacre of St Bartholomew's, &c. 265, *ct seq.*; in Normandy, 268; proclamation to prevent Popish conspiracy, 271.
- Provand, Mr J. if he brought home poison? 320.
- Pursuivant, caused to eat his letters, &c. See Jedburgh.

## Q.

- QUEEN'S-ferry, Drumquhaissill's boat is taken there, 174.
- Queen's Lords, letter from them to Queen Elizabeth, 23. See Hammiltoun, Mary, &c.
- Querall-holes, Edinburgh, 135.
- Quhingar (whinger), a short sword or cutlass, 145, 150.
- Quiver, styled an arrow-bag, 86.

## R.

- RAITH, Laird of, 74.
- Ramsay, Captain, at taking of the castle of Dumbarton, 105;—Mr William, his death, 257; disputes between the colleges at St Andrews, in consequence, *ib. ct seq.*; cause of his death, 259.
- Randolph, Mr, ambassador from England, 17, 41; writes Earl of Sussex, 53, 61, 225; in Leith, 226; he returns to Berwick, 231, 301.
- Ranckillour-nether, Laird of. See Macgill.
- Ratcliffe, Egremont, "the Erle of Sussex bastard brother," 32.
- Regalia, in possession of Queen's party, and carried at the "Castellis parliament," 165; ceremony of King's touching with the sceptre in token of ratification, 186.
- Regency, proposal to constitute four Regents, 2. See Chastelherault, Lennox, Mar, Morton, Murray.
- Reirres, Lady, is said to have had "all the pyne" of child-birth cast upon her by the Countess of Atholl, when the Queen was "lying in jeasing" (child-bed), 174.
- "Remember on Brichen!" singular rencontre on the streets of Edinburgh, 112.

- Resolucione, apoplexy so termed by "phlitionses," 62.
- Restalrig, the marshal of Berwick "held hous" there, 230.
- Riot in Linlithgow, for slaughter of a Hammiltoun, 18; in Edinburgh, for "staying of victuallis," 27.
- Rizzio, David, his murder, 317, 318.
- Roasting, and other inhuman and barbarous cruelties, inflicted on the Abbot of Crossraguall by the Earl of Cassillis, 64, &c.
- Robertoun of Ernocke, 43; Robert, his son, taken by Laird of Carmichael, 192.
- Robertsone, David, servant to the Captane of the castle (Grange?), taken by Laird of Carmichael, 192.
- Robeson, John, in Brodewoudsyde (ensignzie to Captain Bruce), 314.
- Roploche, Laird of, 310.
- Ross, Bishoprick of, complaint against its being given to Lord Methven, 251;—chantour of, slain, 227;—commissioner of, 96;—of HALKHEAD, LORD (James, 4th), 25.
- Rossie, minister of, 223.
- ROTHES, EARL of (Andrew, 4th), sheriff of Fife, &c. 6.
- Row, Mr John, 128; preaches before the parliament in Stirling, 185, 186, 252.
- Ruichbank, Laird of, 310.
- Rutherford, provost of St Salvator's college, St Andrews, his dispute with John Knox, &c. 257 to 263.
- RUTHVEN, LORD (Wm., 4th, Lord High Treasurer, afterwards Earl of Gowrie, 1581), 17, 131; pursues Phernierst, when he went to burn Jedburgh, 224; takes his houses and garrisons them, 224; he returns to Leith, 224; goes from Leith to St Andrews, &c. and visits the King at Stirling, 229; is one of those named to treat for the "pacification," 239; visits John Knox on his deathbed, 286; a commissioner for the King in treaty with the Hammiltouns, 306, 315.
- Ryallis, Spanish, 11,000 taken and sent to Regent, 216.
- Rye, Major of, narrative of massacre of Protestants in Normandy, 268. See Bartholomew's day, Protestants, &c.

## S.

SALISBERRIE-craigis, Edinburgh, 214.

Sandilandis, Alice, Lady Ormiston, 13, 329;—of Midlerig, John, 191; Alexander, his son, taken by Laird of Carmichael, 191.

