

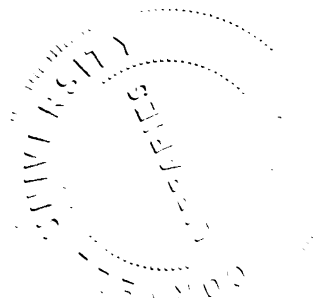
MEMOIRS
OF HIS OWN LIFE
BY SIR JAMES MELVILLE
OF HALHILL.

M. D.XLIX.—M. D.X CIII.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

PRINTED AT EDINBURGH,

M.DCCC.XXVII.



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At a Meeting of the Committee of Management of the BANNATYNE CLUB, held at Edinburgh, on the 10th day of July 1826,

Resolved, That the " MEMOIRS OF HIS OWN LIFE, BY SIR JAMES MELVILLE OF HALHILL," be printed for the use of the Members, from the Original Manuscript in the possession of the Right Honourable Sir George H. Rose ; under the superintendance of the VICE-PRESIDENT.

At a Meeting of the BANNATYNE CLUB, held at Edinburgh, on the 31st day of January 1827,

Resolved, That the PRESIDENT be requested to communicate the thanks of the Members to THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR GEORGE H. ROSE, for the use of his invaluable Manuscript of the Memoirs of Sir James Melville, so liberally and obligingly granted to them.

DAVID LAING, Secretary.



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M.DCCC.XXVII.

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PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

SIR JAMES MELVILLE is well known as a person of considerable distinction in the Scottish court, during the reigns of Queen Mary and King James the Sixth. In many of the political transactions of that eventful period he was himself personally concerned, and for nearly half a century, had been an acute and intelligent observer of the characters and conduct of those around him. On the accession of James to the English crown, he withdrew himself entirely from public life, and appears to have devoted a part of his leisure to the compilation of some "Memorials" of himself; not so much in the view of giving to the world an exact and regular History of all the great and interesting events of his own times, as of leaving to his children a sort of political testament, exhibiting for their instruction and guidance, as much as for the gratification of their curiosity, a view of his own conduct and experience as a courtier, and a practical illustration of those rules and maxims, by which success in public life was most likely to be attained.

Sir James Melville died in the year 1617, at the age of seventy-two, leaving several sons and daughters. Yet, by some strange accident or neglect, the work thus peculiarly designed for their use, was suffered to pass out of the possession of his family, and is said to have long lain unheeded and forgotten in the Castle of Edinburgh. Among the Presbyterian ministers who, in the year 1660, were imprisoned in that fortress, by an order of the Committee of Estates, was the venerable Mr Robert Trail; and it is said that the original manuscript of Melville's Memoirs was there accidentally found by him, and restored to the author's grandson.

From this manuscript, one copy at least was made; the use of which was given to Bishop Burnet, when employed in the composition of his History of the Reformation; and in the second volume of that work, he had repeatedly quoted and referred to Melville's Memoirs, as the source from which he had been enabled to draw much original and authentic information. Thus, after relating an anecdote of Montluc, bishop of Valence, it is added,—“ This is related by one
 “ who was then with him, and was carried over by him to be a page
 “ to the Scotch Queen; Sir James Melvil, who lived long in that
 “ court, under the Constable of France, and was afterwards much em-
 “ ployed by the Prince Elector Palatine in many negotiations; and
 “ coming home to his own country, was sent on many occasions to the
 “ court of England, where he lived in great esteem. He in his old age
 “ writ a narrative of all the affairs that himself had been concerned in,

“ which is one of the best and perfectest pieces of that nature that I
 “ have seen. The original is yet extant under his own hand in Scot-
 “ land : A copy of it was showed me by one descended from him, from
 “ which I shall discover many considerable passages, though the affairs
 “ in which he was most employed were something later than the time
 “ of which I am to write.”*

It seems highly probable that this descendant of Sir James Melville was George Scott of Pitlochrie, a younger son of Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, and Margaret Melville one of Sir James's daughters. Certain it is, that George Scott was in London, for some time, in the course of the year 1679, when Burnet must have been employed in collecting materials for the second volume of his History of the Reformation, and when he may be presumed to have received the communication, above alluded to, of a copy of Melville's Memoirs, taken from “ the original
 “ under the author's own hand, yet extant in Scotland.” This part of Burnet's work was published in 1681. In 1683, it was followed by the first publication of the Memoirs, of which George Scott was, nominally at least, the editor, and in the preparation of which he professes to have used a copy, “ derived to him” from the original, after its restoration to the family of Halhill.†

* Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 204. Among other references to Melville's narrative, see also vol. ii. pp. 214, 408, 411.

† Vide Appendix.

In an "Epistle to the Reader," prefixed to the work, after alluding to the period of the author's life at which "with his own hand he drew up these Memoires," the editor proceeds to say,—“How far he deduced them I cannot certainly determine; 'tis very probable he had given an account of all till the going of the King to England, though *this copy* extend not so far: However, thou hast all that I have, and nothing more than what is the author's, for I should esteem it impiety to obtrude any thing of my own under his name. And I hope the reader will rather accept kindly what is here happily retriev'd, than be offended at me for not furnishing him with more than the injuries of time and ill men have left us. And, indeed, I was not a little encouraged in this publication, by reflecting on the wonderful preservation of so much of it, after so many years, and its then coming so providentially to my hand; it having found the Castle of Edinburgh an asylum till the year 1660, which yet had not been found able to afford shelter to the Public Records of the kingdom, from the hands of tyrannical usurpers: Though I have not met with any information by what way it came thither, far less how secured so long a space, and amidst so many confusions, being there recommended to no man's particular care, but exposed to the mercy of the rabble: Whence it was wonderfully rescued by Mr Robert Trail, late minister of the Gray-Fryars Church in Edinburgh, when imprison'd there, to whom the author's hand was exactly known. This Mr Trail, counting it an happiness

“ to have lighted on so great a rarity, knowing the worth and abilities
 “ of the author, remitted it to Sir James Melvil of Halhil, the author’s
 “ grandchild : *From whence it was derived to me* ; and having perus-
 “ ed it, and thought I should be highly injurious to the publick, if I
 “ did not communicate it to the world ; together with the author’s fol-
 “ lowing Epistle to his son in the nature of a Dedication, wherein, as
 “ he shows his deep insight into the intrigues of Princes Courts, so it
 “ likewise gives an evident demonstration of his sincerity in what he
 “ has therein delivered ; and of his firm affection to virtue and ho-
 “ nesty, and detestation of vice, and those flattering acts whereby evil
 “ and self-seeking counsellours have often abused the best of Princes.”

It is scarcely necessary to say, that the work thus given to the public was generally regarded as in itself a most interesting narrative, and an invaluable addition to the authentic history of a period in which the characters and motives of the great actors had become the subject of endless controversy. It appears, however, that suspicions of the fidelity of the publisher began early to be entertained. His departure from the original he had professed to copy was, in one respect, abundantly obvious. The general style and phraseology of the Memoirs must have been clearly perceived not to be those of the age of Sir James Melville ; but from this it could only be inferred that, agreeably to the fashion of the time, the work had been *done into English* by some *good hand* ; nor could it fail to be remarked that the task had been performed by some one

very imperfectly versed in the peculiar idioms and antiquated phrasologies of the Scottish language.

Another ground of distrust, in later times at least, was the disappearance of the original manuscript, of which no traces could anywhere be found. This circumstance was by some connected with the disastrous fate of the editor and his family, who were known to have perished at sea, in the course of an ill-omened voyage to America.* A less charitable explanation was adopted by others, whose opinions and prejudices inclined them to throw discredit on the historical accuracy of the Memoirs, and who affected to think that the original manuscript had been intentionally destroyed, in order to conceal the supposed falsifications of the publisher.

These conjectures, in themselves of no great weight, proceeded on the supposition that Melville's original manuscript had been transferred, from the representatives of the family of Halhill, to their ill-fated kinsman, the editor of the Memoirs; a supposition most improbable in itself, and contradicted even by his own statements. It still continued, therefore, to be regarded as a matter of historical interest to ascertain, if possible, the degree of credit truly due to the work published under Melville's name. On some points, his veracity had been directly and vehemently impeached; and on others, connected with some of the most disputed facts in the history of that period, the testimony of an eye-witness apparently so candid,

* Vide Appendix.

was anxiously sought for in its purest and most genuine form. In this view, the late Mr Laing is known to have directed his inquiries into every quarter where it was thought probable that the original manuscript might have been deposited ; but, as he himself has informed us, the attempt proved unavailing ;* no traces of its existence could anywhere be found, and all hope of its discovery seemed to be nearly extinguished.

It must, therefore, afford much gratification to those who take an interest in such researches to learn, that an original manuscript of Sir James Melville's historical work has at last been found. Among the manuscripts formerly belonging to the family of the Earls of Marchmont, bequeathed to the late Mr George Rose, and now in the possession of his son, the Right Honourable Sir George H. Rose, there is one which has proved to be, in all probability, that original in the author's own hand, from which the copy perused by Burnet was taken, and from which the Memoirs published by the author's descendant were compiled. At what time, or by what means, it had passed into the possession of the Marchmont family, does not now appear. The intimate personal friendship, and political connexion of the two distinguished heads of the families of Melville and of Polwarth, at the period of the Revolution, are well known ; and that connexion may serve perhaps in some degree to account for the transfer of this interesting document into the hands of the first Earl of Marchmont, who,

* Dissertation on Darnley's Murder, ii. 104.

to his eminent talents and virtues as a statesman, added the tastes and accomplishments of a scholar.

Although it would be absurd to deny that there may have existed original manuscripts of this work, varying from each other in their structure and minute details, yet, on a fair consideration of all the circumstances that present themselves, in comparing the Marchmont manuscript with the printed Memoirs, it seems scarcely possible to resist the conclusion, that this must be the very same which was so fortunately discovered by Mr Robert Trail, and from which the Memoirs were derived.

The Marchmont manuscript, like that found in the Castle of Edinburgh, is in the handwriting of Sir James Melville. Independently of such alterations and corrections, and other peculiarities, as usually serve to indicate the hand of an author, the manuscript throughout has been found to bear a resemblance to other specimens of Melville's penmanship, so complete as to leave no hesitation in the mind of any one accustomed to make such comparisons. Among the Burghley Papers, in the Lansdowne Collection of Manuscripts now preserved in the British Museum, there is an original letter of Melville to Sir Thomas Randolph, supposed to have been written in the year 1572, probably more than thirty years anterior to the composition of his Memoirs. Of this letter, and of two small portions of the manuscript, lithographic imitations are here given; and although, on a comparison, there will be observed that diversity which is usual in the hand-

writing of the same individual, in middle life, and in old age, it has not been deemed necessary to seek for any later specimens, in order to establish the point in question.

Another proof of identity, is afforded by the mutilated state of the Marchmont manuscript, compared with that of the manuscript said to have been found by Mr Trail. Whatever probability there may be in the statement given by his grandson, that Melville had continued his narrative down to the period of his retirement from Court in 1603, it appears that no part of the work subsequent in date to 1593, had been saved. The last public event alluded to in the printed Memoirs, is the adjustment in that year of certain discussions, arising out of the marriage-contract of the King and Queen; and in the Marchmont manuscript, in like manner, this is the last portion of the narrative that remains complete. There follows, indeed, some account of Bothwell's "surprise" of the King in July 1593, but so mutilated and imperfect, from the injury sustained by the manuscript, as sufficiently to explain its omission in the printed Memoirs. This of itself may be regarded as a decisive circumstance; for it is evidently against all reasonable calculation of chances, that so exact a coincidence should have happened in the fortuitous mutilation of two separate copies of the same work.

It did not require the aid of an original manuscript, to discover that the Memoirs were a modernized version of Melville's narrative; but the extent of this change, and the licence of alteration which had

been indulged in, could not well have been underflood or credited, without an actual comparifon. In fo far as regards merely the language of the narrative, the editor's only purpofe feems to have been to give his book a more attractive and polifhed air ; an attempt which could not poffibly be made, without deftroying, in a great meafure, the genuine character of the original ; and which, in many inftances, has betrayed the compiler into miftakes and perversions of the author's meaning. Of thefe, the greater part muft have been owing to an imperfect knowledge of the antiquated words and phrafes of the Scottifh dialect of Melville's age ; but, in other inftances, the errors of the verfion may ftill be traced to fome occasional negligence or imperfection in the formation of words or letters, which a more careful examination of the manufcript might have enabled the copyift to decipher. To the external proofs of the identity of the Marchmont manufcript, and that employed by the editor of the Memoirs, may therefore be added fome miftakes of the kind now alluded to ; which, however, could not be rendered intelligible, without actual infpection of the original.

On the other hand, there are many palpable difcrepancies between the Memoirs and the manufcript, for which it may not be fo eafy to account, and which may be thought to bear with confiderable force againft the fuppofition that this was the manufcript employed by the compiler of the printed work. The point is luckily of no very ferious moment to the truth of hiftory ; but thofe who may think it deferv-

ing of inquiry, and who may be inclined to regard every deviation from the manuscript as a ground of presumption against the hypothesis here assumed, should bear in mind that critical fidelity and exactness in the publication of historical documents, were little studied or cared for till within a period comparatively recent. Those who are at all versant in this department of our literature, must be aware, that even where no deception was intended, it was held to be within the sound discretion, if not the bounden duty, of a careful editor, to retrench the prolixity, and expand the careless brevity of his author; to new-model the text into a better or more tasteful form, and to do whatever else he might deem requisite to render the work more acceptable to his readers. On the supposition that the Marchmont manuscript was the prototype of the printed Memoirs, it cannot be denied that the editor has made a liberal use of the customary privileges of his office; at the same time, it does not appear that any intentional or systematic plan to falsify the meaning and the sentiments of the author, had been entertained or acted on.

An obvious deviation of the printed Memoirs from their supposed original, will be found in the structure and arrangement of the earlier portion of the volume; it is at the same time, however, one of those most easily to be accounted for. In a preliminary address to his son, Sir James Melville informs him that the work he was about to prepare for his instruction, would consist chiefly of certain detached memorials and pieces written long before, in which were

recorded the transactions he had himself been employed in, or the observations he had made in the course of his travels. In the manuscript there are various traces of this mode of compilation. It begins with an account of his own personal history, and some of the remarkable occurrences of which he was a witness, from the period of his first leaving Scotland in 1549, till the battle of St Quentin in 1557. At this point, the course of the narrative is interrupted by a portion of manuscript, which is stated by the author not to belong to the History, but which he considers as "meeter to be placed at the end of the book." It consists of a series of examples of the ruin brought on young princes by the influence of evil councillors, drawn partly from ancient, partly from modern, history. His modern instances are King Edward VI. of England, and King James V. of Scotland. At the conclusion of this second and inflated portion of the manuscript, the author resumes his narrative nearly at the point where it was interrupted, yet not in such a way as to connect it exactly with the termination of the first part. In all that follows, however, there is a near approximation to the regular order of time, although at certain points it is not very difficult to discern a want of strict continuity, such as the author's plan of compilation could scarcely fail to occasion.

On examining the printed Memoirs, it will be found that an attempt, and not an unskilful one, has been made, to correct the disjointed state of the original composition. Throwing aside entirely the quotations from ancient and from English history, the work is made to commence

with that portion of the manuscript which relates to King James V.; after which, by means of some sentences taken from the beginning of the third part of the manuscript, where the narrative is resumed, the suppression of a few repetitions, and the introduction of a few words, the first and third parts are made to follow without any interruption, and the whole is connected together without any apparent awkwardness or irregularity.

Another deviation from the manuscript, less easily explained, will be found in the author's prefatory address to his son. The first half of this address, as given in the printed Memoirs, is obviously a licentious version of that contained in the manuscript; but for the concluding half, the manuscript supplies no prototype at all. It stops in a manner apparently quite abrupt, and it may therefore have occurred to the editor that it would figure ill without a more orderly conclusion. Had this continuation in the printed Memoirs contained any thing striking or original, it might have been difficult to believe that it could be the unauthorized work of the compiler; but on examination, it will be found to contain little more than a slight review of some leading facts in the author's life as detailed in the Memoirs, from which the purity of his political conduct is meant to be inferred;—such a sketch as the grandson might have ventured to draw from the more ample narrative before him, for the purpose of vindicating the character of his ancestor.

In many other parts of the work, discrepancies between the manu-

script and the printed Memoirs may be observed, of which it would be useless here to attempt any full detail. Thus, in deciphering the names of persons and places, the copyist appears to have been often puzzled, and has committed innumerable errors; but in many other instances he has steered clear of all difficulty, by entirely omitting the doubtful words. A similar expedient has been frequently adopted where the author's meaning was obscure, or where it was not found easy to turn it into modern English. But there are other instances of a still bolder and more licentious deviation from the manuscript, either by altering the true meaning and effect of the original, or by inserting observations and reflections, for which it affords no authority. As examples of the former sort, it may be sufficient to refer to Melville's observations on the characters of the Queen and of the Regent Murray.* Of the latter, among various instances, may be mentioned an interpolation in Melville's admonition to the Queen, on the subject of her condescensions to Rizzio, and other persons who had obtained a temporary ascendant in her favour.†

It would be idle to deny, that these and other circumstances of a similar kind may be adduced, as presumptions or proofs against the supposed identity of the Marchmont manuscript, and of that employed by the editor of the printed Memoirs. It is fortunate, however, that

* V. *infr.* p. 111, l. 4, compared with printed Memoirs, (first Edit.) p. 43, l. 25.—And p. 222, l. 9, compared with *pr. Mem.* p. 103, l. 3.

† V. *infr.* p. 133, l. 18, compared with *pr. Mem.* p. 55, l. 31—50.

between the manuscript and the printed Memoirs, the diversities are not such as greatly to affect the intrinsic value of the work ; and whatever may now be thought of the comparative value of the two, it is obvious, that until another original shall be found, to vindicate their accuracy, the Memoirs published by George Scott must yield in authority to the genuine manuscript of Sir James Melville, and must cease to be relied on as the authentic record of his testimony on the events which he has commemorated.

Of that manuscript the following volume is intended to exhibit a faithful and literal copy, without any variation that can be regarded as a departure from the original. In this, as in every manuscript of the same age, many words are given in a contracted form ; the orthography is rude and irregular ; and the punctuation, where any is attempted, is in general more likely to mislead than to assist the reader. To avoid these causes of obscurity, the abbreviations have, in general, been removed ; and an attempt has been made to accommodate the punctuation to the structure and genuine sense of the composition. Here, however, there is ample room for minute criticism. In many cases, the structure of the composition is so loose and inartificial, as scarcely to admit of a luminous or systematic arrangement ; and in others it may perhaps be thought that the genuine sense of the text has been marred or mistaken ; it is fit, therefore, the reader should always bear in mind, that on this head he is entitled to exercise his own unfettered judgment.

The original manuscript is without a title ; and although that already in common use is sufficiently descriptive of the general nature of the work, the liberty has here been taken of prefixing another still more characteristic, in which the words of the author himself, in the address to his son, have been borrowed.

To those who peruse the work with attention, it will be obvious that the chronological order of events has not always been accurately observed ; and the author's deviations from the order of time, while they indicate a strange failure of recollection, have sometimes betrayed him into mistakes in the connexion and sequence of events. Of this, among others that might be quoted, an instance occurs at the conclusion of the volume, where the baptism of Prince Henry, in 1594, is made to precede and lead on to some events that had occurred in the previous year. Others more important might be pointed out ; but as it is not here intended to enter into any critical examination of Melville's work, and as no attempt has been made to rectify the errors of the text, it may be enough to add, that even in its errors and defects, whatever be their nature or amount, the author's manuscript has been scrupulously followed.

APRIL, 1827.

A P P E N D I X.

ADDITIONAL NOTICES RESPECTING THE PUBLICATION OF THE MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES MELVILLE.

It has been stated, in the Preliminary Notice, that George Scott of Pitlochrie, the avowed Editor of Melville's Memoirs in 1683, was the author's grandson. He appears to have been a needy and bustling projector; and among other plans for retrieving his broken fortunes, he took a very active share in the settlement of the colony of East-New-Jersey; a scheme in which several persons of rank and influence in Scotland had embarked. In 1685, he published a Tract under the following title, "The Model of the Government of the Province of East-New-Jersey in America; and encouragements for such as design to be concerned there. Published for information of such as are desirous to be interested in that place." Edinburgh, 1685 (small 8vo.) It would be out of place here to enter into any account of this work; but in reference to a circumstance founded on in the "Preliminary Notice," it is proper here to quote from it the following words:—"Having at London, in the year 1679, the opportunity of frequent converse with several substantial and judicious gentlemen concerned in the American plantations, I had thereby the opportunity of understanding thoroughly the great advantage redounding to that city from undertakings of this nature," &c. Page 1.

In January 1685, he had obtained from the Scottish government a "Pass," permitting "and allowing him, with his lady, children, and family, and such other persons as he shall engage, to pass from this kingdom either by sea or land to any of his Majesties foreign plantations; provided such persons to be transported by him be not declared traitors, rebels, fugitives," &c.—"And for his further encouragement, the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council were pleased by an act to condescend, that such as were under bond to compare before them when called, should have up their said respective bonds,

“ upon their going with him ; whereby they were secured from the apprehension of any process to be, in their absence, intended against them upon that head.” Page 269.

In pursuance of the same policy, the Scottish Privy Council thought fit to make a grant to George Scott of nearly an hundred *Covenanters*, who had been for many months confined in Dunotter Castle, to be transported to the plantation in New Jersey. Having embarked the remains of his private fortune in this undertaking, he himself, with his wife, and a great proportion of those on board, were, in the course of the voyage, cut off by a malignant disorder, said to have been occasioned by the putrid state of their provisions. In Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, will be found a detailed account “ of the hardships of the prisoners transported to America “ with Pitlochry in September (1685.” B. iii. c. 9. sect. 12.

It has been somewhere remarked that “ this undertaking had such an issue as it deserved.” The reflection seems unmerited, in so far as the unfortunate Pitlochrie was concerned. He has not been accused of inhumanity to the prisoners under his charge ; they were the victims of the intolerant policy of the Scottish Government ; and had only to choose between the precarious chances of existence in another hemisphere, and the alternative of a lingering death in the dungeons of Dunotter or the Bass,

The first edition of Melville's Memoirs was published with the following title :—
 “ The Memoires of Sir James Melvil of Hal-hill ; containing an impartial account of the most remarkable affairs of State during the last age, not mentioned by other historians : more particularly relating to the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, under the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and King James. In all which transactions the author was personally and publickly concern'd. Now published from the Original Manuscript. By George Scott, Gent. London, Printed by E. H. for Robert Boulter at the Turk's-head in Corn-hill, against the Royal Exchange, 1683.”
 (In folio.)

To this work is prefixed the following “ Epistle to the Reader :”—

“ As there is scarce any kind of civil knowledge more necessary or profitable than history, (which is therefore very aptly stiled by the ancients, The Mistress of Life,) so of all sorts of history there is none so useful as that which, unlocking the cabinet, brings forth the letters, private instructions, consultations, and negotiations of ministers of state ; for then we see things in a clear light, strip'd of all their paints and disguisings, and discover those hidden springs of affairs, which give motion to all the vast machines and stupendous revolutions of princes and kingdoms, that make such a noise on the theatre of the world, and amaze us with unexpected shiftings of scenes and daily vicissitudes.

“ Of this latter kind are those Memoirs wherewith we here oblige the world, being the many years transactions and experiences of an eminent publick minister in his long and faithful services under, and negotiations with several princes, and at as ticklish a juncture and important crisis of affairs as could almost happen in any age ; for having, upon the perusal, not only found the same to contain many remarkable passages, not met with in any histories of those times, and in such occurrents as they have touched upon, to be much more exact and full in divers considerable circumstances, but observed it likewise to be furnished with much excellent, plain, honest advice, (delivered by the by,) which might be of great advantage to princes, and with both examples and precepts whereby their counsellors and favourites may be cautioned what just, free, and generous measures they ought to take, if they would not tread the same precipices whereby others have shipwrecked both their masters and themselves ; I could not but apprehend myself obliged to communicate such a treasure to the publick, as well for a general good, as, in some measure, to discharge my devoir to the memory of the worthy author, from whom I have the honour to be descended.

“ Three things there are essential to any history, and which chiefly recommend it to the esteem of judicious readers.

“ 1. That the subject-matter be real, and of considerable moment. Women and children may be delighted with, and dote upon romances and silly legends, or listen with attentive admiration to the wars of the pigmies, and adventures of the fairy land. But men of sense always expect solid transactions, and such substantial examples as may be of advantage to improve their judgment in civil wisdom, and the necessary conduct of life.

“ 2. That the author be capable of knowing what he speaks, and have opportunities to discover the certainty and full circumstances of those affairs, whereof he undertakes to treat.

“ 3. And lastly, His honesty, that he be a man of impartial veracity, and firm resolution to observe inviolable that prime law of history, *Ne quid falsi audeat dicere, ne quid veri non audeat*—Not to dare deliver any falshood, nor to conceal any truth.

“ All which characters are happily met in these Memoirs.

“ The matters contained are both lofty and weighty, for they treat of the actions and sufferings of princes and persons of the first rank ; open the close consultations and intrigues of several of the ablest ministers of state at that time in Christendom, and shew on what hinges the greatest affairs were turned, and by what artifices managed, so as to be either accomplished or defeated.

“ Nor could any gentleman have better advantages to be acquainted with the most

private and reserved scenes of those passages which here he delivers to the world, since in general of all that he writes, he may properly say, *Quorum pars magna fui*; they are matters within his own circle, and declare such as must of necessity fall within his own notice, since through his hands, and he himself had a principal part in the manage and transacting of them; being a person concerned in the most knotty affairs (especially relating to Scotland) during his time: and therefore, as *ocularis testis*, his work may challenge that credit which many authors do but beg from the charity of their courteous readers, at least deserves as much or more esteem as any other writers of that time, who in respect of him were but *Auriti*.

“ The author was descended of one of the most honourable families of the kingdom of Scotland, as being third son to the Laird of Raith, and at fourteen years of age was sent by the Queen Regent to be page of honour to her daughter Mary, married to the Dauphin of France. But, by her allowance, he entered into the service of the Duke of Montmorancy (Great Constable of France, chief Minister to Henry II.), who earnestly desired him from her Majesty, having a fancy for the youth’s promising parts. He was nine years entertained and employed by him; and when he grew up to riper years, and tried abilities in matters of greatest importance, an honourable pension for his greater encouragement was settled upon him by that King.

“ Then being desirous, for his farther accomplishment, to travel, having his Queen’s leave and his master’s permission for that purpose: but passing through Germany, he was detained by the perswasion of the Elector Palatine, and at his earnest entreaties necessitated to condescend to attend at his Court, where he resided three years, being by him employed on several embassies. After which, obtaining his consent to prosecute his former intentions of further travel, he visited Venice, Rome, and the most famous cities of Italy. Returning through Switzerland to the Elector’s Court, he there found a call from Queen Mary, then returned to her kingdom of Scotland, after the death of her husband King Francis, to attend her service.

“ The Queen Mother of France at the same time had offered him a large pension and profitable offices, to engage him to wait upon her service at the Court of France; she finding it her interest at that juncture to keep good correspondence with the Protestant Princes in Germany, and knowing him to be most acceptable to all of them. But though it appeared most advantageous to his private fortunes to have accepted of her noble offers, yet in this, and at all other times, he preferred his loyalty to his interest, and esteemed himself engaged in duty to serve his natural princess rather than a stranger.

“ Upon his arrival in Scotland, he was admitted a Privy Counsellor and Gentleman

of her Chamber, being continually employed by her Majesty in matters of her greatest concerns, till her unhappy confinement in Lochlevin : all which he discharged with an exact fidelity. And had she taken his sound advice, many of her misfortunes might have been avoided.

“ He was afterwards noticed by all the four successive Regents in a special manner, and intrusted by them with negotiations of greatest moment ; though after the Queen’s imprisonment he had ever owned the King’s side.

“ When his Majesty King James came to the government, he was especially recommended by the Queen, then prisoner in England, to him, as one most faithful and capable of doing him service. Whereupon he was likewise by his Majesty admitted a member of his most Honourable Privy Council, and of his Exchequer, as also made Gentleman of his chamber, continuing ever in favour and employment till his Majesty’s passage into England, to receive his hereditary right, the crown of that kingdom, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth.

“ The King would gladly have taken him along with him thither, offering him considerable advancements there. But being now stricken in years, and desirous to retreat from the troubles of the world, to spend the remainder of his days in contemplation, begged his Majesty’s permission thereto. However, after the King’s going for London, he found himself in duty engaged once to wait upon his Majesty in that kingdom, and accordingly went thither, and was graciously received ; and having attended there some weeks, humbly giving his Majesty his best advice, no court allurements (whereof he had great store) could prevail with him to alter his former resolutions of privacy ; so that he returned to his own house, where, as in harbour, reflecting on the past voyage of his life, and all the various weather and difficult storms of publick affairs wherein he had been concerned ; to inform the world of the true state of those transactions, and to direct others (especially his children) how to conduct themselves if called to such services, he with his own hand drew up the following Memoirs. How far he deduced them, I cannot certainly determine ; ’tis very probable he had given an account of all till the going of the King to England, though this copy extends not so far. However, thou hast all that I have, and nothing more than what is the author’s, for I should esteem it impiety to obtrude any thing of my own under his name. And I hope the reader will rather accept kindly what is here happily retrieved, than be offended at me for not furnishing him with more than the injuries of time and ill men have left us.

“ And indeed I was not a little encouraged to this publication, by reflecting on the wonderful preservation of so much of it, after so many years, and its then coming so pro-

videntially to my hand, it having found the Castle of Edinburgh an asylum till the year 1660, which yet had not been able to afford shelter to the publick records of the kingdom, from the hands of tyrannical usurpers ; though I have not met with any information by what way it came thither, far less how secured so long a space, and amidst so many confusions, being there recommended to no man's particular care, but exposed to the mercy of the rabble ; whence it was wonderfully rescued by Mr Robert Trail, late minister of the Gray-Friars church in Edinburgh, when imprisoned there, to whom the author's hand-writing was exactly known. This Mr Trail, counting it an happiness to have lighted on so great a rarity, knowing the worth and abilities of the author, remitted it to Sir James Melvil of Halhill, the author's grandchild ; from whence it was derived to me ; and having perused it, and thought I should be highly injurious to the publick, if I did not communicate it to the world, together with the author's following Epistle to his Son, in the nature of a Dedication, wherein as he shews his deep insight into the intrigues of Princes courts, so it likewise gives an evident demonstration of his sincerity in what he has herein delivered ; and of his firm affection to vertue and honesty, and detestation of vice, and those flattering arts whereby evil and self-seeking counsellors have often abused the best of Princes.

“ This is all I thought necessary to advertise thee of, touching this publication, and so leave it to thy candid perusal.

“ GEORGE SCOTT.”

As the Address of “ The Author to his Son,” differs in some respects very materially from the Marchmont Manuscript, it has been thought fit to print it here at length. It will serve at the same time as a specimen of the licence of translation, practised by the Editor of the Memoirs.

“ DEAR SON,

“ Seeing thou hast shown thyself so willing to satisfy my expectations of the following, and observing many of my former precepts during thy younger years, I grant now unto thy request the more gladly to put in writing, for thy better memory, several passages which thou hast heard me rehearse concerning the life I did lead during my peregrination through the most part of Europe, from the age of fourteen years till this present hour, together with the prosperous success and hard accidents happened to me ; hoping that thou wilt be so wise as to help thyself in time by my faults, and not wait upon the hurtful experience of the common sort, seeing no man can shew the right way better

than he who hath oftentimes chanced upon by-roads ; assuring thee that, next unto the special favour of God, nothing stood me in so much stead as the early embracing of unbought experience, by observing the stumbling errors of others. Neither did I ever find anything more dangerous than the frequent alighting to notice any seen example, which was always accompanied with over late repentance.

“ The most part of things which I purpose to set down presently, are certain old written memorials which were lying beside me in sundry parcels, treating of matters wherein I have been employed my self by sundry Princes, or which I have seen or observed, being in their countries, (as the purpose of themselves will declare) to serve for an example of life, and better behaviour to thee and thy brother, concerning the service of Princes, and meddling in their affairs, which I could not eschew, for I sought not them, but they me. I enforced my self to serve them more carefully, diligently, and faithfully than any of my companions, whereby I won greatest favour with those who were wise, grave, aged, and experimented ; as with the Prince Elector Palatine, and the old Duke of Montmorancy, Constable of France, who had the whole rule and government of the country under King Henry II., his master and mine, who were so constant, that their favour lasted so long as I remained in their service ; not without extream and dangerous envy of such of my companions as were naturally inclined to that vile vice, whom I took great pains, by patience, presents, and humility to gain, obliging them by that carriage to lay aside part of their malice. But when it chanced me after to serve Princes of younger years and of less experience, at the first by the like diligence, care, and fidelity, I obtained their favour above the rest of their servants ; yet at length they were carried away by the craft and envy of such as could subtilly creep into their favour, by flattery, and by joining together in a deceitful bond of fellowship, every one of them setting out the other as meetest and ablest for the service of their Prince, to the wreck of him and his country, craving the Prince to be secret, and not to communicate his secrets to any but their society. Thus the Prince's good qualities being smothered with such a company, were commonly led after the passions and particularities of those who shot only at their own marks, some of them continually possessing his ear, and debarring therefrom all honest, true, and plain speakers, so that no more hope could be left of a gracious government, nor place for good men to help their Prince and country, wherethrough fell out many foul, strange, and sad accidents, as may be afterward seen and read : Princes misused and abused, their country robbed, their best and truest servants wrecked, and the wicked instruments at last perished with all their high and fine pretences ; others, ay, such-like, succeeding in their place, never one taking example to become more temperate and dis-

creet, because of the destruction of those who went before them, but as highly and fiercely following their greedy, vain, and ambitious pretences, obtaining the like tragical reward. For my part, albeit I had seen, and oft times read of the wreck and backward rewards of all such true faithful servants and counsellors as were most careful of the weal and safety of their Prince, in resisting and gainstading the devices of the wicked sort, and sometimes minding the Prince not to suffer himself to be led by those who commit so many wrongs and errors at their appetite ; yet I left not off from what I thought my duty, neither for fear nor danger, to oppose myself continually to the false fetches of such minions, until, I must confess, rather following the extremity than the right midst, I lost my credit with the Prince, and tint my reward, reposing over much trust upon their constancy and my good service, which hath been oft an hurtful opinion unto honest men. With over-late repentance I was compelled to lament, as did Monsieur de Boussie when he was left and disliked by his master, crying out, ‘ Alas ! wherefore should men be earnest to surpass their neighbours in worthiness and fidelity ; seeing that Princes who get the fruit of our labours, like not to hear of plainness, but of pleasant speeches, and are easily altered without occasion upon the truest servants ? ’ I perceive well that to continue in their favour, they should not be served with uprightness, but with wyliness ; and instead of using free language for their honour and preservation, their servants should frame and accommodate themselves to their pleasure and will ; which may be easily done by the dullest sort of men : But my daft opinion was, that I might stand by honesty and vertue ; which I find now to be but a vain imagination, and a scholastical discourse, unmeet to bring men to any profitable preferment : And yet my nature will not suffer me to proceed by any other means, I being of the same mind and nature, and, by a just call and command, first of the Queen his Majesty’s mother, and afterward of himself, having more matter and greater warrant than many others, as well to admonish, advertise, and reprove the Prince to gainstand all evil instruments, took the more freedom, finding myself thereto in duty obliged, against the rule given by Seneca to Lucullus, saying, ‘ If thou desirest to be agreeable to great Princes, do them many services, and speak to them few words.’ Plato was of the same opinion, the favour of Princes being obtained with great pain and travel, and retained with great difficulty ; therefore should the wise courtier be careful of offending them, either by gesture, word, or deed : For being once in disgrace with them, they may well forgive, but they shall never be so great with them again, do what they will. Sometimes a man may discreetly put the Prince in remembrance of his long and good service ; but cast not up thy service, nor be importunate in demanding reward : Therefore be not so audacious as to find fault with thy Prince’s

proceedings, nor to give advice unrequired, or advertisements without good grounds of being credited ; for Princes notice not any thing but what is told them by their favourites and minions, who commonly seem to allow and take pleasure of whatsoever recreation they find the Prince inclined to ; not as by way of flattery, but as by way of yielding, and leaving their own pleasure to take pains to please the Prince ; they never appear discontent, although he do not reward them in due time ; they never challenge him of breach of promise, in case he break it. In many of these rules I confess I have overshot my self, for too great fervency towards the Prince's service, having never minded my own particular advancement and profit : For otherwise I should have, at the earnest desire of the House of Guise, my old and great acquaintances while I was residing at the Court of France, titled in the Queen's ear, That her rebellious subjects, who had, at their own hands, without her authority, changed religion, should have been exemplarily punished as rebels and traitors : That if she condescended to acquiesce to the establishing the reformed religion, it would be constructed as meanness of spirit, and that she wanted authority to curb such a mutinous people : That it was below her, at the arrogant desire of her nobility, and to remove the idle jealousies of her other subjects, to lay aside Riccio, as being derogatory from her honour, that she could not have liberty to keep about her what servants she pleased ; seeing hence there might be ground to alledge there were other bad designs to follow, when in the first place they desired to separate from her such as they knew would be most trusty to her, and in whom she could most confide. This kind of language would probably have most suited her Majesty's humour, and would have procured to myself great bribes from Riccio and his Popish friends for my reward. But I thought it was more the part of a true friend to her Majesty, to acquaint her, that seeing her subjects had now embraced the Protestant religion, looking upon the Popish principles as damning, it was not her interest to do any thing that could give them any jealousy that she intended to alter their religion ; that as the entertaining of Riccio gave to all such some apparent ground of harbouring such apprehensions, he being a known enemy to their religion ; that having so much of her favour, he would undoubtedly use his endeavours to perswade her to re-establish that religion which she herself professed ; so it gave just ground of discontent to the nobility, who would look upon any extraordinary honour confer'd by her Majesty upon a stranger, as highly prejudicial to them, who were as willing and able to serve her as he could be ; and reflecting upon their loyalty, as if she had more trust to place in a stranger than in her own native countrymen and born subjects. Had I not more regarded my Princess her interest than mine own, I should have accepted the large offers made me by the Earl

of Bothwell, when he desired me to subscribe with the rest of his flatterers that paper wherein they declared it was her Majesty's interest to marry the said Earl ; but I chose rather to lay myself open to his hatred and revenge, whereby I was afterward in peril of my life : and tell her Majesty, that those who had so advised her, were betrayers of her honour for their own selfish ends, seeing her marrying a man commonly judged her husband's murderer, would leave a tash upon her name, and give too much ground of jealousy, that she had consented to that foul deed. I wanted not fair offers from Randolph and Killegrew, residents here from the Court of England, if I would have in so far complied with their designs, as not to have divulged what I perceived to be their drifts, which I could not conceal, finding them so destructive to the kingdom. I had the fair occasion of making a large fortune to myself, if I would have gone along with the Earl of Arran, by counselling the King's Majesty to follow his violent advices ; but finding them so far contrary to his interest, I did think myself engaged to warn his Majesty, that he was a dangerous man who gave him such advices ; that if he followed the same, he would run himself upon inevitable precipices ; that his Majesty's hearkning to the Duke of Lennox and him, the one a Papist, the other a wicked and ungodly man, would breed jealousies in his subjects' minds, which might produce dangerous effects. This freedom, and many times the like, I took ; which though his Majesty accepted in good part, yet I thereby contracted me store of enemies : But it was always my principle, rather to hazard myself by plain speech when it was necessary, than to expose my master to danger by silence or base flattery. And though the common practice, which I mentioned ere while, may seem to thrive best in some courts for a time ; yet under grave and wise Princes, and at long run, the honest maxims will prove most acceptable and safe : Therefore, I willingly opened these things to thee, that thou mayst as well know what is usually done, as what ought to be. There is a certain discretion to be used, that is free both from sawciness and assentation ; and a man may many times, if he skill it aright, give his Prince good counsel, contrary to his inclinations, yet without incurring his displeasure. This thou oughtest to study, if ever thou be called to publick affairs ; and though thou mayst bend with the necessity of some accidents, and yield to the times in some things, though not going just so as thou would have matters to go ; and humour the Prince in an ordinary business, to gain opportunity of doing greater good to him and thy country at a more lucky season ; yet be sure that thou never engage in any disloyalty, cruelty, or wickedness, nor suffer any thing to pass that thou seest will tend to his ruin or grand prejudice, without noticing it to him in some humble manner : And though for that time it be disrelishing or slighted, yet when he

sees the effects follow that thou admonishedst him of, he will love thee the better, and rather hearken to honest advice for time future. And withal thou wilt obtain the favour and blessing of Almighty God, whom thou must at all times endeavour faithfully and uprightly to serve, if ever thou expectest bliss in this or the other world ; to whose gracious Providence I commit thee, with the hearty well wishes and benison of

“ Thy Dearly Loving Father,
“ JAMES MELVIL.”

The second edition of Melville's Memoirs, was published at Edinburgh in the year 1735, in octavo. The following advertisement was prefixed :—

“ The character of Sir James Melvil, the author of the following Memoirs, being so well known to all that are conversant in the transactions of those times in which he wrote, and particularly, his great candour and impartiality, as well as his deep knowledge in the affairs which he relates, and in which he himself had a considerable share, being so much celebrated by some of the best historians who have appeared since his time, it is not to be expected that any thing that we can say concerning him or his performance will add any new recommendation to them. All that is incumbent on us is, to inform our readers, that the copies of the former edition being long since sold off, and now very rarely to be met with, except in the libraries of the curious, we were prevailed upon, by the advice of several judicious and learned gentlemen, to undertake this new edition. In doing whereof, great care has been taken to rectify several mistakes and errors that had escaped in the former edition ; particularly in the names of persons and places, whether occasioned by the faultiness of the copy, or, which is more probable, by the ignorance of the printer, who has therein also misled the French translator of it in several instances. We have moreover been at no small pains to adjust the pointing of the sentences, which has been so much neglected in the former editions, as in many places to render the author's sense obscure, and sometimes altogether unintelligible ; which any who compares the two editions together, will easily discover. Finally, that nothing might be wanting on our part, we have corrected the Index in a great many places, and rendered it more accurate and useful than the former one. Upon the whole, we may venture to hope, that this Work, besides the considerable abatement made in the Price, will come abroad with several advantages above what it had in the first publication of it.”

The work was reprinted at Glasgow in 1751 ; 12mo.

A Translation into French was published at the Hague in 1694 ; 2 tom. 8vo.—It was reprinted at Lyons in 1695 ; and at Amsterdam in 1704.

A new or improved Translation appeared in 1745, under the following title —“ *Memoires de Melvil, traduits de l'Anglois, avec des additions considerables.—A Edimbourg, Chez Barrows et Young, M.DCC.XLV, 3 tom.*” small 8vo. The work was evidently printed abroad. The additions, which fill the third volume, consist of Letters, written chiefly by Queen Mary, selected from various printed works. There is prefixed the following “ *Avertissement :*” —

“ Les Memoires que l'on donne au public ne doivent pas lui être inconnus—Ils ont parù en françois il y a près de 50 ans. Mais le stile de cette traduction est fort suranné, et d'ailleurs elle est si rare, qu'elle ne se trouve presque plus que dans les grandes Bibliothèques, et dans les cabinets de quelques Sçavans. Un grand Magistrat a désiré que l'on donnât à ces Memoires une nouvelle forme, et m'a fait l'honneur de me charger de ce travail. J'ai donc refondu entièrement cette traduction, je me suis appliqué à la rendre conforme à l'original Anglois, dont le traducteur s'étoit quelquefois écarté, et je l'ai augmentée d'un volume qui a une liaison naturelle avec ces Memoires. C'est un recueil des lettres de Marie Stuart, les unes originales, les autres traduites de l'Anglois et du Latin. J'ajouterai aux eclaircissemens que l'Editeur Anglois nous a donnés au sujet de ces Memoires, le jugement que M. l'Abbé de M. en porte dans l'Histoire de Marie Stuart. ‘ Melvil étoit le contemporain, le Ministre, et l'ami de la Reine d'Ecosse . . . Ses Memoires sont le plus précieux monument historique de son regne. . . Ils sont écrits avec cette simplicité et cette candeur qui font le caractère de l'honnête homme, et qui inspirent la confiance. . . Il suivoit sans passion le parti de l'erreur où le malheur de sa naissance l'avoit engagé ; et il ne montre ni fiel ni partialité contre les Catholiques.’ ”

**COMPARATIVE SPECIMENS OF THE HANDWRITING
OF SIR JAMES MELVILLE.**

**No. I. Extracts from the Manuscript of Sir James Melville's Memoirs,
in the possession of the Right Hon. Sir G. H. Rose.**

**No. II. An Original Letter from Sir James Melville to Sir Thomas
Randolphe, in the Lansdowne Collection of Manuscripts, now in the
British Museum; Burghley Papers, Num. xv. 20.**

No. I.

MS. Memoirs, Page 113.

The Regent, wha had bene brocht be his facillite to brek with the Duc of Norfolk, repented him again sa schone as Liddingtoun had schawen him the danger, and desyrit the accusation to be renderit to him again; alleging that he had some mair to add vnto it. Bot they said, that they wald hald that quhilk they had, and wer redy to receaue any vther addition when he pleased to geue it in. The Duc of Norfolk had enough ado to keip his contenance; Mester Jhon Wod winket vpon the secretary Cicill, wha smyled again vpon him; the rest of the Regentis company wer lauchen vpon other; the secretary Liddingtoun had a sair hart. The Regent cam fourth of the consaill house with the tear in his eye, and past to his logging at Kingistoun, a myll from court, wher his factious frendis had enough ado to comfort him.

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MS. Memoirs, Page 161.

The vrgent necessite of the tym, maist noble and excellent prince, causes me to be sa langsome and tedious. Humbly craving pardon, and hartly kissing your Maiesteis hand, I prey the eternell,
Sir, to grant your hyenes ane lang and happy lyf. From Halhill, this
15 of October, 1583.

Your Maiesteis maist humble and obedient seruitour,

JAMES MELVILLE.