SANCTANDROIS, ARCHBISHOP of (John Hammiltoun), Regent Murray shot from a window of his house in Linlithgow, 4, 18, 52; hanged, 104; his epitaph, 104; his heirs to be restored, 314; his son forfeited by Regent's parliament, 123; Mr John Douglas, Rector of St Androis, made Archbishop, 178; is inhibited from voting until admitted by the Kirk, 183; supported by Lord Morton, 197; ordered to get all the fruits of the bishoprick, 213; General Assembly held,

217; found "vmeit" for his office, 217; his examination when on trial for his office of Bishop, 218; edict for choosing an Archbishop, 222; he gives "specimen doctrine," 223; and is elected, 223; is inaugurated by Superintendent of Fife, 223; John Knox refuses, 223; pasquill on his election, 225; General Assembly meets, 227; he is to use office of "superintendentrie," 228, and "provostrie" of the New College, 228; John Knox protests, 228; his visit to Darsie, 229, 256, 262, 314.

St Andrews, Bailie of, Mr John Cocke, 223;—Castle of, destruction of, 91;—Commissar of, Mr William Skene, 226, 229;—Prior of,



- Deane, 222;—Provost of, seized by Lord Lindsay, 187; returns under sureties, 196; makes "mirrie in Darsie," 229;—Rector of, Mr John Douglas, afterwards Archbishop, 178;—Town of, John Law "the post," 216; General Assembly held, 217; witch burnt, 233; John Knox leaves, 253, 254.
- Sanct Colme (Commendator of, Sir James Stewart of Doune), 51.
- Sanct Cuthbertis Kirke, 26, 32, 85, 111, 117; the minister charged to pray for the Queen, 179; he writes Lord Lindsay to save Halyburton's life, 187.
- Sanct Geillis Kirke, the roof pierced so that the Queen's party might "shoute whome thai pleased," 117; a man "danced vp at the cocke," 122, 159; cannons "stellit" in the kirk-yard, at the siege of Edinburgh, 195; John Knox preaches on his return, 263, 302.
- Sanct Johnstoun. See Perth.
- Sanct Leonard's college, St Andrews, disputes with St Salvator's college, 257, *et seq.*
- Sanct Mary-wynd, Edinburgh, "foir-stairis" ordered to be taken down, 137.
- Sanct Salvator's college, St Andrews, 256, *et seq.*
- Sanctis, foolish report that John Knox had "raisit some, amonges whom thair come vp the devill with hornis!" 216.
- Seceptre, ceremony of King touching with, in token of approval and ratification, 186.
- Schuilles (shovels), 122.
- Scipio Africanus, his example cited, 10.
- Scoine, minister of, 223.
- Scot, Robert, clerk of Session, 123;—Mr Geo. minister of Kirkaldie, 223.
- Scottis armour, the order of. See Armour, Cartell.
- Seugall, Captain, "very evil" hurt, 234.
- SEATOUN, LORD (George, 5th), 18; is visited by the Secretary, 18, 19, 25; receives the French ambassador, Viracke, 26, 32; set at liberty, 37; assembles his forces at Holyroodhouse, 38, 51; returns with the Countess of Northumberland, 52; is said to have procured "money, men, and munitione" at Bruxellis, 207; (George) is accused by Morton of giving "partiall counsell" on his trial, 324;—LADY, "the nuld," 52;—Henry, slain, 70, 73, 76;—of Parbrothe, David, forfeited, 185.
- Segie, Laird of, 192.
- SEMPILL, LORD (Robert, 4th), 41; taken prisoner and carried to Draffan, 43; and then to Argyle, 43; Paisley taken from his servants, 82; retaken and delivered to Lord Cathcart, 82; returns to Edinburgh with Lord Claud Hamiltoun, 136; his bond for entry of prisoners discharged, 308;—Robert (Robene), 234; his son killed, 234.
- Sermon, a remarkable, by the Bishop of Galway, 138. See Knox, &c.
- Session, Court of, libels thrown in from the Court into the Assembly house, 93; the clerks warded, &c. under L.5000 each, 123; senators of the spiritual estate to be appointed, 316.
- Shalme, *i. e.* "thief and traytore," 268.
- Shetland, 11.
- Siege of Glasgow castle, 40; of Paisley, 82. See Dumbarton, Edinburgh, &c.
- Singulare combate. See Duel.
- Skene, Mr William, commissary of St Andrews, 226, 229.
- Skynnis, "packis" of, and "pokis of woull," used as defences against cannon balls, 134.
- Slanges of irone (for throwing stones and other missiles?) 133.
- Slogans, "God and the King!" "A Darnlie, a Darnlie!" 105; "Remember on Brichen!" 112; "God and the Quene!" "Ane Hamiltoun!" "Think on the Bischop of Sanct Androis!" "All is oures!" 184.
- SOMERWELL, LORD (Hugh, 7th), 25, 165.
- Sonnets and letters by Mary Queen of Scots to Bothwell, published in England, 207, 209.
- Sowe, an instrument for undermining, used at sieges, 41.
- SPAINVIE, KING OF, 131; invited to seize on Ireland, &c. 235.