The regent who had come brought his father's favorite to break up the Duke of Norfolk
 reported him again so false as Liddington had shown him the danger. and supposed
 the opportunity to be vnderstand to him again allaying that he had some more to add
 unto it, but they said that they would take that which they said, and was ready to
 receive any other addition when he pleased to give it us. The Duke of Norfolk
 had amongst other to buy his ransom, my Lord North was upon the same
 party still, who payed again upon him, the wife of the regent for any was
 likewise upon other, the servant Liddington had a great part. The regent was
 for all of the reward being in the year in his day, and past to his lodging at
 Kings house a myll from court, who by fasting freely had amongst other to win
 his gain,

The regent's impudence of the first, most noble and excellent prince, who
 me to be so long some and tedious humbly valuing your and partly
 keeping your most hand. I pray the strength
 Sir to grant your letters in long and partly by from 20th of the
 15. of October. 1583.

Your most humble and obedient servant.
 James McMillan

A army he was wont to retire from in private
places, only so as I desire to a quiet manner of
living, content with the peace which God has given
me; which he will also permit the duty of my country
and the nobility to be protectors of my quietness
quicker in such that I may be an enemy of war
not desirous of negotiation; I must tell therefore
of your affairs since you have married, and how
must be known and must Walsingham see
and how must be known to you, and how the
marriage is prospering, not that you are but
lately married I would give your name that
you get no rest but are still occupied in business
occupations, whereby it appears that for an ordinary
for you the longer than your friend, and your
you proceed at your best, it was your own friend
I have returned a firm opinion that you would
some further till your affairs were not that
is an earthly matter till you are well
about which you may keep away the wicked
opinion of the business that becometh the honour
and now and then will speak the pleasure,
what so ever you be that particularly my quiet life
and spirit in any business will get a little
hanker at Alexander said of degenere, which he said
between you and the former therefore I give you
favour my quietness, and find no fault that I
prefer not till you see you are, for my affairs
forward you of and so on, but it must be
yet a great stress and a more contentment than before
it can be blamed out and away, so that I know
yet matter and some of which hoping for content,
you, then at my last recommendation I take my best
young the other till send a good favour to you
affairs concerning narrow matters at word or hearing
the end of my life

Your obedient and respectful
friend
James M. Smith
J. S.

College of Sorvabl
S^r Thomas Fawcett
one of the Queen's mast
- n^o landy ambassadour
1, 15th July in Scotland

James M^orch
15th July
15th July

No. II.

As armytis wer wont to retire them in solitary places, euen so am I drawn to a quyet maner of lyving, content wyth the portion which God has geuen me, wha has also mouit the hartis of my l. Regentis g. and the nobilite to be protectours of my quyetnes; quhilk is such that I neyther am curious of newes nor desirous of negotiations. I couet till vnderstand of your weilfair sene ye was maried, and how mester Killigrewe and mester Walsingame dois, and how mester Dru Drowrie dois, and how the marchall is in prosperete. Wer not that ye ar bot laityly maried, I wald pitie your caice that can get na rest bot is still occupied with combersome occupations, wherby it apperis that sic as procured for yow this voyage wes your frend, and gene ye procured it your self, ye was your awen frend. I haue conceaued a fyrm oppinion that ye wald haue schifted till fairer wether, wer not that ye ar vtterly myndit till peacefy our troublit estait, wherby ye may wyp away the wicked oppinion of the vulgaire that beleues the contrary, and now and then will speak ther ple-sour. What so euer he be that parturbe my quyet lyf and estait with any busynes will get as mekle thankes as Alexander had of Deogines, when he stod betwix hym and the sonne; therefore I pray yow fauour my quyetnes and find na falt that I presse not till com wher ye ar, for my affection toward yow of auld is sa ruted, that it most be yet a greter storm and a more vehement blast before it can be blawen out and away, Howbeit, I haue yet matter and store of flyting keping for conuenient tym. this with my hartly commendations I tak my leif, preying the eternell till send a gud succes to your affaires concernyng concord. Wreten at mordow karny this xiiij day of marche.

Your crabit auld and constand

affectioned frend

JAMES MELVILLE.

(In dorso.)

To the Rycht Honorable
Sir Thomas Randolphe, Knycht,
one of the Quenes *ma^{tes}*
. . . inglandis ambassadours
presently in Scotland.

MEMORIALIS BE SIR JAMES MELUILLE,
SPECEFEING OF MATTERS WHERINTILL HE HES BENE EMPLOYED
BE SINDRIE PRINCES OR HAS SEEN AND VNDERSTAND
BEING IN THER COURTIS OR CONTREES,
TO SERUE FOR AN EXEMPLER OF LYF AND FETTER BEHAUOUR
TO HIS SONNIS CONCERNING THE SERUICE OF PRINCES
AND MEDLING IN THER AFFAIRES.

M.D.XLIX.—M.D.XCIII.

THE AUTHOR TO HIS SON.

P. 1. **S**ONE, ſen thou hes ſchauen thy ſelf ſa willing to ſatiſſie my expectation of the, in folowing and obſeruyng many of my formar preceptis during thy yong yeares, I grant now vnto the thy requeſtis the mair glaidly, quhilk is to put in wret for thy better memorie findrie thingis that thou had hard me rehers betymes, baith concernyng maneris, with ſome meit preceptis for thy barnely age; and alſo how to temper the rage of furious youth be the reull of godlynes and raiſoun; quhilk tua tretifes haue ſerued alſo vnto the reſt of thy brether and ſiſters. And now entring in rype age, to let the wit what tred of lyf I had led during my pergrination throw the maift part of Europe, from the age of 14. yeares vntill this preſent day, together with the prosperous ſucces and hard accidentis happenit vnto me in the mean tyme; hopping that thou ſalbe na les ernest and diligent to help thy ſelf be my faltis in dew tyme, and not tary vpon the hurtfull experience of the commoun ſort, ſen na man can ſchaw the richt way better than he that has oft tymes chancit vpon by roddis. Affuring the that, nyxt vnto the ſpeciall fauour of God, nathing ſtode me in

mair stede then the eirly embrassing of vnbocht experience be the ftoibling errorrs of vthers, nor fand nathing mair domegeable then the omitting oft tymes of any sean exemple, quhilk brocht euer with it oure lait repentance.

The maist part of thingis that I purpos to set down presently ar certane auld wreten memorialis that wer lying besyd me in findrie pieces, specefeing of matters wherintill I haue bene employed my self be findrie princes, or has seen and vnderstand being in ther courtis or contrees, (as the purposes of them selues will declare) to serue for an exemplar of lyf and better behauour to the and thy brether, concerning the seruice of princes and meddling in ther affaires, quhilk I culd not eschew; for I socht them not bot they me, yet enforcit my self to serue them mair cairfully diligently and faithfully than any of my compaignons; wherby I wan gretest fauour with them that wer wyse grave aged and experimented, as with the Prince Electour Palatin and auld Duc of Momorency Constable of France, wha had the hail reull and gouernement of the contrey vnder K. Henry 2. his maister and myn; wha wer sa constant that ther fauour lasted sa lang as I remanit in ther seruice, not without the extrem and dangerous enuy of sic of my compaignons as wer naturally inclynit to that vill vice; whom I tok gret paines also be patience presentis and humilite till won, and to set aside part of ther malice. Bot when it chancit me efterwart to serue princes of yonger yeares and of les experience, at the first of ther princely naturell I also anes, be the lyk diligence cair and fidelite, obtenit ther fauour abone many of the rest of ther saruandis; yet at lenth they wer caried away be the craft and enuy of sic as culd subtilly creip into ther conceatis be flattery, and be juning them selues to-

P. 2. gether in ane deſceatfull felowſhip; euery ane of them ſetting out others as meateſt and ableſt for the ſeruiſe of ther maifter, to the weall of him and his contrey; craving the prince to be ſecret and not to communicat his ſecretis or any of his adois bot to ther ſociete. Sa the princes kyndly and gud qualites being cled and ſinored with ſic a company, wer commonly and ſklauifchly led efter the paſſions and particularites of them that ſchoot only at ther awen markis; ſome of them continually poſſeſſing his ear, and debarring therfra all honeſt trew and plain ſpeakers, ſa that na mair hope wald be left of a gracious gouernement, nor place for gud men to help ther prince and contrey. Wherthrow fell out many foull ſtrange and hard accidentis, as may be ſean and red heir-efter, of princes ſa miſſufed and abuſed, ther contrey perturbed, ther beſt and treweſt ſaruandis wrakit, and the wicked instrumentis at lenth perriſſit with all ther hich and fyn pretences; vthers ay ſic lyk ſucceding in ther place, never ane taking example to becom mair temperat and diſcret at the deſtruction of ther deuanciers, bot as ferceſly following ther greedy vain and ambitious pretences, obtening the lyk tragicall rewardis. For my part, albeit I had ſean and oftymes red of the wrak and backward rewardis of all ſic trew faithfull confellours and ſaruandis as wer maift cairfull for the weill and ſaiffete of ther prince, in reſiſting and gainſtanding the deuyces of the wickit ſort, and ſometymes the prince for ſuffering them ſelues to be ſa led be them as to commit many wrangis and errours at ther appetit, I left not aff nather for fear nor danger till oppon and withſtand ſa continually againſt the falſe fetchis of ſic mingnons, vtill I mon confes therby rather following the rud extremyte then the richt midis, I loſt my credit with the prince and tint my reward; reſoſing ouermekle vpon ther conſtancy and my gud

feruice, quhilk hes bene oft ane hurtfull oppinion vnto honest men, with ouer lait repentance. I was compellit to lament, as did Monf^r. de Buffy when he was left and mislyked be his maister, crying out, "Alace wherfore suld men be earnest till surpafs ther marrowes in worthynes and fidelite, seing that princes wha getis the fruit of our labours lykis not to hear of planes, bot of plaissant speaches, and ar easely alterit without occasion vpon ther trewest saruandis : I persauwe weall that for to continow in ther fauour, they suld not be serued with vprichtnes bot with wylynes ; and insteid of fre langage for ther honour and preservation, till fram and accomod our selues to ther pleafour and will, quhilk may be easely done be the doildest sort of men : Bot my daft oppinion was that I mycht stand be honestie and vertu, quhilk I find now to be bot a vain imagination and a scolestiall discours, vnmeit to bring men till any profitabill preferrement ; and yet my naturell," said he, "will not suffer me till proceed be any vther meanis." I being of the same mynd and natour, and be a iust calling and command first of the Quen his maiesteis mother and afterwart of him self, had mair matter and a greter warrand then many vthers, alsweill till admonisch advertis and reprove the prince as till gainstand all euell instrumentis ; against the reull geuen be Seneca to Lucilius, saying, Gif thou desyres to be agreable to gret princes, do them many seruices and speak to them few wordis ; Plato being of the same oppinion. The fauour of princes being obtenit be gret pain and trauell and re-tenit with gret difficulte ; therfoir suld the wyfe courteour be laith till offend them, eyther be gestour word or dede ; for being anes in disgrace with them, they may weill forgif, bot thou fall never be sa gret with them again do what thou will. Sometymes a man may discretly put

the prince in remembrance of his lang and gud seruice, bot cast not oft vp his seruice, nor be not importun nor sa audacious as to find falt with the princes proceedingis; nor to geue aduysse vnrequyred, nor aduertissement without gud affurance to get credit; for princes lykis not nor takis na head bot to sic thingis as ar tald them be ther fauoritis and mingnons, wha commonly seam to allow, and to tak pleasour of whatsoeuer pastym or occupation that they can perlaue ther prince to be maist inclynit vnto, not as be way of flattery, bot be way of yelding and leaving their auen plefour, to tak panes to pleise the prince and till assist him in sic honest pasety m as he delitis intill; and will neuer seam to be miscontent with the prince, albeit he reward them not in dew tym; nor reproche him of his promyse incaice he brek it, nor that he has done better till vthers that haue not sa weall deserued. In many of thir reules I confes that I haue oft tymes ouerschot my self, for ouer gret seruency towardis the princes seruice, and ouer gret forgetfulnes of my auen particulier aduancement and proffit.

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SIR JAMES MELVILLE'S MEMOIRS.

OUR yong Quen Marie being contractit with Kyng Edwart the sext then only heritour of England as hir Maieſte was of Scotland, that this hail yll mycht be junit in ane monarchie, hir Maieſte be the practyſes of hir Frenche parentis and Scotis prelatis was tranſported in France be the weſt ſea. Wherupon fell out a furious wair betuen the twa contrees, to the loifs of many Scotifmens lyves at the battaill of Pincky, wherin France wer gret medlers and fend heir a ſex thowſand men of wair, and alſo Jehan de Monluc biſchop of Vallance for ambaffadour to the Gouvernour, and Quen mother fiſter to the Duc of Guiſe. And when the ſaid ambaffadour was to retourn in France, it pleiſit the Quen to fend me with him to be placit paige of honour with the Quen hir dochter, I being then 14. yeares paſt. Bot the ſaid biſchop paſt firſt in Yreland, be commandement of the King his maiſters letter, to knaw mair particulairly the motion and lyklyhead of the offers maid be Onell, Odonell, Odocart and Caloch, willing to caſt aff the yok of England and becom ſubiect to the King of France, provyding that he wald procure the Paipes gift of Yreland, and then fend to ther help 2000 hacbuters 200 leicht horſe men and four canons.

P. 4. The said ambaffadour fchippit in at Vruyng in the moneth of Januar the year 1549 toward Yreland, and was stormefted be the way in a little yll callit Sand yll before Kiltyre, wher we wer compellit to tary xvij dayes be raisoun of the ftorme. From Sande we failed towardis Yreland, bot the ftorme was yet fa extream that with gret danger of the fchip and of our lyues we entrit in at the mouth of Lochfeull in Yreland, vpon Fastrons euen in the said year 1549; for the skipper and marineris had tint all hope of faiffetie, having left ther ankers cutted behind them the nycht before. Before our landing we fent ane George Paris, who had bene fent in Scotland from the gret Onell and his afociatis, wha landit at the houfe of a gentilman that had married Odocartis dochter dwelling at the loch ege, wha cam in to our fchip and welcomed vs, and convoyed ws to his hous wher we refted that nycht. The nyxt mornyng Odocarte cam ther and convoyed ws to his hous quhilk was a gret dark tour, wher we had cauld cheir as hering and bifcuit, for it was lentroun. Ther finding twa English grey freris that wer fled out of England, for K. Edward the 6. was yet alyue, the said freres perfaving the bifchop to mak a compt of Odocartis dochter, wha fled him continowally, they brocht to him a woman that fpak Englis to ly with him; whilk harlet being keped quyety in his chamber, fand a little glafs within a kaice ftanding in a window, for the coffers wer all wet be the fea wallis that fell in the fchip during the form. Bot fche beleuit it had bene ordonit to eat becaufe it had ane odoriphant fmell, therefore fche lickit it clean out; quhilk put the bifchop in fic a rage that he cryed out for impatience, and difcouerit his harlettrie and his colair in fic fort as the freris fled and the woman folowed. Bot the Yrifch men and his auen faruandis leuch at the matter, for

it was a phioll of the only maift precious balm that grew in Egipt, whilk Solyman the gret Turc had geuen in a present to the said bifchop efter he had bene twa yeares ambaffadour for the K. of France in Turkey, and was esteamed worth twa thowfand crownis. In this mean tym that we remanit at Odocartis houfe, his yong dochter wha fled fra the bifchop cam and focht me wher euer I was, and brocht a preft with hir that culd fpeak Englis, and offerit gif I wald mary hir to goe with me till any part wher I pleafit,—efter I had geuen hir thankis, and fchew that I was yet yong and had na rentis and was boun till France.

Now the ambaffadour met at a quyet part with Onell and his affifters and hard ther offers and ouertures. And ther cam and met him the Patriark of Yreland wha was a Scotis man born callit Wachop, and was blind of baith his eyn, yet had bene dyuers tymes at Rome be poft. He did gret honour to the ambaffadour, and convoyed him to fee S^t Patrikis purgatorie, quhilk is lyk ane auld cole hugh that had tane fyre, be raifoun of the reak that afcendit out of the holl. From Odocartis hous we went to the dwelling place of the bifchope of Roy, not far from the narrow firth that runns throw Lochfeull to the fea. The said Earifch bifchop had bene alfo at Rome ; and ther we refted a thre weekis, tarieing vpon ane lomfaid or heland bark quhilk James Maconell fild haue fend from Kiltyre with his brother Angus to cary ws bak to Dombartane ; quhilk being com for ws, we parted to ane caftell quhilk the said Maconell had in Yreland, and fra that we inbarkit and refted a nycht in the yll of Jura, and the nyxt nycht in the yll of But. Bot be the way we tint our ruddour and was in gret perell of drownyng ; bot Angus efter he had tane down the faill said that we wer faif, and had drownit wer not that ded of his.

P. 5. When we cam to Kiltyre James Maconell traited ws honorably, and said that the bishop was the welcommer for my faik, because he was frendly intraited of my father when he was wardit in the castell of Dombar during the tym that my father was capten therof; of whom he maid ane honorable report to the said bishop,—occasion that I was ay the langer the better traited; for the bishop said he beleuit to haue bene rather welcom for that he was recommendit be the Quen douagier as ambafadour to the K. of France. Alwais Maconell wald haue me to fit at the head of the burd. Efter he had cased land ws at Dombartane be his said brother Angus, we raid to Stirling, wher efter aucht dayes the ambaffadour tok his leaue at the Quen and raid again to Dombartane, wher ther wer twa Frenche schippis (that had brocht filuer in Scotland to pay the French foldiours) redy to resaeue ws. Sa failing by the yll of Man and langis the fouth coist of Yreland, we landit at Conquet in Britany aucht dais efter our inbarking, not without some dangers be the way baith of Englis schippis and a gret storme, sa that anes at midnycht the marineris cryed that we wer all loift.

At Breft in Britany the bishop tok post toward the court of France, quhilk was in Paris for the tym. And because I was yong and he supponit I mycht not indure the post, he directed twa Scottis gentilmen with whais father he was acquainted in Scotland to be cairfull for me be the way; for we bocht thre little naigis to pafs be journey ryding to Paris. He also requested the said twa brether to be cairfull for me and not to let me want any necessary thing be the way, quhilk he fuld recompense at meting. He left with me sa mekle filuer as to by a naig and to be my expences till Paris. Now we thre inquiryed and fand out twa yong men, the ane a Frenchman the other a Britone,

that wer to ryd that fame way ; as also a yong gentilman of Spain wha was paffing also to the college at Paris. Our first dayes journey from Brest was to a town callit Laderny, wher we wer all sex logit in a chamber with thre bedis. The tua Frenche had ane bed, the tua Scotis another, and the yong Spainart and I the thrid bed. First I hard the twa Scottifmen devyfen how they wer directed be the bifchop to let me want nathing ; “ therefore” said they “ we will pay for his ordinair all the way, and fall compt vp twyfe as mekle to his mafter when we com to Paris, and fa fall wone our awen expences.” Then the twa Frenche not beleving that any of us vnderstod Frenche wer faying betuen tham, “ thir ftrangers ar all yong, and knowes not the faffion of the hoftereries, therefore we fall deall and reken with the oiftis at euery repaft and fall caufe the ftrangers pay mair nor the custome is, and that way fall we faif our expenfis,” and went about the nyxt day to put it in execufion. Bot I culd not refrain lauching in my mynd, and tald the yong Spainart, for I vnderftod alrede the Frenche, fa we war vpon our gardis. Yet the tua Scotis yong men wold not confent that I fuld pay for myself, hopping ftill to begyll the bifchop, but the Spainart and I wret vp euery dayes compt. Be the way ryding throw a wood the tua Frenchemen had appointed vther tua femyng to ryd with ws, quhilk tua in the midis of the wood leichted aff ther horfe and drew out ther fuerdis. The twa Frenchemen behalding our contenance and feing that we maid us for deffence, they tua drew out also ther fuerdis. Than they maid a sport of it, and wald bot fe as they allegit wha wald be feared and wha wald be ftout, in caice we mycht be fet vpon be brigandis betuen that and Paris. Bot the tua laft lowns left vs at the nyxt loging, and the twa Scotis fcollairs never obtenit paye-

P. 6. ment fra the bifchop, for ther pretendit fraud. We wer xij dayes in ryding betuen Brest and Paris, wher we arryuit efter Paice in the moneth of Aprill the year 1550.

The fpaice of a moneth efter our arriuell at Paris, the bifchop of Vallence was fent to Rome, and becaufe he tok poft he left me behind him at Paris to learn to play vpon the lut and to wret Frenche. I can not tell wherfore he prefented me not to our yong Quen as he promyfed; albeit efterwart he faid that he was myndit to mak me his air.

The caufe wherfore the K. of France fend him to Paip Jules is this. Paip Paull the 3. had changit fome landis of the kirk with Parme and Plaifance, twa townis appartenyng of befoir to the duckry of Mylan, and gaue them to his fone Piere Louys Farnez, wha married his eldeft fone Octauiio vpon the bastard dochter of themperour Charles V. The faid Piere Louys being mourdrift for his deteftable vyces, the nyxt Paip callit Jules pretendit to bring again the faid twa townis to the kirk, in ftead of the other kirklandis that wer efcambiond for them; compelling the Duc Octauiio, (finding him felf onable to gainftand the Paipes forces) to put the faid townis in the K. of Frances cufody; for he was in afgret fear of themperour his gud father, wha had gottin the poffeffion of the ducdome of Mylan. And to that effect he fend his brother Orace Duc of Cafters in France, to whom K. Henry 2. of France gaif his bastard dochter in mariage; the K. of France being as ernest to have a fut in Ytaly as was themperour to ftop him therfra, be raifoun of Mylan and Neaples quhilk the K. claimed and themperour had in poffeffion. And fa fchon as he faw the Frenche garnifouns within the town of Parma he tok plaine part with the Paip; quhilk moued the K. of France to pratek a paice with K. Edward the fext of Eng-

land, be the meanis of the Duc of Northumberland, wha in secret had a strait frendfchip with France, and had a mark of his auen that he schot at, as his proceedingis efterwart declaired.

The paice with England being concludit, that K. Edward fuld mary Elyzabeth eldest dochter to K. Henry 2. of France, and that he fuld geue his consent that the Quen of Scotland wha was betrowthed to him fuld be married with Francois Delphin of France, in quhilk paice Scotland being also comprehendit, in the mean tym the bischop of Vallence returnyng fra Rome without any acceptable expedition, wer causes also that the dealling betwen France and Onell of Yreland cessit. And in the mean tym the K. of France fet fourth ane proclamation forbidding his hail subiectis not to send to Rome for any bulles or confirmation of benifices ; quhilk together with the agrement with England pat the Paice in a gret fear that France wald become protestantis for dispyt, as K. Hary the 8. had done laitly of before ; and was the mair confirmed in this oppinion be raifoun of ane army that was schortly efter maid redy to pass in Germany to the aid of the princes protestantis, wher the K. Henry 2. led him self in persone l. thowfand men. For then many of the Germanis wer becom protestantis, throw the insolent avarice of the Paice and schameles proceedingis of his fellers of pardones, and be the zeall and baldnes of Martin Luter ; wha being perfecuted therfore, was menteanit and affisted be the gud Duc Jhon Frederik of Sax, with the Landgraue and other princes of the empyre.