- “ Spange of their tail,” 6.
- Spanish ryallis, 11,000 taken, and sent to the Regent, 216.
- Speades (spades), 97, 122.
- Spears taken at Dumbarton castle, 108, 145, 150, 152.
- Spelise (spelch), a splinter, 264.
- Spens of Condie, Mr John, advocate to Queen Mary, 168;—of Wormestoun. See Wormestoun.
- Spittell, Mr James, 336.
- Spottiswoode, Mr John, superintendent of Lowthiane, 38, 80, 223; exhorts Archbishop of St Andrews (Douglas) after his election, *ib.*; continued in his office, 228.
- Sproustoun, Laird of, 310.
- Spynie, place of, stipulated to be delivered to the Regent Morton, 308.
- Stamford, Lord Hunsdown there, 196; he sends back the Scottish envoy, *ib.*
- Steilbonet (a helmet), 145, 150, 152.
- Stenhouse, Laird of, 112, 310.
- Stenton, minister of, 96.
- Stevinsoun of that ilk, John, 42.
- Stewart, Captain Alexander, betrays Blackness castle to Queen's party for 800 crowns, 229, 297; his brother John and he put in irons, 298; Captain Lambie recovers the castle, 298;—Mr Allan, Abbot of Crossraguall, the atrocious cruelties practised on him by the Earl of Cassillis, 63; he complains to the Privy Council, 65; is delivered by the Laird of Bargany, 69;—of Cardonall, Capt. James, 63;—of Doune, Sir James, Commendator of St Colme, 51;—of Garleis, 184; is slain in Stirling, 184; Sir Alex. younger, his cartells and acceptance of challenge to fight the Laird of Grange, 141 to 158, 184;—Captain John, gets temporary command of Blackness, 298; it is recovered by Capt. Lambie, 298;—of Minto. See Mynto;—William, attends Morton before his death, 329.
- Stiple (steple of St Giles, Edinburgh), captain of, 122;—watch, singular rencontre between them and the cross-guard, 112.
- Stirling, Regent Murray rides to, 3; is slain on his return in Linlithgow, 4; offer of the Hammitouns to meet at, 18; Earl of Lennox goes there with the King's Lords, 43; General Assembly held there, 178, 218; parliament meets there, *ib.*, 185, 217; Mar chosen Regent, 185;—Castle of, 9; plot to confine James VI. there, alluded to, 322;—minister of, 222.
- “ Stochado,” 6.
- Storie, a thief, taken, 180.
- Stornonthe, kirk of, 203.
- Strabogie, the New Warke of, 334; Earl of Huntley dies there, (by poison?) after his match at foot-ball, *ib. et seq.*
- Struther, three geldings of Lord Lindsay's taken, 178.
- Superintendent of Lothiane (Mr John Spottiswoode), 38, 80, 223, 228, 252;—of Angus and Mernes (Mr John Erskine of Dunn), 95, 197, 203, 204, 213, 228, 252;—of Fife (Mr John Wynrame), 125, 128, 183, 204, 213, 228, 250, 252.
- Surrigioner (surgeon) of Aberdeen, 336.
- Sussex, EARL of (Thomas Ratcliffe, K. G., 11th), “his bastard brother” (viz. Egremont Ratcliffe), 32; his secretary, Mr Wroth, 41; letter from Queen Elizabeth to him, 44; enters Scotland by the West Border, 51; he destroys castles of Annan, Hoddon, Dumfries, Carlawerock, Cowhill, and Tinnell, 51; writes to Lords of the Queen's faction, 53, 61; proclamation as to the rebellion in England, 210.
- Sutare, the Frenche, 220.
- SCOTLAND, EARL of (Alexander, 11th), 25; and his sister, were in company with Huntley before his death, 333.
- Swintoun, David, servant to Lord Home, taken by Laird of Carmichael, 192.
- Sword, tuo handit, 152.
- Sword-strypes, or “pletis (plates) for the theise and legis,” 152.
- Sym, John, bailie, 121.
- Symson, Mr Andro, minister of Dumbar, 58.