Wherupon themperour Charles 5. tok occasion, vnder pretext of menteanyng the catholik Romain religion, to pretend to bring the empyre and haill dominions therof as patrimony to him and his posterite ;

and that way abandonit his gud fone the Duc Octauius to the Paipes discretion, for his greter assistance against the Germanis; quhilk presence themperour brought anes till a neir passe. For efter that themperour had vincust the protestantis in battaill and tane presoner the Duc Jhon Frederik, he past throw the maist part of the provinces and fre townes of Dutcheland and tok fra them ther liberties, placing officers at his pleasure; and gat fra them of giftis and ransomis xvj hundred thowand crownis and v hundred piece of artillerie. Yet he redoutted the Landgraue, wha was a vaillyant prince and chancit to be absent from the said battaill. Therefore he delt with the Duc Maurice gud fone to the said Landgraue to perswad his gud father to com in vnder assurance and promys, quhilk themperour brak, re-tenyng the said Landgraue captiue vpon the subtilite of a fillabe.

This Duc Maurice was cusing to the Duc of Sax captiue, and had obtenit the electorat of Sax, quhilk themperour tok fra the Duc his cusing and gaif him; wherfore he assisted with themperour as a fyn courteour, and helped him gretly in his victories against his contrey and frendis for promotion. Bot when the Landgraue cryed out vpon him, calling him schelm, poltroun, traitour, and disceauer of him whais dochter he had married, he maid oft tymes earnest fut to themperour for the libertie of his gud father in vain; themperour alleging na promys to be broken vnto the said Landgraue, causing the letter of promys and pacification to be red in his presens in the Dutch leid, wherintill ther was a wreten word quhilk mycht haue bene interpret dyuerfly; to wit this word *enig* was interpret be themperour *perpetuell*, and be the Landgraue and Duc Maurice it was tane for *null* or

nane ; bot they culd not mend them felues, for themperour said that the Landgraue suld not be keped in perpetuell prifoun. Sa the Landgraue was tua yeares sa straitly keped be the Spaniaris that oft in the nycht they held a leicht candle to his faice to be affured that he was fleping, and angred him sa that for dispyt he wald spit in ther faices ; crying out continoually against Maurice, wha was not flepen, bot had sent secetly to the K. of France, declairing how not only his gud father and he wer sa disceaued and misufed be themperour, bot also how that he had begun alredy to rauē the liberties of the empyre, to change the estait in a monarchie, against his aith and promyse maid at his election and crounation ; and that, vnder pretext till suppress heresies, sa affited be the Paip that he was lyk to prevaill ; preing the King not till suffer them that wer his frendis to be sa opprest, nor his compeditours to ryse ouer gret. Wherupon the said K. tok occasion till conuoy his armye in Allemaigne, seamyng to seak ther liberte ; he tok and pat him self in possession in his by passing, of Mets, Tow and Verdun, thre gret Imperiall townis and bischoprickis, quhilk he bruikis to this hour.

In the mean tym the Duc Maurice, lying at the seige of Madebourg lieutenant for themperour, making na mair semblance of miscontentement for the Landgraues retention, bot rather seamyng to be sa oblist vnto themperour that had sa hichly aduancit him, lyk a fyn courteour that he wald set forduart all his maisters procedingis and commandementis be they richt or wrang. Yet the Duc of Alb allegit in secet confaill with themperour that Maurice lingert ouer lang at the seige of the said toun, and that he was to be suspected becaufe themperour had offendit him. Bot Granvell bischop of Arras in the contraire said that

fic doild Dutch dronken headis nedit not to be doutted ; and then that tua of the said Dukis confellours wer penfioners to his sacred Maieſte, and aduertift him continowally of all the Dukis maift ſecret deliberations and doingis. Yet they thocht expedient to ſend for the Duc, to ſe gif he wald obey or mak ſome excuſe.

- P. 8. Bot the Duc Maurice had the ſubtilite aſgret as any Spaniard of themperours conſaill, and knew weill enough how that themperour had pratikit tua of his ſecretaires and confellours ; diſcembling to know any thing therof, aperit till do nathing by them, and to deliberat all his enterpryſes in ther preſens, wherby themperour was abuſed ; and when the ſaid Duc was wreten for, he tok poſt incontinent towardis the court, having in his company ane of the ſuburnit confellours ; whom he ſent before till aſſure themperour that he was folowing at leaſer, be raiſown of a fairnes in his ſyd quhilk vſed ſometymes to vex him. Bot the Duc had ſecretly commandit his lieutenant to bring efter him the hail army with all poſſible diligence and till marche nycht and day, ſa that he ſurpryſed themperour ; wha was compellit to ryſe from his ſupper and fle fourth of Ynsbruck with torche liecht, and ſa vtterly out of Dutcheland that he ſet never his fut within it again.

This being done he ſent to the K. of France, wha was with his armye beſyd Strawſbourg, geving him gret thankis for his paines, aduertiffing him of themperours fleing, praing him to return hame with his armye ; for Maurice was miſcontent of the taking of the thre Imperiall townis ; and in the mean tym haifted throw the contre and reſtored euery fre town and circle to ther formair liberteis.

Themperour again fearing to be compellit, ſet at liberte the Duc of Sax and the Landgrae of Heſſe. Finding him ſelf fruſtrat of his he-

ritable expectation, and vnderftanding that the Duc Maurice had a gret gruge againft the King for raving fraudfully the thre forfaid townis from the empyre, he delt with Maurice secretly, allowing all that he had done ; and that way being reconcyled, baith together cam, in vain, and layed the fiege to the town of Metz, quhilk the K. of France brukis with the reft vnto this day. Wherby may be obferuit how dangerous it is in ciuil difcention to bring in gret companies of ftrangers for to fupport any of the parties.

This mekle anent the affaires of Dutcheland may appeir to be on-partinent for me to wret, becaufe I was bot yong for the tym, and not prefent in the French armye, for the bifchop of Vallence remanit behind at Paris. Bot efterwart when I was in Germany, I was mair particularly infourmed of the hail be the gud Prince Electour Palatin then I beleue any other knew that hes wreten therof.

During the tym that the faid bifchop abaid at Paris, not willing to tyn tym, was defyrous to haue fome entre in the art of matematique ; and for that effect fand out a gret fcollair in dyuers hich fcyences callit Cavatius, and another callit Mons^r. Taggot. This Cavatius tok occafion in oft conference to tell him of tua familier fpritis that wer in Paris, awating vpon ane auld fcephird wha in his youth had feruit a preft, wha at his death left them to him. Wherupon the bifchop tok purpos, at the Kingis retournyng from his voyage of Al-maigne, to bring onto the K. the faid Cavatius, wha offerit to loife his head incaice he fchew not the tua fpritis to his Maieftie or till any that he wald fend, to com in the fourm of men doggis or catis. Bot the K. caufed burn the fcephird, and imprifonit the faid Cavatius, and wald not fee the faidis fpritis.

The other learnit man callit Taggot had bene also curious in findre of the said scyences, and had learnit be the art of palmesterie, as he said to me him self, that he wald die before he atteanit vnto the age of 28. yeares. "Wherfore" said he "I know the trew religion to be exercyfed at Geneua; ther will I go and end in Godis seruice." Sa he did, and died ther at Lausan as he had confcauit the oppinion, as I gat word afterwart.

- P. 2. At this tym the bifchop of Vallence being at court in S^t Germanis, he purposed to present me vnto the Quen. In the mean tym capten Ringan Cochburn, then ane of the Scotis gard, had obtenit leau to pass in Scotland and was newly returnit. This capten was a bufy medler, and had sometymes refuge and frequentation amang my frendis, and askit gene I culd speak gud Frenche, quhilk I denyed. Alwayes he said that he had a matter of importance to schaw vnto the Conftable, wha then had the haill reull of France vnder the King, and requested me to be his interpretair, for he wanted French him self; bot he wald not declair the purpos bot in the Conftables prefens. We attendit at the yssue of his denner, when he was to geue audience to dyuers ambaffadours. He commandit us to await at his chamber dur about twa eternun, quhilk hour he failed not to keip. Efter he had hard the ambaffadours and maid report vnto the K. of ther demandis, advyving him what till answer, now we twa wer brocht into his quyet cabinet, wher he was allane with a secretary callit Bask. Then the capten began to declair how that, in his lait being in Scotland, bifchop Jhon Hamiltoun, haill gyder of the Gouvernour his brother, had bene sa extrem feak that his speache was tint, with all hope of lyf or recouery. Wherupon the Quen dougier of Scotland practyfed sa with the Gouver-

nour that he gaue ouer the gouvernement to hir and maid hir Quen Regent ;—willing me to schaw the same vnto the Constable. Bot I requyred to knaw farther. Then he procedit to tell how that, when the bifchop of S^t Andrewes had recouerit his speach and health, be the help of Cardanus ane Ytalien magicien, he cursed and cryed out that the Gouvernour was bot a very beaft for geuen ouer of the gouvernement, seing that ther was bot a skitteren lassè betuen him and the crown. Bot I grew red when the capten putted vpon me to tell this taill to the Constable, wha culd perfaue how laith I was to rehearse it. At lenth when my said Lord preffit me, I said I thocht it not worthy that his L. fuld loife any gret tym therwith ; and sa thocht he him self, for he hard it not out, bot askit my name, and caufit his secretary to wret it vp; and gene I was a kyn to the capten, wha anfuerit in ill Frenche that I was his sifter sone. The Constable sperit at me gif it was sa ; bot I denyed that I was sib to him. Then he wald wit whom with I was. I schew him how that the bifchop of Vallence had commiffion from the Quen Regent of Scotland to place me paige with hir dochter. Then he inquiryed gif I wald tary with him in caice he mycht obtean the said bifchops consent. I said I beleuit that he durst not, in respect of his promyse to the Quen Regent. He said again that he had moyen to present me to the Quen when euer I pleafit, bot gif I wald tary with him he fuld aduance me and do me gud. Then I granted, gif he obtenit the bifchops gud will, to serue him. That same day he forgot not till defyre me at the bifchop, wha lent me his gud word, and tald me efterwart that the said Constable was the best master in France and mycht do me maist gud. Sa I entred in seruice with the said Constable in the year of God 1553 in the moneth of May.

I grant that thir litle truffelis ar not worthy to be put in wret, wer not to testify of Godis gracious gudnes to the posterite of his faithfull ; as Dauid rehearfes in the psalme, “ I haue bene yong and am waxing auld, and yet I never saw the iust abandonit nor ther childrene,” &c. For it was God that moued the Quen Regentis hart to tak tua of my brether in hir seruice, and to fend me in France to be plaicit with hir dochter our Quen ; wha also moued the bischop to defyre me to tary with him ; and the same God moued the Constables hart to defyre me.

P. 10. In this year 1553 in the moneth of May, the Constable of France convenit a gret armye, and being the Kingis lieutenant led them first to Amyance in Picardie. For when the K. of France was in Dutche-land with his army, to help as he wald appeir the princes of thempyre, Frau Mary Quen of Hungarie then a widow, sifter to the said Empe-roure and Regent of Flanders, enterit with ane armye in Picardie and brunt the Kingis palice of Foulanbrey, with findre vther litle townis and vilages, thinking to cause the K. com back to debait his auen boundis. Sa that the wair entrit heit betuen them ; and the K. in his back comyng beseigite and wan Yvoy, Monmedy and Danvilliers, with Boullon and some vther strang castelles.

Therefore themperour in the spring tym of the said year 1553, entrit in persone with a gret armye in Picardie, and wan Tirrouan and Hedin, and brunt dyuers litle bovirgis and vilages ; quhilk caused the Con- stable to pass with his army as said is to resist him. The twa armyes being bot feuen leagues findre, the Constable was aduertit be ane double spye, that all themperours horfmen wer to com in the nycht and af- failge the Frenche camp. Therefore he till eschew that surpryse marched all nycht fordwart towardis the enemy, with hail forces on horfe and

fut ; wherby he surpryfed them that thocht to haue found him in his bed, and gaue them the ouerthrow, wher many wer flane and some tane. Among the rest the Duc of Ascot leader of that enterpryse was tane prifoner. Efter this victory, the K. Henry 2. cam to the camp him self. Then themperour reterit towardis the town of Valencien in Heirot, the Kingis campe folowing alwayes vpon his wyng, making dyuers dayes journey before they cam to the said Valencien ; wher themperour fet down his camp without the town upon ane hiecht, and maid trenschees and deip fouffies round about the same. Wher the K. presented him bataille, and taried ane haill day in vain to se gif he mycht be provoked to com fourth ; and to that effect fend a number of infantis perdues to his trenschees to bring on the skirmysh, wher themperour fend out some companies of horfmen, that wer schon dung bak within ther fort. In the mean tym themperour caufed schut aff his haill volee of arteillerie at our camp, with litle skaith. We wer weill enough aduertist that themperour was determinit not to hazard battaill, for he tok oppinion that fortoun fauorit na mair his auld age. Therefore when nycht drew neir, the K. reterit to St Quentin, wher the Constable fell deadly feak, of the age of lxiij yeares. Then baith the armyes wer fend to ther winter garniffons ; themperour to Bruxelis, the King to Paris, and the Constable to his palice of Chantillye to recouer his health.

During the winter ther wes a gret convention betuen Calis and Arders, wher the Cardinal Pole Englesch man was appointed mediatour be the Paip to agre thir twa gret princes, bot without any gud effect.

Therefore the K. past first to the feildis the nyxt spring with his army, (to wit the year 1554) as themperour had done the year before ;

at quhilk tym I was maid his penfioner be the Conftables moyen. His Maieſte befiegit and wan firſt Marianbourgh a trim town, and a gret ſtreth apperteyning till Frau Mary callit Marymont. He tok alfo hir palice of Baings and brint it, in ſtede of Foulanbrye quhilk ſche had brunt of before. He tok alfo Bovin, and at lenth Dynan ; bot the caſtell of Dynan fitued vpon ane heich rok was ſtoutly debaited be capten Julien a Spanyart ; wha at lenth comyng fourth to ſpeak with the Conſtable of compoſition, wes retenit, and the men of warre cam fourth with bag and baggage.

P. 11. Few or nane of fouldiours that cam fourth of Dynan bot they wer hurt other with ſkelves of ſtanes be the force of our battery, or wer brunt with the fyre brandis that they did row down the ſtey bra wherupon the wall was biggen ; and thryſe they repoulfed our French futmen, wherof ther wer eleuen baner bearers that paſt vp to the head of the breſche ; to wit, firſt ane with the henſenge in his hand, not folowed with his company, was ſchot and fell tombling down the bra ; then another fouldiour, to won the office, tok the enſaigne and paſt vp lykwaies to the head of the wall, was alfo ſchot ; then the thrid, and all the eleven ilk ane efter other, wan ther deid and wer in nawayes affited with their companies, notwithstanding that the Conſtable my maifter ſtod beſyd crying and boiſting in vain ; and therefore he degradit the captanis and brak ther companies. Ther was a Scottis man brother to Barnbougall, callit Arche Moubrey, wha with his drawen ſwerd ran vp to the wall head and retournit ſaif ; bot he gat na reward albeit I was a futer for him, for many ar redier till puniſch faultes then to reward weil doers.

Efter this the K. entrit far in the Law Contrees, burnyng and ca-

rieing away gret butins ; bot sa schone as themperour culd convene any forces together, our armye began to retein hamewart ; wher themperour send fyve thousand horsmen to se gif they mycht persuaue any occasion of aduantage, quhilk they effeied to bring till pass, assailgeing our arreregard at the passing ouer of a litle watter. At quhilk tym the Constable taried behind him self, and turnyng his faice towarde them, and withstod ther charge stoutly with the Frenche futmen and some leicht horsmen, vntill the haill armye wer past ouer the said watter not far fra Cambray. Sa themperours horsmen folowed na farther at that tym, trowing that the K. wald retourn in France and skail his armye for that year.

Bot the K. drew langis the frontiers toward a gret streth callit Renty, wher he planted his camp and beseiged the said streth, quhilk I hard the constable promyse to delyuer vnto the K. before the end of aucht dayes. Quhilk promyse was not keped, for themperour cam in persone with his armye for the releif therof ; quhilk armye the constable raid out to meet with the haill French horsmen, leaving the futmen to ly still at the seige. For he had gret intelligence, and had hard wher themperour wald camp, marching langis a gret heicht that had a stey foirfaice towardis the part wher our camp lay ; bot it was easy to ryd vp and doun at the syde wher our horsmen raid, wher themperour send doun some harguletis on horsbak to skirmysh. At quhilk tym Normond Lesly maister of Rothes wan gret reputation. For with a thretty Scotis men he raid vp the bray vpon a faire grey gelding ; he had aboue his corfellet of blak veluet, his cot of armour with tua braid whyt croiffes, the ane before and thother behind, with fleues of mailge and a red knap-pisk bonet vpon his head, wherby he was kend and sean a far aff be

the Conftable, Duc of Angien and Prince of Conde. Wher with his thretty, he chargit vpon threfcore of ther horfinen with culuerins, not folowed with feuen of his nomber ; wha in our ficht ftraik v of them fra ther horfe with his fpeir, before it brak ; then he drew his fwerd and ran in amang them, not caring ther continuell fchutting, to the admiration of the behalders. He flew dyuers of them ; at lenth when he faw a company of fpeirmen commyng doun againft him, he gaif his horfe the spurris, wha caried him to the Conftable and fell doun dead, P. 12. for he had many fchotis ; and worthy Normond was alfo fchot in dyuers partis, wherof he died xv dayes efter. He was firft caried to the Kingis awen tent, wher the Duc of Angyen and Prince of Conde tald his Maieftie that Hector of Troy was not mair vailgeant then the faid Normond ; whom the K. wald fe dreffit with his awen ferurgiens, and maid gret mean for him ; fa did the Conftable and all the reft of the princes. Bot na man maid mair dull nor the lard of Grange, wha cam to the camp the nyxt day efter, fra a quyet raid wher he had bene directed.

Now themperour fet doun his camp tua myles from Renty, and in ane infant trenched the haill camp round about, faif only the foirface of the ftey bra that loked towardis our camp, quhilk was ftarker then the reft. All that nycht ther wer many vpon the watche of baith the armyes, for euery man loked for a battaill the day folowing. And therefore themperour, lyk ane auld capten, feafed in the nycht a wood that lay vpon a bra fyd between the tua camps, quhilk wes baith a gret aduantage, and then compellit the maift part of our armye till ftand in armes all nycht, to be the mair onable for wanting of fleep and reft again the morn ; and then the plaice of the battaill was a plain valley that lay

vnder the said wood. The nyxt mornynge early, efter that euery man had maid ther prayers and tane a litle meat, we plaicit our armye in gud ordour of battaill vnder the said bra and wood. The K. him self that day commandit the battaille, bot he desyred the Constable to byd with him, for to tak confaill as occasion wald fall out. The Duc of Guise led the vangarde, and Marchall of St Andre the arriergard. Firsť sa many of our Frenche futmen as ar callit *enfants perdus* wer led langis the bra and wod ege, beginning to skermishe with the Spaniards that wer within the wod; wha had sa gret aduantage being couerit with buffis and trees, that they compellit our futmen to retein fearfully; quhilk euell fauorit beginnyng themperour mycht weall see from the hill wheron he was encamped. Therefore lyk a skilfull capten he tok the occasion to hazard ane gud part of his *avantgard*, with a 7. feild pieces, wha be his direction cam fercely forduart; the Spaniards with ther hacbutis throw the wod, a thousand Landknychts with bricht corfellets langis the bray fyd with lang pickis, the Conte of Swertzenbourg with all his reiters at the bra fut, and the hails leicht horfmen of themperours army vpon his rycht hand. At quhilk tym our futmen that wer apponted till skirmishe with the Spaniards retein ay mair and mair, as also our leicht horfmen in the valley drew a fyd, and gaue ouer gret place to themperours van gard; quhilk when it cam wher Mons^r de Tavanés and Mons^r de Lorge stode with ther companies, and saw them mak for deffence, they marched mair caddy. The Duc of Guise in the mean tym said that he wald ryd bak to the battaille, and obtean the Kingis command before he wald charge vpon the ennemy. Bot Mons^r de Lorge wha was ane auld capten, allegit that ther was na tym to speir confaill; “for the ennemy,” said he, “wilbe

affchone at the King as ye." Therefore it was resolved to charge courageously vpon the ennemy; quhilk being done and a litle renconter maid, the reifters ſhot aff all ther piſtolles, and finding themſelues not backit nor folowed with the reſt of themperours army, (as they allegit was promyſed vnto them) they gaue bakis and fled; being perſewed

P. 13. be our horſmen, wha flew about a v^c Dutche futmen, and a few Spaniartis, for the wod was ther releaf; bot nane of the horſmen, they all eſchaped within the rampartis of themperours camp. Ther feild pieces wer tane and many Spaniartis maid prifoners. Therefore we callit it a won battaill, and marched fordwart, poſſeſſing the grond wher the feicht was, and ſet down our camp that ſame nycht hard beſyd themperours; wha ſeamed not that he had loift any thing, bot remanit ſtedfaſtly within his trenſchees. All that nycht the maiſt part of the armyes wer vpon the watche, and the nyxt day the tua armyes loked paiceably vpon other; for we wald not hazard to charge them within ther fort, and they ſtayed vpon tuelff thouſand freſche men that wer commyng to ther ayd. Bot in the euenyng they ſhot aff their hail volee of canons, quhilk ſlappit part of our tentis; and we again ſhot our hail volee at them, and wald lauch to ſe the bouletis leicht and ſtot among them. Jet that ſame nycht quyetly at midnycht, without trompet or tabouring, we raifed our haill armye and reterit us hame till our awen town of Montreull, and left Renty on won; alleging that we had won ane battaill, quhilk was better, and that we wanted horſmeat in the begynnyng of winter. Bot themperour ſuffred us patently to paſs our way, not ſeamyng that he knew any thing of our reſtreit, bot was content that he had ſaiffed Renty on tane.

Eftir this themperour being agit, and finding himſelf vexit with the

gut and grauell, thocht meit to leaue the warld, and reteir himself in a monasterie of monkis in Spane. Bot first he maid moyen with the princes of thempyre for to elect his sone Phillip to be Emperour, quhilk they refused altogither, thinking him ouer mychty wherby to subdew ther liberties, as his father had minted to do of before. Bot they wer content to cheise his brother Ferdinand, wha was King of Bohem and Archeduc of Auftria, quhilk dominions lay nereft vnto the Turc. The said Ferdinand having also some landis in Hungarie, wald be compellit to deffend his awin landis, and that way wald be content of lefs contribution from the estaitis of thempyre, nor any other prince that lay farther aff. Sa Charles the V. left thempyre, and gaue ouer to his sone Phillip his other kingdomes and dominions that he had in Spain, Ytaly, and the Law Contrees. And for the establiffing of his said fonnes estait, he drew on a traity of trewes for the space of v. yeares, quhilk was agreed and fworn between the parties. Bot the said trewes wer schone broken, at the persuation of Paip Caraphe; wha intending to bring back again vnto the kirk some kirklandis that his predecefours had disponit to ther frendis, as the commoun custom of paipes is; this paip dispones to his bastard bairnes or neueus,—the nyxt paip reuokis the landis as for the weill of the kirk, and geues to his kin and frendis.