## T.

TAMTALLOX, castle of, 110.  
 Tay, water of, 308.  
 Thieves, Border, expedition against them, 2;  
 "ordour" for them, 210.  
 Think on the Bishop of Sanct Androis! a  
 slogan, 184.  
 Throgmortone, Sir Nicolas, 1; ambassador  
 from England, 166.  
 Tilliedavy, Laird of. See Wood.  
 Tinnell, tower of, destroyed by Earl of Sussex,  
 51.  
 Tolbooth of Edinburgh and council house taken  
 possession of by Queen's party, 117, 122;  
 and hold a parliament there, 123; the jail  
 forced by Laird of Grange, and a homicide  
 liberated, 71, &c.;—kirk, Edinburgh, John  
 Knox inducted as minister, 264.  
 Torture, inhuman, by roasting at a fire, &c.  
 See Cassillis, Crossraguall.

Towey, house of, burnt by Lord Adam Gor-  
 don, under assurance, and Lady Towey and  
 24 persons smothered and burnt, "cornes,  
 tymber, and hether" having been "cassin  
 to the hous sydis," 212; Lady Crawford her  
 sister, Master of Marischall, &c. arrive too  
 late to rescue them, 212; only one woman  
 escapes, 212.  
 Trabrowne, young Laird of, 188; is seized at  
 Kinghorn going to France, 188.  
 Trent, Council of, called "the Holy League,"  
 condemned by proclamation, 271, 272, 273,  
 307.  
 Tullibardine, Laird of (Sir William Murray),  
 10, 38, 274.  
 Tullieangus, the Forbese routed by the Gor-  
 dons, 194.  
 Turkis, news of their "overthrowe," 207.

## U.

UDWARD, Nicoll, 254. See Vdward.  
 Urquhart, William, "ane surrigioner (surgeon,

or chirurgeon) of Abirdeine, bowallis the  
 deid corpis" of the Earl of Huntlie, 336.

## V.

VCHILTRIE, LORD. See Ochiltree.  
 Ventonis wode, 333.  
 Vdward, Nicoll, commissioner for the kirk at  
 Edinburgh, 254.  
 Viduals seized on taking Dumbarton castle,  
 108; great dearth in Edinburgh, 234; a dead

horse brought into the town for food, "which  
 is a token of no guid cheir!" 235.  
 Viracke, Monsieur, ambassador from France,  
 26; is received at Dumbarton and Niddrie,  
 26; returns, 53; made prisoner at taking of  
 Dumbarton castle, 105; a French ship taken

with hagbuts, &c., 174; sent to be warded in St Andrews, 178; leaves it on parole and oath, but escapes, 178; returns from France,

187; his servant taken with dispatches for King of France, 191, 237; leaves Scotland after massacre of Protestants in France, 273.

## W.

WACHTERIS and buscheis, Dutch vessels, 208.  
 Wachtoun, Laird of (Patrick Hepburne), accused by Morton of giving "partial counsel" on his trial, 324.  
 Walker, (Walcheren?) isle of, 232.  
 Wallace of Carnall, Hew, 82;—tower at Dumbarton castle, 107;—John, clerk of Session, 123.  
 Walsingham, Secretary, 322.  
 Wasterhall, Laird of, shot by Lord Claud Hammiltoun with a "dag," and then murdered by his attendants in cold blood, 221.  
 Watson, John, taken prisoner as servant to John Knox, 124;—Mr James, 234;—his and other houses demolished by the garrison of Edinburgh for fuel, 234.  
 Wauchope, Adam, slain, 137;—Captain, Gilbert, 314.  
 Weaven (Wawane), Wattie, "the tailgour," "enseign'zie" to Captain Melvin, 85, 221.  
 Wedderburn, Captain, goes to the north to aid the Forbeses, 212; they are defeated, 213;—place of, 317.  
 Weir of Blackwood, James, 43.  
 West, Brethren there write to Laird of Grange to desist from personal violence against John Knox, 81.  
 Wester-holl (bow) of Edinburgh, a "barrace," made "at the strate" for defence of the castle, 117, 118; four "gabiones" erected, 122.  
 West-port of Edinburgh, 111, 120, 124, 132; the barrace where tournaments and duels were decided, 151, 154; trenches cast, 193.  
 WESTMORELAND, EARL of (Charles Neville, 6th), insurrection in North of England, 2; is protected by Fernherst and Balcleuche,

3; brought from Dumbarton to Linlithgow by Lord Fleming, 32.  
 Weynis, Captain, 47, 50; escapes in a creare from Captain Culan, 170; mortally wounded in a skirmish, 172; dies in 10 days, *ib.*;—Mr David, minister at Glasgow, 96, 218;—Laird of, his death, 218.  
 Wheat found on taking Dumbarton castle, 108.  
 Whinger (quhingar), a short sword or cutlass, 145, 150.  
 White, John, slain, 73.  
 Whittinghame, Laird of. See Douglas;—place of, 317, 318.  
 Whytoite (white coat), used as a term of reproach, 91.  
 Whyt-tour (white tower) at Dumbarton castle, 107.  
 Widdershynes, gar thair hair stand, 11.  
 Wigtoun, Lairds of Lothian and Fife warded there, 218.  
 Wilkie, formerly a priest, interrupts baptism, &c., 117;—Mr James, *primarius* of St Leonard's college, 262.  
 Willox (Willockis), Mr John, letter to John Knox as to Regent Murray's murder, 21, 128.  
 Wisoun, Pate, servant to Bothwell, 239, 241, 244.  
 Windie-hall of Dumbarton castle, 107.  
 Wine, store of, found at taking of Dumbarton castle, 108.  
 Wiracke, Monsieur. See Viracke.  
 Wischart of Pittarrow (Pittadowe), Sir John, his pretended speech at conference with the Regent, &c., 9, 11, 149, 308.  
 Witches of Atholl, remarkable present sent to

- Mary Queen of Scots, 61; witch burnt at St Andrews, 233.
- Witchcraft, Countess of Atholl accused of, 174; John Knox accused of raising the devil, &c., 216.
- Wood, Mr John, younger (of Tilliedavy, secretary to Regent Murray), 5; his pretended speech to the Regent Murray, 10, 25; projectors brocht hame with, 210; is sent by Countess of Murray to desire the Regent "to avoyde Liolithgow," 290.
- Wool, "pokis" of, and "packis of skynniss," used for defence against cannon and musket balls, 134.
- Wormeston, Laird of (Sir David Spens), takes Laird of Drumlanrig prisoner, 173; a fight with Apilgirth, 25 on each side, "stayed," 178, *ib.*; shot in Stirling by same shot which killed the Regent, 184; forfeited, 185.
- Woudhall, Laird of, 309.
- Wroth, Mr, secretary to Earl of Sussex, 41.
- Wynchester, Alexander, minister of Elgin, 215.
- Wynrame, Mr John, Superintendent of Fife, goes from St Andrews to Leith, 213, 223; inaugurates the Archbishop of St Andrews, *ib.*; resigns his office to the Archbishop, 228; the kirk continue him, *ib.*; presents Articles from John Knox to Assembly at Perth, 250; their answer, 252, 262. See General Assembly, Superintendent.

## X.

XENOPHON, his *Cyropædia* quoted, 10.

## Y.

- YESTER, LORD (William, 5th, Lord Hay of), 25.
- Yule day, Christmas, 62, 70.
- Yorke, negotiation with England, when Queen Mary "past" to, after field of Langside, 209.