P. 14. Bot they that had thir landis that Paip Caraphe clamed, wer a gret clan in Italy callit Collonois; wha wer dependers vpon the K. of Spain, and wer vnder his protection, and wald not grant to geue ouer any of ther possessions vnto the Paip, neyther for his cursing, boisting nor braging, standing to ther defence. Wherof the Paip impatient, pouffit be twa of his neueus, sent the ane of them into France callit the Cardi-

nall Caraph. The said legat had born before him a hat vpon the point of a fwerd, baith hat and fwerd to be presented vnto the K. of France; the fwerd as ane assured warrant of victory, and the hat a taken of tryumphe; Injuning the K. tres Christien, as eldest sone to the Cathotholik Kirk of Rome, to send ane armye in Italy, to help the Paipes holines to recouer again to the kirk sic landis as wer wrangeoufly withhelden fra the same be the said raice of the Collonois. And for to tak away all kind of scrupulosite from the Kingis conscience, be raifon of his aith and eaten sacrement at the closing vp of the trewes with the K. of Spane, he the said Cardinall as Legat from Godis vicair had power and wald geue him full absolution, alleging the Paipes power to bind and louse; and mairouer that in doing sa deutifull ane gud office for the kirk, the K. fuld se and get ane gret commodite and aduantage to himself, as to be posselt again in the kingdome of Naples be the forces of the Paip; wha fuld jun with the Kingis armye, efter he had helped the kirk to recouer hir foresaid landis fra them that wer menteanit be his compeditour the King of Spain. The Duc of Guise and Cardinall of Lorraine his brother embracit this propofition very earnestly, for the Duc pretended to be maid vice roy of Napoles, wherby he myght the easelier mak his brother some day paip. Bot the auld Constable my maister was vtterly against the breking of the paice or trewes; bot the twa ambitious brether prevailed, persuading the K. that as the Constables age requyred rest, the K. being in the flour of his yeares fuld not let slip so faire ane occasion to recouer again the kingdome of Naples to the crown of France. Sa ane faire armye was preparit and sent into Italy vnder the condit of the Duc of Guise; and lykwais the kingis lieutenant in Picardie entrit in vpon the K. of Spains dominions

with fyre and fwerd ; fa vnloked for be them of the Law Contrees that some of the Frenche leicht horfmen entrit vpon horfbak within ane of ther kirkis vpon ane Sunday, and reft the chalice out of the preftis handis when he was mumlen his mefs.

The King of Spain tok this breaking of the paice hevely till hart ; and baith affifted the Collonnois againft the Paipes forces mair ernestly then he wald haue done, and alfo prepared a gret army againft the nyxt fpring to inuaid the frontiers of Picardie in France.

In the mean tym that the Duc of Guife with his Frenche armye was in Italy, the Paipe tok occafion haiftely till compon with the Collonnois ; wha finding themfelues lyk to be ftraited before the K. of Spaines forces mycht be redy to fupport them, gaif the Paipe part of his defyres, he making them fure of the reft.

P. 15. Bott the Duc of Guife thocht him felf gretly disgracit be the Paipes gyll, and far difaponted fra his pretence to the kingdome of Neaples, when he vnderftode that the Paipe was agreed by him ; and in fted to concure and help him to conquyre the kingdome of Neaples according to his promyfe, he planly refused, and faid that the winter was at hand, and that it wald be mair feamly that all Chriftien Princes fuld agre among them felues to mak warre againft the gret Turc. Sa he gaif the Duc of Guife leaue to kifs his fut, wha did it ; wherat the King of France was very angry baith at him and at the Paip. Then for the fpaice of tua moneth, euery man in the court of France had leaue to fpeak euell of the Paip ; wha agreed at that instant with the K. of Spain, be the mediation of the fame Cardinal Caraphe that brocht the fwerd and hat a litle of before to the K. of France Quhilk Cardinal was efterwart ftrangled be the nyxt Paip Pius 4. for practifing

to bring the gret Turke in Ytaly against the Christiens, quhilk he confessit at his dead to haue done for his awen gretnes. This I vnderstod efterwart, being at Rome.

Now to retourn to the Duc of Guise armye abandonit be the Paip ; they returnit in France with the los of the maist part dead for hunger be seaknes, and slain be the Spaniaris, wha waited on their heles all the way.

Before the Duc of Guise hame comyng in France, the K. of Spain was entrit vpon the frontiers of France with a gret armye of 1. thousand men ; whom to resist, the Constable my maister was send with a xvj thousand. The day before he tok his leaue at the K. in Reins in Champaigne, ryding to the huntis, ther cam a man in graue apparell folowing him vpon fut, crying for audience for Godis saik. Wherupon the Constable stayed, willing him to speak ; wha said, " The Lord sais feing that thou will not know me, I fall lykwayes not know the. Already I see the reack of thy glory spred athort the luft in dust." This strange langage pat the Constable in sic a collair that he straik the pure man in the faice with his horse wand, and boisted to cause him be hangit. The man anfuert that he was redy to suffer what puniffement he pleisit, feing he had parfourmed his commiffion. The Duc of Nevers perfaving the Constable commoued, drew neir and desyred to know the cause. The Constable schew him how that sic a knaiff had bene prechen to him of God. Then the said Duc boisted also the pure man ; bot as they raid forduart efter the K. I taried behind and askit the man what had moued him to use sic strange langage vnto the Constable. He said, the sprit of God sufferit him not to rest vntill he had difchargit his mynd of sic a commiffioun.

Now the armye of Spain aboue specified was led be Emanuell Duc of Scavoy langis the frontiers of France, wha at laft planted his camp about the toun of Sant Quentin. Wher the Conftable fend the admyrall of Chattillon his fifter fone to deffend the fame, and logit his camp at La Ferre, v. leigues fra the toun of S^t Quentin, quhilk was not fufficiently furniffit with men and monition; therefore he effayed the nyxt day, in vain, to put in it ma companies, vnder the condit of Mons^r. Dandelot, brother to the faid admyrall. Again efter the preparation of tua dayes, he marchit forduart with his haill armye toward S^t Quentin, careing with him xviii. canons, with fome bottis with briggis of burdes, that ar commounly in campis, to pafs the army in ane neid ouer reuers and watters. For ther was a litle loche vpon the fouth weft fyde of the town, in the quhilk the faid bottis wer fet, and Monsieur de Andelot firft with thre hundreth enterit in the town that way; bot fa fchone as it was perfault, the ennemy ftoppit the reft to enter.

P. 16. Bot fa fchone as the Duc of Scavoy was commyng with his haill army towardis us, the Conftable alleging that he had furniffit S^t Quentin fufficiently, drew hamwartis towardis La Fer in gud ordour, intending to efchew battaill gif he culd, the other being ane ouermatche. His intention was to pafs and befeige Calice, bot the haill horfmen of the enemyes was hard at us be we had traueled four myles, wher the Conftable stayed a whyll. At lenth he faid that ther horfmen cam to ftay us vntill ther futmen wer com forduart; therefore he thocht beft to pafs forduart to a narrow part between a wood and a villaige, ther to abyde them battaill gif na better mycht be. In the mean tym the Marchell of S^t Andre, a gret doer for the tym, gaif ane vnhappy confaill, that all the Frenche feruandis that wer vpon horfbak fuld retier from among

the men of armes, lest they fuld be some impediment to them that facht. Thir varletis, being large asmany as ther wer maisters, wer glaid to get them out of the pres, spurring with speid ther horse headis hamewartis, intending to stay vpon some know to behald the combat. The ennemy persaving a far aff a gret number of horsen as fleing, tok occasion to charge vpon our leicht horsen ; wheron the Constable, being in a valley betwen twa heichtis, marching towardis the strait part wher he intendit to stay, spurrit fordwart vp the litle bra, that he mycht se how to resist and put ordour to the battaill, quhilk gaif ane hard apprehension till others that it was a fleing ; bot when he turnit on the know head to behald the onfet, na man wald tary with him, for na command, nor crying, “ tary tary, return return ; ”—ther headis wer hamewartis, and ther hartis wer hyn. Then his maister staibler brocht him ane Turkey spedy horse, to run away with the rest. He anfuert in anger that it was against his profession and occupation to flee ;—addressing him self fiercely against the grettest troupe of ennemys, saying, “ let all gud seruantis to the King folow me ; ” only he was accompanied with a threscore of gentlemen, wha wer all ouerthrauen in ane instant. The Constable desyrit to be slain, bot his maister staibler callit Mons^r de Salvert cryed continually, “ It is the Constable, slei him not ; ” bot he was schot throw the thye before he was knauen, and was tane prisoner. I being euell hurt with a straik of a mafs vpon the head, was monted again be my seruand vpon a Scotis gelding, that caried me hame throw the ennemys, wha wer all betwen me and hame ; and twa of them straik at my head with fuerdis, because my head piece was tane aff efter the first renconter that the mafs had enfonced, and the twa wer standing betwen us and hame, to kep prisoners in a narrow streit. Bot my skeich horse ran

throw them in a narrow gait, against my will, throw the villaige ; for the feild betwen it and the wood was full of reak of culveringis, and ther wer the maift part of our futmen flain. The lowping ouer a dyk feparat me fra the twa ; then being pafst the faid villaige, ther was boundis anough till efchew ; fa I cam faif to La Ferre, wher I met with maifter Hary Killygrew, an Englis gentilman my auld frend, wha held my horfe till I fat down in ane barbours buith, to be penfit of the hurt in my head. In the mean tym ane proclamation was maid, that na man fuld remain within the town bot the ordinary garriffoun, becaufe the gouernour therof loked for a fiege.

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Thir ten leaues folowing, being first wreten, apperteins not to this history :—meter to be placit at the end of the buk, because heirby may be sean how other yong princes haue bene als euell handled as ours.

P. 17. **G**UD obedience is the office of subiectis ; for they shuld esteem the estat of a maiestrat as a commission com down from God, and therefore shuld bear them reuerence as to the lyknes of the euerlasting, representing onto ther eyn the deuyne empyre. Euery faull, sais S^t Paull, shuld submit them vnto the supperiour powers ; for wha resistis vnto ther authorite, resistis against the ordinance of God. Bot how this is obseruit may be ouer oft seane, chefly during the regne of yong princes.

Polibius wretis of thre yong princes that wer onworthely mishandled, be them that wer left to be ther cheif gouernours and confellers ; as Philip King of Macedone, Antiochus King of Siria, and Ptholomeus K. of Egypt ; quhilk hard handling of the said yong princes I haue translated and tane out of the historie of Polibius, because the lyk hes chancit laityly in thir partis.

Vnto the yong K. Phillipe of Macedone wes left Appelles for cheif gouernour, Megaleas to be chanceler, Leontius scheild bearer, and Alexander to be captene of the garde, and Taurion to be lieutenant in Peloponese. Appelles, in sted to do the office of ane honest man, vsed all the pernicious practyses that he culd inuent, till hender the yong princes prosperous proceedingis, and till hald him in continuell comber, intending till aduance him self. For at all sic tymes when ther wes any faire occasion, or ony gud confell geuen vnto the King, wherby he

mycht augment his dominions, and wone honour frendſhip or reputation, the ſaid Appelles not only gaue contrary counſell, bot had maid the maift part of the counſell till his effect. Only Aratus, a worthy capten ouer the Achayens, withſtod him ; wha loued the King enterely, and gaue wyſe counſell, and ſometymes diſcouerit the falſe practyſes of the confederat counſellours, albeit to his awen gret hendrance and parell ; for he wes deadly hated and enuyed therefore. Appelles had alredy wone vpon his faction Leontius and Megaleas, and had layed platis how till get Taurion and Alexander out of ther offices ; inventing lyes and falſe reportis againſt them, bot maift of all againſt Aratus ; quhilke was at lenth perfault and cam to the Kingis knowlege, cauſing him to lyk the better of Aratus, and conceaue a ſecret hattrent againſt the other ; quhilke the K. durſt not yet kyeth, in reſpect of Appelles gret authorite, bot awaited vpon tym mair opportun.

P. 18.

Now Appelles, finding he cam litle ſped be callomnies and lyes, he tok another courſe, and began to ſpeak mekle gud of Taurion, lieutenant for the King in Peloponeſe ; ſetting out the ſaid Taurion to be ſa gud a capten, and ſa diſcret and wyſe a counſellour, that he was meter then any other to be neir about the Kingis perſone ; thinking that way to diſplace him, and put another at his deuotion in that gret gouernement. Efter this, occaſion is offered that the King ſuld inuaid his enemyes the Etoliens. Appelles folowing fourth his proget, with aſſiſtance of his confederatis, ſpecially Leontius, Megaleas and he, ſweres and promyſes till hald hand till other, in ſtaying be all inderect meanes at ther power, that the Kingis enterpryſe ſhall tak na gud ſucces. Appelles for his part promyſed till paſs before till Chalcedone, wher prouiſion was to be maid for the Kingis armye ; and ſuld handle that turn in ſic

fort as that ther fuld be want, quhilk he failed not to do ; for when the King cam in thir partis, he was compellit to lay in wed his jowelis, and filuer weschell, to get furniffing for his awen ; wher also the army wes vtterly mistaiked. Megaleas and Leontius wer ordonit to abyd styll about the King, till excufe matters, and till interpret all to the best, and continowally to geue hurtfull conseiles. Leontius left nathing on-done for his part ; for the King having another enterpryse till tak the toun of Celene, his fouldiours being redy till surpryse the same, and some of them alredy within the toun, wer drawen bak again craftely be Leontius, wha hendrit the wonnyng therof ; and lykwais another fair enterpryse, and the haille sommer seasoun, be the wyles and fraud of Leontius ; quhilk the King began to persaue, and all the knauery of thir fyn confellours. After this he maid a sodaine enterpryse vpon the toun of Pharma, Leontius casting in many doutis and occasions of drift, till the ennemys mycht be foirwarnit. Bot the K. knowing ther meanyng, past fordwart sodanly, folowing the consell of Aratus, and wan that riche toun ; being ay vpon his gardis fra that tym fourth, awaiting vpon ane meit tym till put ordour to sic traitours.

Efter the wyunnyng of this toun, and dyuers vthers wherin the King had gud succes, King Philip maid a gret banket till all his nobles and captens ; wher the traitours schew them selues sorowfull, becaufe theyr deling was discouert, and wer deuyfen how that efter the banket they mycht slay Aratus. And as they wer about to put ther enterpryse till execution, in ane quyete nycht efter supper when it was dark, some vthers chancit till com by in the mean tym, and saued Aratus. Wher-upon Megaleas wes tane, bot Leontius fled ; Crinon wes also tane, ane of ther affociatis. Bot Leontius the nyxt day brocht with him all the

fcheild bearers, whom he commandit as capten, and boiftingly asked wha durft retean or lay handis vpon Megaleas and his marrowes.

P. 19. **Q**uhilk rebellion the King curagiously repreft, presenting him felf vnto them, and fchewing vnto them that it was done be his commandement. Sa Megaleas wes accused be Aratus and convict; yet wes efterwart fet to libertie for a fowm of filuer, bot culd not leaw aff fra his formair practyfes. For again when the King wes at the feage of a rich toun, fome potentatis and nybours delt for paice; quhilk being lyk to tak effect, Megaleas, Leontius and another callit Ptolomeus, caufed the fcheild bearers and dyuers bandis of the men of wair to rebell, and come in armes to the Kingis loging; brak vp the dures, and raif the fclaitis af the ruf of the houfe; compelling the K. till efchape and faif him felf in the nyxt toun, till the blud fell fra the rebelis hartis. Then the K. fend for the principalis of them; fome he punift, fome he boifted, and admoniffit others, knowing weall enough wha wer the fterers vp therof, bot held him quyet vntill he wes in furete within the toun of Corinth. At quhilk time Megaleas, Leontius, Ptolomeus and ther adherentis perfaued that ther malice wes manifeftit, and them felues in parell, they fent for ther chiftain Appelles till com till court and help them. Appelles in the mean tym remanit at hame, rewling the kingdome of Macedone and Theffalia, caufing all differencis, presentis, and embaffadours com before him; taking vpon him entierly the Kingis office, and maid bot a chiffer of the yong King. Sa fchone as Appelles cam neir the court, all the courteours raid out and met him, and convoyed him vnto the Kingis chamber dur. Bot when he preft till enter famylierly as he wes wont, a paige cam fourth and bad him ftand bak, faying that the King wes empefchit. Wherat he wes not a litle mifcontent,

cheifly when he saw euery man leaue him and steall fra him, as the fassion is in court commonly, when they se the prince lok down vpon any man. Megaleas persauyng Appelles disgraift, and not able till bear out his course, fled to the town of Athens, wher he gat na entre, fearing till offend the King; wha caused incontinent apprehend Leontius capten of the scheid bearers, efter that his souldiours wer sent away another errand. Bot when they hard that ther capten wes in handis, they send boifting langage vnto the K., quhilk moued the K. the haiftelier till cause execut Leontius. Then dyuers tok baldnes till advertis the K. of findry treafons committed againt him, and sent vnto him some wretings that Megaleas had wreten vnto the Kingis ennemys againt the King. Bot the K. sent to Thebes and tok him, wha slew him self be the way. Lykwais Appelles, hering that the K. had sent to tak him at Corrinth, whervnto he wes fled, he slew him self; and sa did his concubine and his sone. Some others ther dependers the K. tok and punifed, and sa endit tragically that company of traitours.

P. 20. This K. Philyp efter that he was red of thir concurring knaues, becam a notable prince, be dear bocht experience, and did many worthy deidis. Sa, as Sal fais, put away the wickit and peruers persones from the faice of the King, and his thron fall be establisfit in iustice.

To schaw the tragicall end also of ane ambitious crafty King tak Cleomenes King of Spart for exemple. For Cleomenes, defyrous bring till pafs many hyche pretencis and far fetchis, intendit first till enter-teny ciuill warres amang the Grecians, that he fiffching in dromely watters, mycht with tim mak him self maister of the haill. He junit

first in factioun with the Etoliens against Peleponese, hopping that way haifty victory ouer them baith ; they being subdewed, till affailge Macedone ; it being wone, all Grecia wald fall vnder him. Bot Antigonus King of Macedone, father till this Philipe aboue specified, perlawing the mark he schot at, junit him self again with them of Peloponese, and at length ouerthrew him in fundry battailles ; and that the mair easely, because Cleomenes wes haited of his awen subjectis, for falshead, gredines, and ambition, quhilkis ar commonly junit together. Amang vther his faltis, he flew traiterously Archidamus, formair K. of Spart, wha had fled fra the fury of ane vproire, and wes appointed to retourn hame againe to his formair estait. Cleomenes semyng to ryd out and meit him, till geue him the mair honorable convoy, flew him be the way ; bot spaired some that wer in his company, specially Nycagoras, wha had bene his gretest frend in his aduersite, and had entertained him in his houle all the whyll. Cleomenes being thus vincuft, and fled for refuge till Ptholomeus Philopater K. of Egipt ; during his being ther, arriuit Nycogoras with a schip full of fair horse, till Alexandria in Egipt ; chancing to meit Cleomenes on the schoir, wes glaidly saluted be him, supposing that Nycagoras loued him, for saiffing of his lyf when he flew Archidamus ; bot Nycagoras rather haitted him deadly for his treasonable slauchter of his gud frend Archidamus, and wes him self apperantly preseruit to be ane instrumēt of vengeance for the innocent blud of Archidamus. Now Cleomenes inquyres at Nycagoras wher he wes boun with the faire horse. He said, to sell them to the King Ptholomeus. Cleomenes thinking he might speak frely to him whais lyf he had saued, said that hures, harpes, and vain pastymes wes meter for sa doild and slugisch a King. The other gaif

him na anfuere, bot fnyled, vntill he mycht mak the King foirfean of Cleomenes bacbyting of him, quhilk he did. Wherupon Cleomenes wes maid captywe, yet eschaiped efterwart. And vnderstanding that the K. of Egipt wes mislyked of his subjectis, he did what he culd to steir them vp till rebellion againt him, and had wone some, that promyfed be wordis; but when Cleomenes with a few of them invadit the

P. 21. K. vpon the streit, and thocht to haue pullit him down from his chariot, crying "liberte, liberte;" bot feing few or nane fa pert till affist him, and that his foly and fury tok na better effect, he flew him self. And fa endit his vain pretencis, and the slauchter of Archidamus sufficiently auengit.

This Ptholomeus K. of Egipt, efter the death of his father, and slauchter of his brother Magan, thocht that he mycht lyue at hame in lecherie, drinking and ydlenes; and the rather becaufe that his nybour Antyochnus K. of Siria wes yet yong, and not able till enterpryse againt him. Therefore he dispyfed his nobilite confellours and captens, skairfely suffring any of them till com in his presens, or till enter in his chamber, making nane bot mean men preuy till his turnes. Also anent the gouernours of conuult contrees that lay far aff, he tok na head of them, bot gaue ear vnto the misreportis maid againt dyuers of the saidis gouernours be ther enuyers. Bot Theodotus gouernour of Celoceria, a gret prouince, and wha had done gret seruice, wes maift enuyed; his honour being hurt, his seruice euell interpret be sic as posselt the prince ear, his lyf wes in gret danger; fa that the Kingis facilitate and haifty geuyng of credence till fals reportis moued this worthy man till reuolt, and put the haill prouince of Celoceria in the handis of K. Antiochnus get yong. Quhilk wes occasion of gret wairres

afterwart ; for K. Ptholomeus at lenth wes compellit, and sa spurrit fordwart be many treafons, tincelis and rebellions againft him, that he wes fayn till enter in action efter hurtfull experience, for recouery of his loft contrees and townis, and to fut the fauour of his nobilitie and captens, quhilk he sa difdanit and difpyfed of before.

It is na meruell that this Egiptien K., wha wes ane of Alexanders fuceffours, forget him felf fa ; hauyng all thir fair contrees conkuft vnto him be the faid Alexander, without his labour or induftry ; feing that the faid K. Alexander him felf becam fa facill and infollent, efter that he had conkeft a gret part of the world. For returnyng hame-wart from Midia, he cam till Pafergades, a contre of the Perfians, wherof Orfynes wes lord, wha in nobilite and riches exceidit all vther men in thir boundis, as ane that brocht his pedegre from Cyrus. The riches his predeceffours left him wer gret, and he by a lang continuance in his inheritance had gretly increffit the fame. He met Alexander comyng to his contree, and prefented baith him and his frendis with gret giftis of gold, filuer, perles and pretious ftones and pretious ftuff, wefchellis of gold, robbis of purper, four thowfant tallentis of coignit filuer, a multitud of faire horfe and chariotis wrocht with gold and filuer ; bot gaif nathing till Bagras eunuch, whom Alexander fpecially fauored. And being inquyred of the caufe, he faid his custome was till honour the Kingis frendis, and not fic vicious men be whais company the K. was difhonorit ; quhilk wordis being reported again vnto

P. 22. Bagras, he conceaved a gret hattrent againft the noble man, and layed platis how he mycht get him accused ; fubburnyng fome knaues of Orfines awen contre to bear fals witnes againft him, and till await vpon fic meit tymes as he fuld appoint them ; for he wes a panderous and a

flatterer ; and ſa with continuance of fals tailes againſt the gud man, euer diſcembling the cauſe of his hattrent, left the prince fuld perſaue him and he therby tyn his credit ; therfor he wrocht ſa ſecretly, and at ſic opportun tymes, that he firſt caldit the Kingis hart and affection, and brak his familiarite and acces, that the K. mycht be the eaſelier wone and kendlit in an hattrent and anger againſt this honeſt and innocent man ; that at lenth the K. commandit to fley him, wha bure a ſingular loue and effectiō to Alexander, and eſtemed him large as worthy, notable and wailgeant as he was.