## INDEX TO THE APPENDIX.

### A.

ALBYON, yle of, 350.

Alexander, Adam, 364.

Arms, officers of, maltreated by Huntley's men, 358; another put in irons for 6 or 7 weeks in Dunoon castle, 358, 361.

ARRAN, JAMES EARL of, was brother in law of John Knox, 367, *note*.

Arthour, Mr John, commissary of Edinburgh, 366.

ATHOLL, EARL of 357.

### B.

BANNATYNE, James, burges of Air, brother and executor to Richard, 364, 365, 366;—Janet, wife to Adam Stewart, 366;—Isobell, niece to Richard, 365;—Margaret, niece to Richard, 365;—Richard, his Last Will and Testament, 363;—his "syde (long) blak cloik," 366; ane "pie" of blak—*i.e.* a pie-doublet, or quilted doublet, dagger-proof, worn under the dress in times of trouble, *ib.*; "tua blak cloikis, four sarkis, the buikis that ar in the kist," *ib.*; and tua "auld cloikis," *ib.*; his "chamber in Tempill," *ib.*;—Susanna (wife of Hew Kennedie, burges of Air), 365.

Barclay, Alexander, ipothecar, 364, 365.

Biggar, lands of, 348, 350.

Blackness, castle of, 348.

Books belonging to John Knox, 367, 371; to Richard Bannatyne, 366.

Bowes, Marjorie (or Joan), first wife of John Knox, 371; was daughter of Sir George Bowes of Stretham, Knight Marshal, *ib.*, *note*;—Mr Robert, "schereff of the Bischop-riek" (of Durham), brother of John Knox's first wife, 371.

Braidwood, lands of, 359, 363.

Brechin, Queen's forces defeated there, 351.

Bullinger upon the Revelations, 366.

## C.

CAITHNESS, BISHOP OF, 357.  
 Campbell of Kynzeanleuch, Robert, 371.  
 Carwood, lands of, 348, 350.  
 Cass, Richard, 364, 365.  
 Cattle, the ancient breed of Caledonian, 348, 350.  
 CHASTELHERAULT, DUKE OF, his lands and his friends' lands alleged to have been plundered, 347, 363.  
 Chalmeris, Mr John, 364, 365.  
 Cliddisdale, lands spoiled, 347.  
 Clyde, river of, goods seized, &c. 355.  
 Cokburne of Tempill, Mr Samuel, 363, 364, 365; Ailis, his daughter, 365.

Coldinghame, the Abbey of, 348;—Lord John Stewart, Abbot of, 353, 355.  
 Colingtoun, Lady, 368, 369.  
 Congiltoun, house of, 359.  
 Craik, James, messenger, put in irons, and sent to Argyle by Queen's party, 358, 361.  
 CAAWFORD, EARL OF, 352, 354, 357.  
 Crychtoun, Mr Robert, Queen's advocate, 349, 352.  
 Cumbernauld, forest of, deer, "quhyt ky, and bullis" slain, 348, 350.  
 Cunninghame, James, pensioner of Kelso, 359, 362.  
 Cuninghameheid, Laird of, 359, 363.

## D.

DARNLIE, lands of, 360.  
 Douglas, George, 348, 351.  
 Down, in Menteith, 356.  
 Draffen, castle of, 359, 362, 363.  
 Drinking-cups, silver, belonging to John Knox, 367, 371.  
 Dumfermling, Abbot or Commendator of (Ro-

bert Pitcairn, secretary of state, and ambassador to England), 356; instructions from the Regent to him, 358.  
 Dumbarton, castle of, 353, 355, 362.  
 Dundee, Provost of, 354.  
 Dunnvne (Dunoon), the castle of, in Argyleshire, 358.

## E.

Edinburgh, castle of, John Knox's address to Queen's partizans there, in his Last Will, 370.  
 Edmestoun, lands of, 348, 350.

EGLINTOUN, EARL OF, 352; feud with the Earl of Glencairn, 354.  
 ELIZABETH, QUEEN, 347, 363, &c. See Sussex.  
 ERROLL, EARL OF, 357; the Master of, *ib.*

## F.

FLANDERS, Countess of Northumberland, &c., go there, 354.

Fleming, of Carwood, John, brother to Lord Fleming, 348, 350;—James, minister, son-in-law of John Knox, 367;—LORD, his rents uplifted, &c. by Regent Lennox, 348, 350; the “quhyt ky and bullis” slain by Regent’s troops, *ib.*, 353, 355; his servants assault

young Laird of Gairleis, and kill two of his servants, &c., 359, 361, 362;—Patrick, captain of the house of Congiltoun, 359.

Foulair, Thomas, 356.

France, ambassador of, 363.

Furres of martrik and sabels, belonging to Mary Queen of Scots, 348; John Sempill imprisoned for not delivering them, *ib.*, 351.

## G.

GAIRLEIS, young Laird of, 358; assaulted, and two of his servants slain, 359, 361, 362.

Glasfurde, barony of, 359, 362.

Glasgow, merchants of, forbid to supply victuals to the castle of Dumbarton, 353, 355.

Glenberrie, Laird of, 359, 363.

GLENCAIRN, EARL of, feud betwixt him and the Earl of Eglintoun, 354; James, his son, “pensioner” of Kelso, 359, 362. See Cunningham.

Glenne, Mr Robert, 367.

Glenquhan, lands of, 348, 350.

## H.

HADDINGTON, castle of, assaulted by Regent Lennox, 348.

Haistie, Mr James, minister at Tempill, witnesses Richard Bannatyne’s Last Will, 366.

Haldane, Margaret, Lady Colingtoun, 368, 369.

Hammiltoun, LORD CLAUD, 359, 362;—of Cochno, Andrew, 362;—of Drumry, John,

359;—of Inchmauchan, Robert, 359; William his brother, *ib.*;—of Myrretoun, Arthour, 359.

HUME, LORD, 348, 351;—of Manderstoun, 348, 350.

HUNTLEY, EARL of, his answers to the charge alleged against him, of having violated the Abstinence, 357.



## J.

JEWELS and furs belonging to Mary Queen of Scots, 348.

## K.

KELSO, pensioner of, 359.

Kennedie, Hew, burgess of Air, husband of Susanna Bannatyne, 364, 365.

Ker of Faudounsye, Sir Andrew, knight, marries John Knox's widow, 367, *note*;—of Hirsell, Sir Andrew, knight, 369; Lady Edmestoune, his wife, *ib.*

Kirk of Scotland, John Knox's address to, in his Last Will, 369, 370.

Knox, John, his Last Will and Testament, 366; his widow and children, 367, 371, 372;

his plate and books, &c., 367, 371; he owed no debts at his death, 369. See Stewart;—Martha, Margaret, and Elizabeth, daughters of John Knox, 367, 371, 372; their marriages, 367, *note*;—Nathanaell and Eleazare, sons of John Knox, 371, 372;—Paule, nephew of John Knox, 371; the Reformer infests his nephew in an annual-rent "to hald him at the scules," 372;—William, brother of John Knox, 371.

Kynnele, lands of, spoiled, 347.

## L.

LAMPFLAIR, lands of, 359, 363.

LENNOX, EARL of, Note of things done by him and his party against the Abstinence, 347; his Answer, 350; Notes of certain acts, &c. 352; his Answer, 353; Letter from him, 356; his Instructions to the Commendator of Dumfermling, then in London, 358; his nephew Lord Robert Stewart's servants slain, &c. 358, 359; he prays the Commendator of Dumfermling to remit money to Scotland to pay the army, which he had "mekle ado to stay," 361.

Lesmahago, 359, 362.

Lethingtoun, lands of, spoiled, 348, 352.

LEVINGSTOUN, LORD, 355.

Lindsay, Mr Archibald, 357; is taken prisoner and his servant shot in the leg, *ib.*; liberated, *ib.*

Linlithgow, Queen's parliament, 351.

Lochlevin, Laird of, 348; Geo. Douglas effects Queen Mary's escape from the castle of Lochleven, *ib.*

Lokhart of Boghall, John, 366;—James, 366; John, 366.