Efter the diſceſe of Allexander, his empyre and haill conkyſſes was deuydit among his captens ; and efter lang ſtryf among them, ther remanit four principalis kingdommes ; to wit, Caſſander K. of Macedone, Antigonus K. of Aſia myneur, Ptholemeus K. of Egypt, and Seleuchus King of Siria. Efter whais diſceſes, it fell to his eldeſt ſone, callit alſo Seleuchus, wha ſchortly efter died be diſceat and foull practyſes ; ſa the kingdome of Siria fell to Antiochus his brother, yet very yong, and therefore ſuffred his gret men to choiſe ther awen gouvernementis at ther pleſour. Acheus wes maid gouernour ouer all the contrees beyond Mont Taurus, Molon of Media, and his brother Allexander of Perſida ; and Hermeas a malitious man wes maid gouernour of the In contrees. All the other aboue named being litle better, this yong Kingis eſtair culd not be in ane guid caice, as fall appeir efterwart. Only Epi- genes cheif captē ouer the haill armye was honeſt and faithfull to his prence, and in gret eſtem, becauſe he was a man of word and deid, of lang experiance, and belouit of his ſoldiours. Hermeas again of a contrary natour, crafty fle and enuyous, ſocht be all poſſible callomnies till

put this worthy capten and confellour out of the way, that he mycht the better bring his difceatfull practyfes till pas, on refited or perfaued. All the other gouernours of gret contrees had intelligence with him, euery ane intending till vfurp and appropriat to them felues ther hail prouinces wherof they had commandement ; hopping eafily till brangle ther new gret conkiffes during the non aige of this yong K., whais kingdome was not yet weill eftabliffit. Firft it was concludit among them, that Molon and his brother fuld rebell, becaufe they lay fartheft aff ; quhilk being perfourmed, the King conuenit his confaill, that he mycht tak the redieft way till reduce again the faids contrees onder his obedience, till fuppreff the rebellion in dew tym. Epigenes being firft commandit in confaill to fpeak, gaif his aduyfe that the K. fuld fpedely pas to the partis wher the rebellion was, and fatill the fame before it tok rut in the hartis of the people ; wha for ther part had na occafion of hattrent or mifcontentement againft the K., bot wald rather in reſpect of his prefens apprehend the traitours, and put them in the Kingis handis to be puniffed. Hermeas impatient at this gud aduyfe, burfted out in a raige againft Epigenes, alleging that he afpyred to get the

P. 23. kingdome to him ſelf ; and now being tranſported be ambition, difcouerit him ſelf be this his wicked aduyfe, in confelling the K. yet ſa yong and tender, nother weill experienced nor prepared till hazard his perfone in ſa far partis, that he mycht bring his trefon the better til pas ; and therefore oponit him ſelf planely therto, willing the K. to remain at hame in the In contrees, and to fend ſome captens and ane part of the armye till fuppreff the rebellion ; and that the K. him ſelf fuld ga and refaue the contre of Celoceria not far af, quhilk was alfo offred vnto him be Theodotus gouernour therof vnder the K. of Egipt, wha was mal-

content with his maister for the tym. For Hermeas thocht that it wald raise vp wairres betwen the King of Egipt and him ; that his maister having wairres on all fydis, he mycht not only the better appropriat his gret gouvernement to him and his, bot also eschew puniffement for the manyfald offences quhilk he knew him felf that he had committed. Then to be quyt of Epigenes, whom he enuyed and fearit, he conterfitted a wretting, as gif Epigenes had wreten the same to Acheus, wha was then also in fufpition with the K., willing the said Acheus till advertis and admonifch Ptholemeus to be vpon his gardis, and till bring famony fchippis to ane appointed place, wher Epigenes and Acheus fuld be in a redines till help him at ther power. The yong K., for laik of experience, gaif eafy credit to this hurtfull confell, and fend captens with some men of wair againft Molon, wha wer be him deffait ; nether cam the K. any fpeid with his armye that he convoyed vnto Celofiria, for the hender that Hermeas maid vnto him be his fals practyfes. The K. feing the euell fucces of baith his enterpryfes, wes not content, and convenit his confell again till aduylfe of the nyxt best, and how till proceed againft Molon ; wha efter he had vincuft the Kingis capten Zenotes with his armye, wan Babillon and all the contrees therabout. At this convention, Ipigenes lamented that his first confell wes not folowed, and said get that albeit the rebelis had gottin fa gret aduantage be wynnynge of dyuers battailes towns and contrees, that it was meit the King fuld pafs in perfone againft Molon with gret deligence ; quhilk the hail confell agreed vnto. Nether durft Hermeas fpeak in the contraire, bot feamed that tym and occafion had caufed him chenge his oppinion ; and not only gaif aduylfe till ga fordwart, bot wes maift ernelst and diligent till fet fordwart all neceffary preparatifis ; and in

the mean tym deuyfed how he mycht diftroy Epigenes, be craft and indirect meanis. And for this effect, fa fchone as the army was in a redines, he caufed fecretly fteir vp a mutenery among the men of wair, for want of ther byrun waiges, laying the wyet vpon the generall capten Epigenes ; quhilk mutenery pat the K. in gret fear. Whervpon Hermeas tok occafion till fpeak his pleafour of the other, and tald the K. that ther wald be many of the lyk vproirs, except Epigenes wer left at hame ; in refpect alfo of the difference betwen him and Epigenes, promyng to quenche all ftryf, and caufe gud reull be obseruit in fa doing. The K., albeit he had Epigenes in gret eftym, and knaw his worthynes, and wes laith to want his affiftance, yet for fear and of facilitate, being importunat and perfuadit be fome mignons of his chamber, geldit and left him behind.

P. 24. Hermeas hauyng obtenit his intent, caufed pay the men of wair largely, to won ther fauour ; bot fex thowfand of the beft fouldiours left the K., wanting ther gud capten, and wald not ferue vnder the charge of Hermeas ; wha in the mean tym, or euer the army pafit fordward, invented a trik, to wit a conterfait wreting, as gif Epigenes had refault it fra Molon ; and buddit a peage that feruit Epigenes, to ley the falfe letter in his cabinet among his other wretingis ; then caufed fend a capten callit Alexis with a company, to feak out the wretingis of Epigenes, and incaice he fand fic a wreting fent fra Molon, to fley him ; quhilk wes done, and contented the K. for the firft, as gif he had bene juftly flain. This falfehead wes perfault be many, bot nane durft yet difcouer it vnto the K., wha then was deftitud of gud and trew counfaill ; yet ane callit Zeuxides aduyfit the prince till pas fordward with deligence, quhilk he did at gret journeyes, be difficill and ftrait paffages.

When the armye cam neir wher Molon wes, his haill armye entrit in gret fear, respecking ther kyndly prence, and wer all willing to run away. Bot Molon stayed them with persuasions and faire promyses, mynding till invaid the K. be nycht ; fearing to ga oppenly against his K., the soldiours wald abandone him ; quhilk dyuers of them did, and aduertit the K. of the tratours intention ; wha feing the enterpryse discoert, past oppenly to bataille. The richt wing of his armye facht manfully, bot the left wing turnit and tok part with the King, wha wan the victory ; bot Molon fearing just punissement, flew him self, and sa did all the principall men that had assisted him. Neolauch ane of his brether wha fled, past vnto Alexander his other brother, and persuadit him to fley him self also ; then he went and pat to death Molons mother and children, syn flew him self.

Efter the ouerthrow of Molon and his complices, the K. tok in again his contrees, vsing gret clemency towardis the seducit subiectis ; against the mynd of Hermeas, wha layed greter somes of money vpon sic as suld resaue that kynd of chastisement then the K. had apponted, and vsed also gret crewelte against vthers ; quhilk all the K. mittigat sa schone as it cam to his knowlege ; for Hermeas meanyng was till mak the K. hatted. About this tym ther cam newes to the K. fra hame, that ther wes a sone born vnto him, for before he had nane. This moued Hermeas instantly till conspyre the Kingis death, thinking thereafter to remain tutour to the barne, and gouernour to all the contrees during his youth.

The K. had a medeciner callit Apolephanes, that loued him entierly, wha amang many others had persuaed Hermeas procedingis, and suspected his mark that he schot at, yet wes in gret fear asweill for him

felf as for the K. ; for Hermeas hated all them that loued the K., or wald geue him any gud aduyce. This Apolephanes waited vpon a convenient tym, and tald vnto the K. the natour, false practyses and hich pretences of Hermeas ; admoniffing him to kepe secret and be vpon his gardis, lest it mycht chance vnto him as it had done vnto his brother

P. 25. of before, wha wes slain traterously. The K., wha wes alreidy in a gret geloufyne of Hermeas, and had kepit in his hart a gret mislyking of Hermeas procedingis, tok the aduertiffement of his medeciner in a very gud part, and desyred his help to get Hermeas puniffit ; because his autorite wes sa gret, that nane durft displeife him, nor nane durft put hand till him be way of iustice, as having placit his frendis in all the offices and gouvernementis, commanding baith the court and camp. Therefore the medeciner deuyfed that the K. fuld ryfe the nyxt day, earlyer in the mornynge then he was wont to do, as till tak the ayre for his health ; whilk was schawen vnto Hermeas bot very lait ; wha failed not to find him ther, to kepe alwais the Kingis ear fra all others. Bot ther wer appointed also some yong men to be ther, whom the K. had informed of his mynd ; sa being a gud way fra the camp, the K. drew till a quyete part, as thoch he had bene bown to do his aife ; in the mean tym the yong men that wer apponted sticket Hermeas, wha wes sa hated for his behauour, that na mean wes maid for him ; bot contrary wyse, when the brut of his slauchter wes spred abroide, the wyues of the toun of Apamea, wher his wyf remanit, tok hir fourth and stanit hir to death ; lykwaies the yong boyes of the same toun stanit his cheldren.

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P. 27. **L**AITLY in England, K. Edward the 6. being left yong be K. Hary the 8. his father, wes a prence of gret esperance. The Duc of Somersset, his mother brother, fell to be his tutour and protectour ; a man of gret vertew and godlynes, wha caused feak out all meit perfonages of gud qualitees, till place about the said yong K. baith in his chamber, at his table, and for his instruction in lettres, and behauour in maners ; and trauelit till plant gud and trew men afweill to be consellours, as in all other offices and gouvernementis. Bot being persaut be the Duc of Northumberland, wha of a gentilman was sa hyely aduancit, and ane that aspyrit ouer far, all the gud Protectours procedingis wer henderit. For Northumberland being afull and audatious, was mair redouted, as having cuffit and beaten the Archebischop of Canterbery in prefens of K. Hary the 8., quhilk blow wes neuer puniffit, bot rather excused be the K., when as the said Archebiffchop maid his complante ; the King Hary alleging him to have done it as a man of wair, new com hame fra the warres of Bolloigne. Quhilk caused many till fear the said Duc, wha tok greter baldnes vpon him efter the death of K. Hary, ouer soiftly suffred be the gentill nature of Somersset ; quhilk gaif him the mair baldnes till enterpryse thothers wrak, of deliberation, he being out of the way, till get the haill gyding of the yong K. and contre. Wherby till bring his purpos till pass at his plesour, first he failed not be practis till place fundre of his frendis in court and consaill, and in offices ; this

being done, to dyuyfe the deftruction of the Protectour, fterit vp dif-
cention betwen him and his only brother the Admyrall, be the meanis
of ther wyves, fa fchone as he perfault emulation enter betwen the twa
wyues, for honour and preeminence. The Admyrall had maried the lait
Quene, a widow and laft wyf to K. Hary the viij ; wha in his tym had
fex wyues, of the quhilkis tua wer repudiat, tua wer behedit, and the
mother of K. Edward dyed, when the barne was cuttid out of hir
womb, and this the Admyralis wyf lyued efter him ; alleging becaufe
fche was quene, that fche fuld pafs before, and haue the honour abone
the Protectours wyff ; wha on the other part allegit hir felf to be the
wyff to the eldeft brother, Duc of Somerfet, Protectour and Gouvernour
for the tym ouer the K. and contre. This vain ftryf was fa helpit and
entertenied, be the moyen of Northumberland, that it engendred firft
gret hattrent betwen the twa ladyes, and efterwart betwen the twa bre-
ther ther husbandis, fterit vp be them. Wherupon occafion was tane
till won falfe witneffis till accufe the Admyrall of confpyracy againft
the Kingis perfone, the maift part of the juges or fyers being chofen
be the Duc of Northumberland, with eafy confent of the Protectour,
P. 28. wha femply refpected nathing bot the Kingis weill and furete, and par-
faut not the enuyous pretencis of his hid compeditour. Be thir juges
the Admyrall was condemnit to dye. He being out of the way, not lang
after a falfe allarme wes geuen to the court, or ane bruit of ane enter-
pryfe invented be the Duc of Northumberland, quhilk caufit the Pro-
tectour haftely till put on his armour, for deffence of the K. and him
felf ; for the quhilk he was delated and accused be fic as wer at the
deuotion of Northumberland, and condemnit to dy as a traitour to
the K. for putteing on his armour in the Kingis palice. The gud

lord said he was content to dye, gif that mycht stand other the K. or contre in sted for any profittable exemple. Now he being out of the way, the Duc of Northumberland tryumphed, and reuled all at his plesour, and displacit all them that wer frendis or fauorers till any of the twa brether, oncles to the K., and consequently all that loued the K. ; and planted in ther rowmes his frendis and dependers. Then feing nane till gainfay him, nor that mycht resist or withstand his enterpryse, he maried his yongest sone, callit my L. Gilford, vpon my Lady Jene Gray, dochter gottin be the Duc of Suthfolk vpon K. Hary the viij his yongest sifter, intending to set the crown of England vpon hir heid ; the yong K. being dispatched out of the way, quhilk he thocht not difficill to do, hauyng all the medeciners, and officers of the Kingis mouth at his deuotion ; intending to defraud Mary our Quene, lawfull heritour of England, discendit of the said Harys eldest sifter. As for the said K. Harys tua dochters, Quen Mary and Quene Elifabeth, he supponit them baith to be bastardis ; and allege our Quen to be borne out of the contre, and that way allegit to be onlawfull, albeit the contrary hes bene oft practyfed ; to wit findre born in France and other partis, haue bene brocht hame and bruked the krown of England. The mariage being at a point betwen my Lord Gilford and my Lady Jene Gray, the Duc of Northumberland reuler and gyder of the K. and contre, and daly about the K. ; wha upon a tym, schutting at the buttis, the said Duc flatteringly prayfed the Kingis schot to be weil neir the mark, albeit it wes far azyd. Quhilk flattery the K. culd not abyd ; answering backwardly sayyng, “ My L. gif ye had schot als far fra my twa oncles headis, they had bene yet standen vpon ther schulders.” Quhilk word haifted the Kingis dead ; for schortly efter, a lent poifoun

wes geuen vnto him, quhilk tok away his lyf at lenth be degrees. Incontinent efter his death, Northumberland causes proclame his sonnes wyff Quene, and hir husband my L. Gilford his sone K., and him self Governour ouer all the kingdome vnder them. In quhilk estait they lasted not lang ; for as he wes putting ordour ouer all, the Erle of Penbruche, a braue man, callit to a banket dyuers of the nobilite and confaill; and efter the banket, presented onto them a signatour to subscriuwe, till tak out Quen Mary wha was kept, and proclame hir Quene ; boisting elle to sley them ilk ane, bringing in ther presens a company of men in armour with drawen swerdis, whom he had in a redines in

P. 29. caice of refusall. The nobilite and confaillours ther present granted his proposition, and subscriuit the signatour, and promysed all till assist others. Sa Quene Mary wes tane out and proclamit ; quhilk commyng to the knowlege of the Duc of Northumberland, he past to the part wher they wer proclamying the Quene Mary, and he cryed out, “ God saue the Quen Mary,” with the rest, and did cast vp his bonet, for apperant blyethnes, as did [the] rest ; alleging that all the confaill had found gud his proceedingis, and fand it meit to fet vp my Lady Jene Gray, in respect that K. Hary had declaired his twa dochters bastardis ; bot he forget that the confaill durst not disobey him. Sa he wes incontinent apprehendit, euen be his auen gard, and convoyed to London. Sa wes the new K. and Quen wardit, and headit. Bot the Duc wes put in hope to get his lyf faif, incaice he wald become ane catholik ; for during the tym of K. Edwart, the religion wes reformed in England, and the Roman Kirk reiected. Now this Duc wes sa hatted of all, bot cheifly be his ennemys for his tirranny, oppreffion, vsurpation, and the innocent blud scheding of the Kingis twa oncles, and him self, that for

vengeance they not only cryed out vpon his traterie, and kufft ftanes and dirt, and fchot at him at his entre in Londoun; bot alfo knawen him to be without religion, defyred him to heir ane meffe faid vpon the skaffald, in hope to get that way pardone of the Quene; quhilk when he had done, and hard the faid meffe, halding vp his handis with ap- perance of gret deuotion to the facrement of the alter, and efterwart culd find na grace, he gaif a gret cry, faying, " O God what have I done," and fa laid done his head, difparatly ending his lyff.

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P. 30. **K**YNG HARY the 8. of England, father to this K. Edward the 6. above specified, being miscontent with Pape [Clement 7.] for refusing to grant the deuorcement with his wyf Quen Katherene, of the house of Spane; for reuenge againt the said Paip, he loked throw his fingers to the prechours of the reformed religion, then begun secretly in England be some that had studied in Dutcheland vnder Martin Luther. Albeit, the Paip wald fayn haue pleafit him, wer not that he fearit to displeafe themperour Charles the 5. cusing to the said Quen. With tym the hattrent increffit fa between the K. and the Paip, that the King proclaimed him self head of the Kirk of England, and dischargit S^t Peters penyys to be payed fra that tym fourth, with a strait commandement till all his subiectis, not till acknowlege the Paip in any fort; and obtenit the said deuorcement of his wyf be ane Englis Archebifchop, and married another; wherthrow the Paipe, themperour and all thers becam his ennemys. He again defyrus to won frendis, delt with the King of France, the K. of Scotland, the K. of Denmark, and the preincis protestantis in Dutcheland. Bot of all thir, he thocht the frendfchip and concurrence of K. James the fyft, his eldest sifter sone, mycht stand hym in gretest steid. For he layed a plat with him self, and wes determinit to vnit this yle in a religion, and in ane empyre, failgeing of aires mailes procreat of his awen body; having then bot a dochter, callit Mary, with the deuorcit Quen; quhilk dochter he declairit to be

ane bastarde ; and fend in Scotland for his ambaffadour Lord William Houert, with all thir perfuasions and many vther fair offers. Quhilkis the King and hail eftaitis thocht very raifonable and acceptable, and promyfed a meting ; quhilk the faid ambaffadour requyred to be at York. Sa the ambaffadour retournit weill content vnto his maifter, wha wes very glaid, and maid gret preparation to refaue honorably his fifter fonne. Bot the clargy of Scotland, efter that they had aduyfed together, being fworn cleantis to the Paip, thocht neceffary to effley all ther credit, craft, and moyens, how to brek the King from this meting ; and adreffit them felues to fic as wer myngnons for the tym, and had his Maieftis ear, to hald hand with fome of the kirk that wer alfo maift famyliers with his Maiefte, to get the faid meting ftayed ; vving many perfuasions, how K. James the firft was retenit in England ; of the auld leig with France ; of themperours fead, and the Paipes curfing ; and of the horrible herefie that wes laity ryfen vp, and had infected the maift part of England, afweill as the King hym felf ; and alfo how that many noblemen and barrons of Scotland wer fauorers of the faidis herefies, quhilk it wes meit the K. fuld preuene in tym ; wherby he mycht alfo augment his rentis be ther landis, and enriche him felf be ther efcheitis, of fa many whais names they gaif vp in a row of paiper ; quhilk the K. pat in his pouche, and thocht it a meit propofition, and profitable to put in execution.

The Lard of Grange wes new maid treforer, and in gret fauour with the K., and wes not yet difcouerit to be a fauorer of the euangell ; bot the K. eftemed him trew, and defyrous till aduance his hynes profit, and very fecret ; therefore thocht meit to mak hym preuy to this profitable ouertour, and fchaw vnto hym the wreten row, with the noble-

men and barrons names, wha wer geuen vp to be brunt for herefie, and of the gret proffit that mycht be had therby. Wherat the Lard of Grange
P. 31. began to fmyll, and the King till enquiry wherat he leuch. The tresorer defyred leaue at his Maiefte to tell hym the treuth. With this the King drew out his fwerd, and faid merrely to him, " I fall fley the gif thou fpeak againft my proffit." Then the K. pat vp his fwerd, and commandit hym to fchaw him what raifons he culd allege againft the prelatis propofition. The tresorer began to delait what troubles his Maiefte had been toffit with during his minorite, for the gouernement; firft, betwen the Quen his mother and the lordis; then betwen dyuers factions of lordis; couped fra hand till hand, and keped againft his will as captiue; fometyes befegit, fometyes brocht till battaill againft his will be the Douglais, to feicht contrair the Erle of Lenox and his beft freindis, wha was flain, commyng at his defyre to releaue hym; the prelatis being parteners, for ther ambition, fomtymes with a faction, fomtymes with another; and how that they culd nether agre amang them felues, nor let his Maiefte tak rest, vntill the Duc of Albany was choſen Gouernour and brocht out of France. Wha had enough ado alfo; for he wald haue fayn done plefour to France, and raifit a gret army of Scotifmen till enter in England, wha wer making waires in France for the tym. Bot he gat a rebut when he was at the borders of England; for they wald marche na farther, alleging that the K. wes yet yong, and the K. of Englandis fifter ſone; and how that K. James the fourt his father, without purpos, paft with his army at the plefour of France againft his awen gud brother the K. of England, wher he loſt his lyf at the feild of Floudoun, and parellit his hail contre; fa this gud Duc was fayn to retier him

till France. “ And efterwart your Maieſte tok the gouvernement in your awen handis, at the age of 13. yeares ; git they clapped again about yow, and kept yow twa yeares as captiue. And now ye ar bot laity com to your libertie, and your contre is not yet ſa weill fattelit as miſter wer ; albeit your Maieſte hes done very mekle in ſa ſhort ſpace, as till fattle the hylandis, ylles and borders. It wer dangerous that your nobilite fuld get intelligence, that ſic gredey fetches fuld be put in your head, vnder pretext of hereſie, to ſpoilge ſa many of them of ther lyues and landis and geir ; wherin ye may parell your awen eſtate, at the inſtance of them whais eſtate are in parell, and wald hazard you and yours to ſaif ther awen. The prelatis, I mean, fearis that your Maieſte, at the example of the K. of England, of Denmark, and prencis of thempyre, mak the lyk reformation amang them ; therefore they haue

P. 32. na will of your familierite with the K. of England, nor that your eſtate fuld be ſa fattelit, that ye mycht put ordour to the abuffis of the kirk. Doted not ane of your predeceſſours, callit S^t Dauid, the maift part of the patrimony of the crown to the kirk, erecking the ſame in biſhoprickis and rich abeffies ? wherby your Maieſte is preſently ſa pure, and the prelatis ſa riche, ſa prodigall, and ſa proud, that they will ſuffer nathing to be done by them ; and ar alſo ſa ſworn to the Paip of Rome, when they get their benifices confirmed, that they aucht not to be credited in any thing that may tueche the Paipes proffit or preferment. As the Venitiens, being the wyfeſt commoun weill, will not ſuffer any prelat, albeit he be a born man of the town, to abyd or ſtand in ther conſaill houſe, when they ar at ther conſaill ; becauſe they know them to be ſa ſtraitly ſworn to the Paip.” Then he declairit ſome of the groſſeſt abuffis of the Romain kirk, and the vngodly lyues of the

Scotis prelatiſ, quhilk the King and haill contre nicht ſe. “Therfor,” ſaid he, “gene your Maieſte wald do weill and be riche, ye may juſtly tak hame again to the profit of the crown, all vacand benifices, be litle and litle, as they may fall be diſceſs of euery prelat.” Anent his Maieſteis promys maid to the ambaffador of England, ther mycht com gret trouble and waires, gif it wer not keped. For K. Hary 8. was a curagious and hych conceated prince, and apperit to haue ane vprycht meanyng for the tym; and occaſions preffit hym therto, having ſa gret turnes in hand, and ſamany gret ennemys; without ſucceſſion, ſaving the foirſaid dochter; corpulant and fat, that ther was ſmall hope of vther aires; the K. being his eldeſt fiſter ſone, nereſt of bluid and ableſt to mantean and vnit the haill yle of Bretane. And as to the reteanyng of K. James the firſt, he wes not in the lyk caice, nor had not the lyk meit tym; he was not the K. of Englandis fiſter ſone, nor his apperant ayre. And what hard ſucces had the King his father, for making wair againſt the K. of England his gud brother, was ouer manifeſtly felt be the haill ſubiectis; and litle better to be loked for, incaice of a new vnneceſſary wair be maid, for your Maieſte way byding fra the ſaid meting at York.