## M.

MACGILL of Rankelour-nether, Mr James, 369.  
 Mair, George, 364, 365.  
 Maitland, Mr Thomas, goes to Flanders, 354;  
 —Mr Robert, commissary of Edinburgh,  
 372.  
 Mansoun, John, 357.  
 Martrik and sabels (furs) belonging to Mary  
 Queen of Scots, 348.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, answers to the alleged  
 injuries done by her party, 361; her escape  
 from Lochleven, 348; jewels and furs be-  
 longing to her, 348, 362.  
 Mitchell, James, 364, 366.  
 Moone, John, 356.  
 MORTON, EARL of, 353, 360.  
 MURRAY, REGENT, his death, 352, 353, 362.

## N.

NORTHUMBERLAND, COUNTESS of, goes to Flan-  
 ders, 354.

Nudry, house of, taken by Regent Lennox,  
 348, 355.

## P.

P'AISLEY, Abbey and place of, assaulted by the  
 Hammiltons, and Lord Sempill taken pri-  
 soner, 359, 362.  
 Papists, John Knox's address to them, in his  
 Last Will, 369, 370.  
 Pennemoir, J. Knox's widow infeft in annual-  
 rent out of these lands, for 800 merks, 371.  
 Pitcairn, Robert, Secretary of State, &c. See  
 Dumfermling.

Plate, silver, belonging to John Knox, 367,  
 371.  
 Pont, Robert, minister of St Cuthbert's, son-  
 in-law of John Knox, 367, *note*.  
 Porterfield, Mr John, minister, 366.  
 Prestoun of Quhythill, Richard, 368; Helen  
 Cowtis, his widow, 368.  
 Prestoun of Wallefield, Archibald, 369.

## Q.

QUEEN'S party, answers to alleged injuries done  
 by them, 361.  
 Quhitherne, Commendator of (Lord Robert  
 Stewart), 358, 361.

Quhyte kye and bullis (the ancient Caledonian  
 breed), slain by Regent Lennox's troops,  
 348, 350.

## R.

Rosse, BISHOP of, 349, 363.  
Rig of Carberry, James, 369.

Randolphe, Mr, 356, 371.  
Reid, Robert, 366.

## S.

Sabels and martrik, furs, 348, 362.  
Saltfatts, silver, belonging to John Knox, 367, 371.  
SANCTANDROIS, ARCHBISHOP of, 359.  
Sandielandis, Mr James, 364, 365, 366; Patrick, 365, 366.  
Scheirar, John, 365.  
Sempill. See Simple, Sympill.  
SEYTOUN, LORD, his houses of Seytoun and Nudry seized, 348, 351, 352; his lady imprisoned, 353, 354, 355.  
Silver drinking cups, spoons, and "saltfatts," belonging to John Knox, 367, 371.  
Simple, John, imprisoned in Blackness for not delivering jewels and furs of Mary Queen of Scots, 348, 351.

Somervell, Thomas, 364, 365; Mr James, 365.  
Spens of Condy, John, 353, 355.  
Stewart, Adam, 364, 365; Janet Bannatyne, his wife, 365;—LORD FRANCIS, tutory of, 353, 355;—Margaret (daughter of Andrew Lord Stewart of Ochiltree), relict (widow) of John Knox, 367; afterwards marries Sir Andrew Ker of Faudounside, knight, 367, *note*;—OF OCHILTREE, LORD, Andrew, father-in-law of John Knox, 367, 371;—Lord Robert, Commendator of Quhitherne, 358.  
SUSSEX, EARL of, 347, 350, 351, 352, 358.  
SUTHERLAND, EARL of, 357.  
SYMPILL, LORD, is taken prisoner and sent by Queen's party from castle of Draffen to Argyle, 359, 362. See Paisley.

## T.

Tax of 12,000 lib. raised by Earl of Lennox, 347, 352, 354.

Thankertoun, lands of, 348, 350.

## W.

WATSON, Allane, citiner of Sanctandrois, 357.  
Wattertoun, Laird of, 357; his servant hurt,  
&c. 357.  
Wauchope of Nudry-Merschell, William, 368,  
369.

Welsche, Mr John, minister of Air, 366; was  
son-in-law of John Knox, 367, *note*.  
Wynrahame, Mr Robert, collector of Fife, 368.  
See Superintendents, in the preceding In-  
dex.



