The K. tok ſic delyt in this langage, that he determint to folow fourth the effect therof; and at the firſt meting with the prelatiſ, wha had then very gret reull in the contre, he culd not contean hym any langer, when they cam, trowing to ſe ther platiſ put in excuſion. Efter many four reproffiſ, for that they wald cauſe hym vſe ſic creueltie vpon ſa many noble men and barrons, to the parell of his awen eſtat, he ſaid, “wherfore gaif my predeceſſoriſ ſa many landiſ and rentiſ to the kirk? Was it to mentean halkiſ, doggiſ, and hureſ,

to a number of ydle preftis ? The K. of England burnis, the K. of Denmark beheadis you ; bot I fall ftik you with this fame quhinger.” And therwith he drew out his dager vpon them, and they fled in gret fear from his prefens. Then again the King tok deliberation to fulfill his promyfe of meting with his oncle the King of England, and thocht it baith his honnour and greteft aduancement fa to do.

- P. 33. The prelatiſ of Scotland thinking them felues far ouerſhot, and thereby in a very hard eftait, conſulted together how to bring the K. again vpon their oppinion ; and thocht meteft way was, till mak ane offer vnto the King, to pay hym yearly of the rentis of the kirk, fyfty thouſand crownis, to mentean fied wageours, by the ordinary ſubiectis that obey the proclamation, in caice the K. of England wald mak warres againſt Scotland for the Kingis abyding from the meting at York. And they thocht that, howbeit this gold wald be a gret alurement to the King, wha lyked weill to be riche, yet without the matter wer proponit and fauorably interpret to his Maieſte be fic as had his ear ; they beſtowed largely of ther geir vnto his maift famylier ſaruandis, and promyfed farther vnto Olypher Singklair, that they fuld cauſe hym be aduancit to gret honnoures, and to be maid maifter of the camp or lieutenant of the haill armye againſt England, incaice that K. Hary wald intend any warres againſt the King ; quhilk they affirmed he wald not, nor durft not for the tym, having ſa many yrnes in the fyre alredy. Sa this purpos being ernestly put in head, and als ernestly apprehendit be the myngnons in court, wha be flattery wan greteft fauour ; and cheifly be drawing of fair maidnes vnto the K., and fryving to be the firſt aduertifers whais dochter ſche was, and how ſche mycht be obtenit, and lykwais of mens wyues ; they awaited for a convenient tym,

when the tresorer fuld be absent ; wha was a stout bald man, therfor they durst not speake in his presens ; for he alwayes offerit the singlar comabat, and be the point of the swerd to mentean any thing that he spak. Now he wes absent from court ; for the K. had geuen the ward and mariage of Kelly in Angus to his second sone, and he wes past ther to tak possession therof. In his absens then, this new deuylf was delaited vnto the K. be Olypher Sinklair ; and sa eloquently set out be sic of the clairgy as had bene in best acquentence with his Maieste, that he gaif gud ear therto ; adding sa many vther perswasions vnto them that they had maid of before, and at sic meit tymes, when they brocht vnto hym fair maidnes and mens wyues, that he wes won again to ther opinion. Then they tok occasion to schaw his Maieste, that the lard of Grange his tresorer was also becom ane heretik, and that he had alwayes a New Testament in Englis in his poutche ; and lykwayes that he was becom sa proud and myskennen, puft vp be his Maiesteis fauour, that na man mycht byd him ; and then that he was sa extrem gredy, that he wes vnmeit for the office of tresorer, and ouer bald to haue procured for his second sone the riche ward and mariage of Kelly, worth xx thousand pond, as they allegit. The King answerit to that, how he estymed him to be a plane frank gentilman, and that he loued him sa, that he wald gene hym again the said ward and mariage for a word of his mouth. The pryour of Pittinwem replyed and said, “ Sir, the ayre of Kelly is a lusty fair las, and I durst plege my lyf that gene your Maieste wald send for hir presently, that he fall refuse to send her vnto you.”

P. 34. The King affirmyng still the contrary, ther was a myssyue wreten ; and the prelatys and ther factioners devyfed that the said pryour of Pittinweme fuld cary the wretyng, and bring ouer the maiden ayre of Kelly

to the King. Bot the tresorer, wha knew hym to be his deadly enemy, refused platly; alleging the said pryour to haue bene all his dayes a vill hurmester, and had in his tym defowled dyuers maidnes; therefore he thocht hym ane vnmeit messenger. Wha was sa glaid as he to return with this bakward answer; and tuk his affociatis with him vnto the K., whom they kendlit vp in ane gret colair against the tresorer; and handled the matter sa fynly and haitly, that they obtenit a warrant, and to charge the tresorer till ward within the Castell of Edenbrough; quhilk they forget not to do at his first commyng to court. He again geffit that leafingis wald be maid against him, and therefore vsed gret deligence to be at the K.; and notwithstanding of ther charge, past pertly to his Maieste, wha was at his supper in Edenbrough. Bot the King loked down vpon hym, and wald not speak nor ken hym. He steppit fordward, and said, "Sir, what offence haue I committed? I had as mekle of your fauour when I parted with your hynes liscence, as any vther." The K. said, "Why refused thou to fend me the maiden that I wret for, and gaif proud dispytfull langage to hym that I send." "Sir," said he, "pleise your grace, he is not about you that dar debait that leafing. As for the maiden, I said to the pryour of Pettinwem, that I was euell anoughe to be the messenger my self, and to convoy hir vnto his Maieste; bot thocht him vnmeit, wha wes a manifest forcer of wemen, and the grettest defouler of wyues and maidnes that was in Scotland." The K. said, "Then hes thou brocht the gentilwoman with thee?" "Yes, sir," said he. Then said the K. "Alace, they haue fet out sa many leafingis against the, that they haue obtenit of me a warrant to put thee in ward; bot I fall mend it with a contrary command." Then said the tresorer, lamentingly, "It is a small matter of

my lyf or warding ; bot alace, fir, it brekis my hart that the warld fuld heir of your facilitate” ;—quhilk the K. layed vpon their importunite. Bot the tresorer was mair fory that, in his absens, they had caused the King to fend in England, and discharge the meting betwen him and the K. of England ; wha tok sic anger and displefour that he was fa scornit, that he sent ane army in Scotland to distroy with fyre and fwerd. Albeit the K. lyked nathing of this wair, he was still halden in hope that it fuld tend to his gret honour and weall ; and that England had famekle a do, that they wald schone repent them, and be compellit to fut for peace or treues or it wer lang. In the mean tym theyr gold was maid redy, till encorage the K., and promyfes of mekle mair incaice the war continowed.

- P. 35. The King culd not bot raise ane army to deffend his contre and subiectis, wha past to that wair, to schaw ther obedience, against ther hartis. Bot when they parfauit Olypher Sincklair raised vp vpon mens schoulders, and proclaimed lieutenant ouer the haille armye, besyd the Solan mofs, the lord Maxuell for dispyt, wha thocht to haue had that charge, and the rest of the lordis wha mislyked that the court and contre fuld be gouernit be sic mean men, wald not feicht vnder sic a lieutenant, bot suffered them selues all to be tane presoners. Sa the haille armye being ouerthrowen, pat the K. in a gret displefour, and gaif occasion to sic as wer fauorers of the twa Kingis meting, to speak ther plefour against the prelatis procedingis. The K. also bursted out with some langage against them, quhilk cam ouer schone to ther eares ; for the K. lyued not lang efter, and dyed in Facland, for displefour, as some allegit ; vthers held oppinion again, that he wes poisonit be sic of the prelatis that had brocht him in that trouble of mynd, be ther prac-

tyfes and perfwafions, and had lernit that art in Italy callit ane Italian poffat.

The Cardinall Daud Betoun was befyd his Maiefte in the mean tym, and caufed wret a maner of ane testament, at his awen plefour and dyting, as was allegit ; and therefore it was annullit and brocht bak again efterwart. Bot the K. of England culd not forget the injury and displeafour for the Kingis promyfe breking, and for his death. For the angry waieres that he had maid, wes rather to moue the K. and eftaitis of Scotland, to juge whither his frendfchip or fead had bene meteft ; and was ftill in hope with tym to haue won the K. again, with the confent of the beft part of his fubiectis, to jun in band and alliance offenfywe and deffenfywe with him and his contre. For he vnderftod of the Kingis worthy qualitis, and had a maruelous gret loue and lyk- ing of hym ; and thocht he culd not leaue the kingdome in a better hand then to his awen fifter fonne, fibbefst of bluid vnto hym, and meat- eft of any vther to build vp a fair monarchie, to be begun firft in a maner in his awen perfoun ; in refpect that for his tym, (quhilk he loked wald be fchort,) his fifter fone wald be bot his coadjutour and leutenant, and efter him bruik the hailwair, vnder a religion, a law, and a leid ; and thocht therby that France fuld neuer get plaice again, to fteir vp the ane contre againft the vther ; nor that the Paip fuld never get any entre, to tak vp fic fowmes of filuer from his fubiectis for confirmations of benefices, nor for his bullis and difpenfations ; and alfo to want S^t Peters peny, and his allegit superiorite of England for euer. For his wrath and vengeance againft the Paip wes excyding gret ; for he had maid hym many promyfes, and had broken them all ; fering as faid is till offend themperour, wha wes fa gret and mychty a prince. Therefore

the K. of England, feing he had loft the eſperance [of] the Scotis aly-
 ance and concurrence, compellit the gentilmen of England to eſcambion
 ther landis, with the landis of abbayes cloſters and vther temporell
 P. 36. kirk landis ; and gaif them mair nor ther awen to kepe, that the ſaid
 landis fuld neuer retourn again to the kirk, without a maniſteſt rebel-
 lion, or a dangerous ſubuertion of the haill eſtate of the contre. And
 to be revengit vpon the ſaid Cardinal David Betoun, (whom he thoct
 had diſappointed him of all the hope he had of Scotland,) he delt with
 Sir George Douglas and the Erle of Angus, wha wer bot laity re-
 tournit out of England, wher they abaid baniffit vnto the death of K.
 James the fyft. Thir twa brether, appering to be of the reſourmed re-
 ligion, perſuaded Normond Leſly meſter of Rothes, the yong lard of
 Grange, and Jhon Leſly of Parkhill, wha had been perfecuted be the
 ſaid Cardinal for religion, eſter that he had tane ther prechour, Meſ-
 ter George Wiſchart, and brunt him at St Androues ;—thir I ſay wer
 eaſely ſterit vp to ſley hym, whom they wer perſuadit to be ennemy
 to the trew religion, to the weall of the contre and thers in particulair.
 This proud Cardinal was ſlain then in his awen caſtell of St Androues ;
 and ſa endit, with all his practyſes, and obtenit nathing bot vain trauell
 for his pretencis and fodaſ death ; with the death of a worthy K., wha
 wes inclynit to juſtice, and gaif na credit to his officers in thir twa ſpe-
 ciall pointis, to reward and puniſe. For wha euer did hym gud ſerui-
 ce, he wald ſe them rewardit, yea albeit they chancit to be abſent ; and
 anent puniſment of euell doers, ſa ſchone as he hard the complaint, he
 lap vpon his horſe and raid to the part him ſelf, with a few company,
 or they culd be war of him, and wald ſe ſcharp execution ; ſa that he
 wes baith loued and feared. He wes very curagious, weill faured and

fchepen, fomthing out cuted, of a midle ftatour, very able and clean pithed ; bot euell company fell about hym, entring out of adoleffence in furious youth, and entyfed him till harlettrie ; ftryving wha fuld fpy out the faireft maidnes, and lykwyfe at lenth of mens wyues ; with the quhilkis he abufed his body, to the offence of God and dyvers gud fubiectis, and wes not left vnpuniffed ; for he had bot twa yong fonnes, and they died baith within xlvij houres ; fa that at his difcefe, he had bot a only dochter, callit Mary, new born when he was vpon his dead bed ; at quhilk tym he was bot of the age of [thirty-one.]

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P. 37. **K**YNG JAMES the 5., as said is, leaving behind him Marie his only dochter for our Quene, as K. Hary the 8. of England left a only sone callit Edward the sext; the kingis and estaitis of baith the contrees, desyring still this haill yll of Bretain to be vnited in a monarchie, maid a contract of mariage between the yong K. and Quen. Quhilk being efterwart broken vpon our part, and hir Maieste tranported till France be the west fees, ther fell out a creuell wair between the twa contrees for that cause, quhilk with tyme was tane vp, and agreed that K. Edward fuld mary Elyfabeth, eldest dochter till Hendry 2. King of France, and Francois his sone to mary our Quen. My L. Hammiltoun being aduancit to the gouernement of the contre, be the lard of Grange treforer, Mester Hendre Belnaves, and vthers that wer of the reform-ed religion, when as he apperit to be a trew gospeller, was schone efterwart alterit be the abbot of Pafeley his bastard brother, and becam a gret persecutour of Godis word; and was as easely drawn to brek the said contract of mariage maid between K. Edward and our yong Quen, be the perswasions of the said abbot and the Cardinall. And efter that the Cardinall wes slain, he gydit all his allane, and was maid Arche-bisshop of Sanctandrowes; and also in gret fauour with the Quen Dowager for a tyme, vntill efterwart that he becam hir ennemy, and contrary till all hir pretencis and procedingis, as falbe schawin efterwart when the matters commes in hand. For efter that the yong Quen was in France, ther wes gret disputing baith in France and also in Scotland,

whether the mariage with the Delphin of France fuld tak effec or not ; for euen then ther wer twa factions in the Frenche court. Firft the brether of the houfe of Guife, as the Duc of Guife and Cardinall of Lorraine, brether to our Quen Dowagier, and oncles to our yong Quen Mary, preffit ernestly to fet fordwart the faid mariage with France. The auld Conftable Duc of Montmorancy was of oppinion, that it was meeft to mary hir vpon fome duc or prence of France, and to fend them baith hame to abyd in Scotland, and to hald ther awen contre in gud obedience. Becaufe when prencis ar abfent, and far af fra ther awen, rewling ther contrees be lieutenantis, maift commonly the fubiectis of sic contrees vles to rebell ; quhilk gene the fubiectis in Scotland did, it wald be hard and coiftly to get them reducit ; and therby, in fted to mak France the better of the mariage with the Delphin, it mycht mak it to be in a far war caice. The houfe of Guife, again, defyryng to haue ther fifter dochter Quen of France, till augment ther reputation and credit, preualit ; alleging how it wald be baith honorable and proffit-able to the crown of France, and that ther wald be reuenus enough to mantean garniffons within the contree, to hald the fubiectis vnder obedience ; bigging ma citadelis, and hauyng the hail strentes in ther handis.

In Scotland alfo, the Quen Regent was of the fame oppinion with hir brether, and beleued to haue the hail prelatis vpon hir fyd ; wha had
 P. 38. gret reull and autorite for the tym, and had affifted hir to the breking of the contract of mariage with England, and transporting of the yong Quen to France. Bot now the Archebifchop of S^t Androwes began to think, that incaice the yong Quen died without fuceffion of hir body, that the Erle of Arran his neveu mycht the eyselyer be crownit, (the

Gouverneur his father being already in possession,) was against the transporting of the crown matrimonial till France; and having for the tyme the haill gyding baith of the Gouverneur his brother and of the contre, drew easely the maist part of the prelatis vpon his oppinion. Wherthrow the Quen Dowagier wes compellit to address hir to a contrary faction, to wit, the maist part of the nobilite and bourrowes, wha wer becom professours of the reformed religion. Wynnyng twa of the estaitis vpon hir syde, sche obtenit hir intent; quhilk maid hir estirwart to schaw greter fauour vnto them of the reformed religion, ouerfeing ther secreet prechingis; wherby the religion increffit, sa that the maist part of the contre becam professours or protestantis, and sic as wer baniffit for religion and for the Cardinalis slachter, brocht hame to fortifie the faction that fauorit maist the weall of hir Maiesteis affaires. In the mean tyme the bischop of Sanctandrowes fell seak, sa that he lost his speach and was geuen ouer for dead; at what tyme the Quen Dowagier tok occasion to get the gouvernement out of the L. Hammitons handis, be the help of the saidis lordis protestantis and ther dependers. Bot estirwart the bischop recouerit his speatch, be the strange industrie of Cardanus, as wes allegit; wha when he hard that his brother my L. Hammitoun had geuen ouer the gouvernement to the Quen, he was in a gret rage, and maid a gret exclamation, saying, "Fy on him beaft, ther is bot a skitteren lafs betwen hym and the crown." Alwayes, be sic meanis, the Quen Dowagier becam Quen Regent.

The mariage of hir dochter Quen Mary being performed with Francis Delphin of France, a litle before wynnyng of Calice be the Duc of Guise, now com hame out of Italy, wher he had bene with a faire army to help Pape Caraph; wha had caused the K. of France brek the trewes with the

K. of Spaine, for his particular ; and not only caused the said K. brek the paice, together with his solemne oath at the eating of the sacrement between the commiffioners of the twa Kingis, bot also the Pape brak his promys maid to the K. and Duc of Guise, efter his turn was seruit be the said armye sent in Italy ; quhilk salbe mair particlairly declairit in another place. Be the breking of the said paice, the K. of France tint the battaill of Sinkantin, and the battaill of Grevelins, with the toun of S^t Quentin, Han, and Cattlelet. Wherby the K. of Francis estait wes sa hard, that he wes compellit to tak ane hurtfull paice, at Catteau Cambrify ; wher I wes for the tym with my maister the Constable, yet captiue, as he wes tane prifoner at the said battall of St Quentin.

P. 39. With the said Constable wer adjunit in commiffion the Cardinalis of Lorraine, Chatillon, Marchall of St Andre, Bifchop of Orleans, and the secretaire Aubepin. For the K. of Spain wer the Duc of Alb, Prince of Orange, Sir Rygomes Espanioll, and Cardinal Granvell. For Quen Mary of England wer commiffioners, my L. Willyem Hauert, the Bifchop of Ely, and Doctour Wittoun. Thir commiffioners maid paice between France, Spain, England and Scotland. Not without cause mak I mention of this paice, quhilk the Constable was ernes to bring to pafs, and the Cardinal of Lorraine desyrit warres ; for by the paice, the Constable wald get liberte to com hame out of prifoun, to gyd the K. and court of France as he was wont to do ; by the warres, he wald remain prifoner, leaving the gouvernement of the K. and court of France to the Cardinal, and Duc of Guise his brother. Spain, that wer victorious, tok aduantage of ther stryf and emulation ; and France and England lost be the said paice ; the King inclyning maist to the Constables confell. England again desyryng that Calice fuld be restored

vnto them, and beleuit that the K. of Spain wald not agre, without they wer satisfeid in ther demandes, wer frustrat of ther expectation. At lenth feing the tua gret Kingis cairles of ther contentement, they seamed to be content (albeit they wer not) with a scornfull midis that was casten in be the Cardinall of Lorrain ; to wit, that Calice fuld be renderit vnto them at the end of aucht year, or else fywe hundreth thowfsand crowns ; and for payment of the said fowm, incaice the said town was not renderit vnto them at the end of the tym specified, that in the mean tym they fuld haue thre gret men of France to kep, as pleges for the said fowm. Now the Englis commiffioners knew that nathing of this wald be kepit to them, seamed to be satisfied neuertheles, feing them left and abandonit be the commiffioners of Spain.

Sa the paice being concludit, Spain obtenit all ther desyres ; the Constable obtenit liberte ; the Cardinall of Lorrain culd not mend him self, na mair nor the commiffioners of England. This aduantage the said Cardinall tok at that tym, to cause the first article of the paice be, that all Christian and Catholyk princes aucht to leaue ther percialities, and jun together till suppress the gret multitud of heretikis, that wer sa increffit throw ther diuision, that it wald be hard enough to the Paip, themperour, the Kingis of Spain and France, together with the Quen of Scotland, to reduce them again to the Catholyk faith. Another aduantage the said Cardinall thocht to recompense his lossis with wes, that at the end of the aucht yeares, when England wald lok other to get Calice restored again to them, or elis the fowmes of gold abone specified, he intendit to cause proclam the Quen of Scotland his sifter dochter, rychtuos Quen of England, and allege this Quen Elyfabethe to be bot a bastard ; and be that way, not only Calice bot all England fuld partean to the

Quen of Scotland. As for the plegis, sic men to be chosen out that
 P. 40. France wald mak litle accompt of ther tincell ; as Mons^r de Candall,
 Mons^r de Palefau, and the Erle of Nantullet proueft of Paris.

Efter the making of this paice, ambaffadours wer sent till Flanders and
 England ; the Cardinall of Lorrain out of France to fwer and tak the
 King of Spanes aith, and to fwer for the K. of France obseruation therof ;
 the Secretair Dardois wes also fend out of France, to do the lyk in the
 name of the Delphin of France, and Quen of Scotland his spouse ; ge-
 ving them this new styll, “ In the name of Francis and Mary King and
 Quen of Scotland, England, and Yreland, Delphin and Delphinnes of
 Viennois.” Wherat the Duc of Alb and Cardinall Granuell smyled, and
 said, this will bred some new bufynes or it be lang. The Cardinall of
 Lorrain schortly efter caufed renew all the Quen of Scotlandis filuer
 vefell, and pat theron the armories of England. The Marchall of
 Montmorancy, the Conftables eldest sone, wes sent in England to fwer
 the paice, and to tak the Quen of Englandis aith ; bot sa schone as thir
 new stylls and armories wer knawen to Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun,
 then ambaffadour for the Quen of England in France, he complenit to
 the K. and confaill, and gat bot Dutche excuses ; alleging that, in
 Dutcheland, all the precis brether, cufins or bairnes, ar styllit precis
 or duckis of that same house.

To fwer the paice in Scotland, the Conftable wald haue the K. to fend
 me ; bot the Cardinall of Lorrain allegit, Mons^r de Buttoncour^t mester
 houshald to the Quen Regent meter ; becaufe the instructions tendit to
 declair vnto the Quen Regent, how that the first and principall article
 of the paice wes, that the Paip, themperour, the Kinges of Spain and
 France, fuld band together to reduce again the maist part of Europe to

the Romain Catholik religion, and till persew and punis with fyre and sward all heretikis that wald not willingly condiscend to the same; willing the Quen Regent to do the lyk in Scotland, and to begin in tym, before the heresies suld spred any farther; quhilk, be her gentill bearing, had already tane ouer gret place, as was reported to the K. of France; preing hir diligently to put ordour therto, without any fear or respect of perfonas; feing that na contre it allain was able to withstand the haill forces of sa many confederat gret Catholik prencis. Wherat the Quen Regent apperit to be sory, becaufe that they wer hir best frendis for the tym, that wer noted to be professours of the reformed religion; and be the deligent prechingis of the ministers, wer growen to sic a gret number, that it wald be a dangerous and difficill matter to get them compellit.

Bot the instructions of Buttoncourt, asweill to Mons^r. Doseill lieutenant in Scotland for the K. of France, sa also to sic vthers as had gretest credit about hir Maieste, wer sa earnest and sa strait, with some boist, that sche determinit to set fordward a strait commandement, a litle before Paice, (Easter,) that euery man gret or small suld obserue the Catholik Romane religion, to pass daly to the mess; and then at Paice to mak ther confession in the ear of a prest, and refaue the sacrement. And be mouth, to sa many of the nobilite and vthers that hir Maieste wes acquainted with, sche admonisfit them, and schew them the commission that wes sent to hir out of France; and the danger, incaice it wer not obeyed.

P. 41. Quhilk when the nobilite and the estaits of the contre persaut to be earnest, and wer also boisted be Mons^r. Doseill, they left the court, and consulted together what was metest for them to do; then send vnto hir Maieste my Lordis of Argyll and Lord James Pryour of S^t Andrewes, to schaw hir Maieste, in name and behalf of the rest, how that they wer

parmitted be hir Maieſte to haue ther awen miniſters of ſic a lang continuance, ſometymes ſecretly and ſometymes openly ; that the trew religion had tane ſic rut into them be hir tollerance, and that the number of trew profeſſours wer ſa gret and increaſt, that they wald rather geue ther lyues than to rekant ; and eſtemed ther vocation lawfull, becauſe ſche gaif ſic power to them that wer noblemen, ſchereſis and maieſtratis vnder hir.

This langage ſche thoct as ſtrange, as they thoct hir proclamation ; ſa that ſche began to perſecut, and they to rebell, and tak the feildis, and band them ſelues together, vnder the name of the Congregation ; and thereafter brak down ymages, kirkis and cloſters. And the Quen Regent ſend to France, and aduertified of that diſordour quhilk wes fallen fourth, requyring mair help and forces, or elis all wald be loſt ; and ſche feared that my L. James pryour of S^t Androuſ, ſone naturell to K. James the 5., wald vnder pretext of this new religion, vſurp the crown of Scotland, and pluk it clean away from the Quen hir dochter, without ſodain remedy wer put therto. Whereupon the Conſtable of France tok occaſion to moue the K., whais penſioner I was for the tym, to ſend me in Scotlaud. Firſt the K. gaue me his commiſſion be mouth ; and then the Conſtable, his cheif conſeillour, directed me at lenth in his Maieſteis preſens as folowes.

“Your natyue Quen,” ſaid he, “is married heir in France vpon the King Delphin ; and the King is inſourmed be the Cardinall of Lorraine, that ane baſtard ſone to K. James 5., callit Priour de S^t Andre, pretendis vnder coulour of religion till vſurp the kingdome vnto him ſelf. His Maieſte knawes that I was euer againſt the ſaid mariage heir ; fearing therby to mak our auld frendis our new ennemys, as is lyk till com till paſs this day ; bot I gaue ouer gret place to the houſe of Guiſe, to deall in the

affaires of Scotland, becaufe the Quen Regent is ther fifter. Now feing ther violent proceadingis fa lyk to caufe the kingdome of Scotland be loft from the lawfull Quen, I mon nedis medle and put to my helping hand, as having better experience of the nature of that nation nor apperantly they haue. I affure yow, that the K. is myndit to wair and hazard his crown, and all that he has, rather or your Quen want hir rycht, now feing that fche is married vpon his fone; and purposis to raife and fend ane armye in Scotland for that effect. Quhilk he wald fayn efchew, gif it wer poffible; for now, efter that his Maiefte hes had wairres lang enough with his auld ennemys, and agreed with them for gud respectis, he is laith till enter again in a new vnneceffary wair with his auld frendis, quhilk parchance is brocht on be euell handling, and not in ther deffalt. I heir that Mons^r Dofeill is collerick, and ouer angry and impatient folkis ar not meit to reull ouer far and frembd contrees. I haue also intelligence, that the Quen Regent has not kepit all thingis promysed vnto them. The K. my maifter is not fa rafche as to geue haifty credence, that Scotland, wha haue keped falang frendfchip with France, will now fa leichtly brek the auld band, nor abandon deute to ther lawfull prince. Again, what inconvenientis may aryfe vpon fic far and ouerfee warres; the King is not yngnorant, what gret charges it is till furnifch out fchippis, quhilkis parchance may be thryfe vitallit before they mak fail, be raifoun of contrary windis; and then, the accuftomed ftormes of your fees ar very parelous. Was not the Markyſ de Albeuf, with his fchippis, dryuen vpon the coaft of Norroway, when he thocht to haue landit in Scotland, fa that his voyage did na gud bot expenſis? Tak that our army wer weill landit in Scotland, how oft may they haue neid of fupport, when we, be rai-

foun of thir and findry vther lyk difficulteis, will not be able to help them, as we haue ouer gud experiance, when Mons^r de Lorge was there ?

“ I haue brocht you vp from a chyld ; I understand that ye ar com of a gud house ; I haue assured the King what gud prof I haue of your honestie ; sa that his Maieste is weill myndit towardis yow ; at whais hand I hope ye fall deserue at this tym a gud reward. This is a nother maner of commiffion, and of greter importance than it that Bottoun-court caried ; for the K. will stay or send his armye according to your trew report. Seam only to be ther for to vesit your frendis ; bot let nether the Quen Regent, nor Doseill knaw of your commiffion, quhairin ye ar employed be the K., wha is now your best maister.

“ First try deligently and parfytly weill, whither the said Pryour pretendis till vsurp the crown of Scotland to him self ; or gene he be mouit to tak armes only of conscience, for deffence of his religion, him self and his dependers and associatis. Nyxt try what promyses ar broken vnto him and them ; be whom, and at whais instance. Thridly, gene they desyir another lieutenant, in steid of Mons^r Doseill.

“ Gif it be only religion that moues them, we mon commit Scotifmens faules vnto God ; for we haue enough ado to reull the consciences of our awen contre men. It is the obedience dew vnto ther lawfull Quen with ther bodyes, that the K. desyres. Gene ane promyfis be maid to them and not kept, the King nor I has not the wyet. Gif they desyre another lieutenant in sted of Doseill, the K. fall send ane that I hope fall please them.” He menit of Mons^r Dandelot, his sifers sone.

Efter that the Constable had endit his instructions, the K. layd his hand vpon my schulder, and said, “ Do as my goffop hes directed, and

I fall reward yow." Sa I kiffit his Maiefteis hand, and tok my leaue, pofting throw England, and fand the Quen Regent within the auld tour of Facland ; becaufe that fame day, hir army vnder my L. Duc Hamniltoun and Mons^r Doseill, wes rangit in battaill vpon Couper mure, againft the lordis of the congregation. At what tym, hir Maiefte maid ane hard mean vnto me of hir difobedient fubiectis ; bot euen as I was fpeaking with hir, the Duc and Mons^r Doseill cam bak fra the faid mure, without battaill ; wherat the Quen wes very far offendit, and thocht that they had loft a very fair occafion.

P. 43. Then I vfed gret moyens to get fur knowlege gene my L. James Pryour of Sanctandrowes minted to mak hym felf K., as was reported of hym. Mefter Hendre Belnaves was then in gret credit with hym, and loued me as his awen fone, be fome acquaintance I had with him in France, and plefoures I had done to him during his banifement. He firft fchew vnto me, fa far as he knew of my L. James intention ; and encouragit me to be plane with the faid L. James, and affured me of fecrefie, and of honeft and plain dealing ; for he was a godly, learnit, lang experimented, wyfe confellor ; and pafst with me to the faid Lord Pryour. Who efter I had fchawen him my commiffion, quhilk was very acceptable vnto hym, he delayed not till aduyfe with any vther of his confaill, what anfwer he fuld geue me, bot instantly and plainly fchew me his mynd, in prefens of the faid mefter Hendre. Firt, he declairit what acceptable feruice he and his affociatis had done to the Quen Regent, cheifly of lait when as the bifchop of St Androwes had drawen the maift part of the clargy againft the mariage, and transporting of the crown matrimoniall in France ; albeit he had bene a cheif affifter of hir to transport the yong Quen ther, and to perfwad the Go-

uernour his brother to brek the contract of mariage with K. Edward of England, as is abone spcified. He tald also, what liberte of conscience and ouerficht hir Maieste had granted vnto them, vntil the tym that hir maister houshald, Mons^r de Bouttoncourt, retournit from France with the newes of the paice. And wher as fche had sen fyn chengit hir behaiour and contenance towardis him and them that had done hir best seruice, he knew weill enough that it procedit not of hir awen gud natoure, bot be the persuations and thretenyngis of hir brether and frendis in France; and farther reherfit vnto me all hir and ther formair proceedingis, wherof mention is maid alredy; affirmyng still his gud will to hir Maiesteis seruice. And to put the Kingis Maieste of France, and hir Maieste, out of all suspition of his vsurpation, he suld banise him self perpetually out of Scotland, gif it wald please the K. of France and the Quen his souerane, to grant hym and his affociatis sic liberte as the Quen Regent had parmitted them, vntill the hame-commyng of the said Buttoncourt; prouyding that his rentis suld com to him till France, or any vther contre wher he pleafit to remain. And for secrete heirop, sufficient plegis of the noblemen sonnes of Scotland suld be sent in France; that na K. nor Quen of before has had better obedience, nor the Quen his souerane, notwithstanding of hir absens, suld haue.

P. 44. With this answer, I tok my journey throw England till France; and at New Castell fell in company with ane Englifman, wha was ane of the Quenis varletis of hir chamber; a man learnt in mathematik, negromancye, astrologie, and was also a gud geographe; wha had bene fend be the confaill of England to the borders, and to draw a cart or map of sic landis as lyes loufe betwen England and Scotland; quhilk

part was allegit to be a frutfull foill, and ferued for na vther purpos bot to loge and be a retrait to theues and lymmers. For then the Quen Elifabeth of England, laily com to the crown, was aduyfed be hir se-cret confellours to render thai partis ciuill, and to enlarge hir boundis therby. I can not tell why they folowed it not fourth, bot supponis, that the variance that fell out betwen France and Scotland schortly eftir was the caufe; and for that the maift part of Scotland junit with them, for to get ther help, as falbe schawen heiraftir. This Englis man and I, be the way enterit in fa gret familiarite, that he schaw me findre secretis of the contre and of the court; and amang vther thingis, how that K. Hary the 8., in his lyftym, had bene fa curious as till enquiry at men callit deuyners or negromanciens, what fuld becom of his sone K. Edward 6., and of his tua dochters Mary and Elyzabeth. Anfwer was maid vnto him again, that Prince Edward his sone fuld haue na dayis nor fuceffion; and that his twa dochters fuld fucead, the ane eftir the vther; and that Mary his eldeft dochter suld tak in mariage a Spanyart, and bring in samany of tha ftrangers in England, quhilk fuld be caufe of gret ftryf and alteration; and that Elyzabeth fuld regne efter hir, wha fuld mary other a Scottifman or a Frencheman. Wher-upon the King caufed geue poyfoun to baith his said dochters; quhilk becaufe it tok not sic fec as he fupposed, (for they finding them felues alterit be vehement vomiting and laccetis, tok some remedy,) he caufed proclame them baith bastardis. Bot the wemen that hanted with Quen Mary allegit that hir matrice wes confumed; for fche was findre tymes supponit to be with chyld to the Kyng Phillip of Spain, yet brocht fourth na thing bot dead lumps of fiesch, and monfters. Therefore to be reuengit vpon hir father, the Englisman tald me, that fche caufed fe-

cretly in the nycht tak vp hir fathers banes, and maid them to be brunt. This the honest man affirmed to be trew, and not knawen till many. He wes a man of gret grauite, about fyfty yeares of age ; and when we cam till London, he schew me gret courtesie, and maid me presentis of some bukis.

At my retournyng in France, I fand gret chengement. The King Hendre 2. being hurt in the head with the skelv of a spair, be the Conte of Mongommery, at the triumphall justin of his dochters mariage with the K. of Spain, died aucht dayes efter, in the Turnelles at Paris ; and the Constable my maister wes commandit to retyre him fra court to his house, be the new K. Francis the 2. husband till our souerane ; halely gydit then be the Duc of Guise and Cardinall of Lorraine, competitous to the said Constable be court emulation. Quhilk was cause that my voyage and answer wes all in vain ; for that purpos and plat fuld haue bene brocht till pass by the house of Guise, wha wer thocht to be cheif causers of the troubles in Scotland.

P. 45. When I schew the Constable at his house the answer of my commision, quhilk was till his awen hartis desyre, the teares cam ouer his cheikis, saying, " Alace for the loss of the K. my gud maister, that he fuld not haue fean before his death Scotland recouerit again, quhilk he esteemed tint ; and ye ar also frustrat of a gud reward, quhilk this your seruice merited. Now I haue not sic moyen as I had till aduance yow ; bot gene ye will tak sic part as I haue, ye salbe very welcom." I answerit, that as I had bene with him in his prosperete, I wald not leaue him in his aduersite.

Now ther wes na mair apperance of concord between the Quen Regent and the Congregation in Scotland ; for the K. of France wes raisen men

of wair to fend in Scotland. The Congregation again socht help of the Quen of England ; quhilk they obtenit, the rather becaufe that the Englis ambaffadour resident in France aduertift his mestres, how that the Quen of Scotland and hir husband had tane on the styll of England and Yreland, and also the armes vpon ther filuer plait and tappifferyes.

The Quen Regent, with Mons^r Dofeill and the Frenchemen, incloise them selues within Leith ; quhilk they did fortifie to kep, the better to refaue the Frenche support that wes daly lukit for to ther releaf. At lenth they that wer befeigit maid a forty, tok the arteilgerie, and caused the Congregation to fle and retire, till ane army of England cam in vnder the condit of the Duc of Norfolk. At what tym the Quen Regent, being euell at ease for the see air in Leith, retirit hir self to the Castell of Edenburgh, wher sche tok feaknes and died. During the tym that Leith was befeigit baith be Scotland and England, then all Scottifmen that wer in France wer detefted; and dyuers of them vpon suspition maid prifoners ; quhilk caused me repair to the court from the Constables house, and requyred liffence at the Quen my souerain to vesit vther contres, wherby I mycht be mair able efterwart to do hir Maiefte agreable seruice. Hir Maiefte presented me to the K. hir husband ; kissing his Maiesteis hand, I tok my leau ; and the Constable my gud maister, together with the Conte Rygraue, wret in my fauouris to the Electour Palatin, wher I was aduyfit first to remain, to learn the Duche tong ; and wes courtesly refauit be the said Prince Electour, and obtenit sic fauour with tym, that he send me in France sa schone as he hard of the death of Francis 2. K. of France, wha died at Orleance in the year [1560.]

I wes send to condoll for the said Kingis death, as the custom of

princes is, and reioife with the new yong K. Charles the ix. ; also to comfort our Quen and the Quen mother. This Kingis death maid a gret chengement ; for the Quen mother was blyeth of the death of K. Francis hir sone, becaufe sche had na gyding of him, bot only the Duc of Guife and Cardinall his brother, be raisoun that the Quen our maistres

P. 46. wes ther sifter dochter. Sa the Quen mother was content to be quyt of the gouvernement of the house of Guife ; and for ther cause, sche had a gret mislyking of our Quen. In the mean tym the King of Navar and Prince of Conde his brother, that wer wardit and fuld haue bene execut thre dayes efter, the skaffald being alredy preparit, wer be the Quen mother releaut. The Conftable also chargit to com to the court loked for na les, and seamed to be feak, making litle journees caried in a horse litter, drewe tym sa lang be the way that the K. in the mean tym died. Then he lap on horsbak and cam fracly to the court and commandit, lyk a Conftable, the men of wair that gardit the croun be the Duc of Guife commandement, to pak them aff the toun. The Quen mother wes also very glaid of his commyng, that be his autorite and frendschip with the K. of Navar, sche mycht the better dryue the house of Guife to the dur. The estaitis chancit to be convenit at Orleans for the tym ; the K. of Navar, as neresst of bluid, fell to be tutour and governour to the yong K. and contre ; bot the Quen mother knawing his facilite, handled the matter sa fynly be the Conftables help, that the K. of Navar procurit at the thre estaitis to grant that the Quen mother mycht be regent of the realm ; wher he gaif hir ouer his place, and wes content to be bot hir lieutenant.

Efter that sche had won this hich point, sche caused the estaitis requyre a compt to be maid vnto them, asweill be the Conftable as be

the Duc of Guise and the Cardinall, and Marchall of St Andre, of ther handling of the Kingis rentis and affaires of the crown and contre ; quhilk becaufe they culd not justly do, they wer fayn to leaue the court, as also the Marchall of St Andre, and bandit togither to deffend them selues againt the Quen mothers malice ; for sche wes a deadly ennemy to all them that had gydit other hir husband or hir eldest sone. I was all the whyll ther at Orleance, wher I mycht se this chengement ; and in gret fauour with the said K. of Navar, for the Electour Palatins saik, wha was his grettest frend ; and lyk wayes the Quen mother maid gret accompt of the said Prince Electour, and dispatched me with gret thankis and a fair reward worth a thowland crownis. Our Quen also, seing her frendis in disgrace, and knawen hir self no to be weill lyked, left the court, and was a forowfull wydow when I tok my leaue at hir in a gentilmans house four myll fra Orleans. Sa I returnit in Dutcheland, with many instructions fra the Quen mother and K. of Navar ; for the Quen mother apperit to be a gaitwart to profefs publykly the reformed religion, thinking it the metest way to reteane the gouvernement and gyding of the K. of Navar, and the metest faction to gainstand the house of Guise, wha wer bandit with the Paip and K. of Spain. The said Quen again had in hir head to band with the princes protestantis of Dutcheland, and with the Quen of England, and with the Conte of Eggemont, Prince Orange, Conte of Horn, and sic as had in the Low Contrees embraffit the religion reformed.

I being retournit in Dutcheland, refaut newes out of England fra Maister Killigrew my auld frend, how that the paice was concludit in Scotland at the seige of Leith ; that the Frenchemen fuld be caried in

P. 47. France be the Quen of Englandis schippis, and the Congregation till

haue the fre exercifion of ther religion ; the Quen of Scotland to put away the armories of England, and alfo the ftyll ; and the paice maid at Cambrifis to ftand as it was ther concludit. I leaue all the proceedingis vpon the warres in Scotland to fic as wer prefent, and will wret that hail hiftory ; only I tueche fic litle as I was employed intill my felf, or wher I wes prefent, and faw with my eyn and hard with my eares ; quhilk may ferue for litle parentefis to the hiftory wreters that par-chance wanted the knowlege therof.

Our Quen, then Douagiere of France, retired hir felf be litle and litle farther and farther fra the court of France ; that it fuld not feam that fche was in any fort compellit therunto, as of a treuth fche was, be the Quen mothers rygorous and vengeable dealing ; wha allegit that fche was difpyfed be hir gud dochter, during the fchort regne of K. Francis 2. hir husband, be the infatigation of the houfe of Guife.

Mons^r de Martegnes, Mons^r Dofeill, Mons^r la Brois, the bifchop of Amyence, Mons^r Ruby, and fic vthers Frenchemen as wer laity caried out of Scotland within the Englifch fchippis, reforted vnto the Quen, and delared vnto hir the hail progres and fucces of ther pretencis ; and afweill they as the reft of hir frendis, aduyfit hir to return in Scotland, and encuragit hir with the hope to fuccaad vnto the crown of England, rather then to abyd the Quen mothers difdain in France ; and for hir beft, willit hir to ferue the tym, and till accomod hir felf difcretly and gently with hir awen fubiectis, and to be maift famylier with my L. James Pryour of St Androwes hir naturell brother, and with the Erle of Argyll, wha had married Lady Jene Stuart hir naturell fifter ; and to vfe the fecretair Liddingtoun, and the lard of Grange maift tenderly in all hir affaires ; and in effect, to repoife maift vpon them of

the reformed religion. Sa they that wer a litle before creully persecuted, ar now to be futed for cheffest and fureft frendis. Thus way can God be his devyn provydenche renverfe the fynest practyses and pretences of mychty reulers and potentatis, and turn all to the best vnto them that serues him with a fencer hart. On the other part, God abhorris all sic subiectis as hypocritically vnder pretext of religion, tak occasion to rebell against ther natyf princes, for ambition, gredynes or any wardly respect.

The Pryour of St Androwes being aduertift of the Quen his foueranis deliberation to return in Scotland, and to vse him and his frendis aduysé by all vthers, he passis him self in France, and requeistis hir Maieste to com hame till her awen ; promysfen to serue hir faithfully to the vttermaist of his power ; and returnis again in Scotland befor hir, to prepar the hartis of the subiectis again hir hame commyng. Eftir this hir Maieste past to Jenville, the Duc of Guise duelling plaice, and about the marches of Lorrain, and at lenth past to vefit the Duc of

P. 48. Lorrain at Nancy ; wher I chancit to com schortly efter in company with the Duc Hans Casymir, second sone to my Lord Electour Palatin. Bot the Quen wes alre dy parted fra the court of Lorrain toward Jenville, wher I tok occasion to vefit hir Maieste, with the offer of my maist humble and dewtifull seruice ; and the said Duc Casymir vnderstanding that I wes to ryd ther, did wret a very humble letter vnto hir Maieste, confortyng hir the best he culd, and with the offer of his seruice, incaice any in France wald do hir wrang or injury, to bring vnto hir ayd ten thousand men vpon her semple letter. Hir Maieste wes mekle rejoyft at this his honest offer, for euen then sche had ado with the help and confort of hir frendis ; and gaif me also many thankis for the oppinion sche had found alwais in the court of France, of my affection

towardis hir ſeruiſe ; deſyring me ernestly, when I wes to retire me out of Germany, to com hame and ſerue hir Maieſte, with frendly and fauorable offers. Sa I returnit bak to the Duc Caſymyr, wha was ther to mak a mariage with the Duc of Lorrains eldeſt fiſter ; quhilk tok not effect, becauſe the auld dutches hir mother, who wes K. Chriſtyarnus dochter of Denmark, gottin vpon the Emperour Charles fiſter, wha alſo loſt the kingdom of Denmark, pretending to mak it heritable, wheras it wes electywe, the ſaid K. Chriſtiarnus wes kept in preſoun vntill his death : This dutches his dochter allegit the kingdome of Noroway appartean vnto hir as ayr vnto hir father, and that the ſaid kingdome wes heredytair vnto hir father, albeit not Denmark ; and intendit to mary hir eldeſt dochter then vpon Frederik K. of Denmark, and to gene ouer with hir ſaid dochter the kingdome of Noroway. Bot the ſaid dutches offerit hir ſecond dochter to the Duc Caſymir, quhilk he alſo refuſit, and delt with his father to ſend me in England to propon mariage for him vnto the Quen of England ; quhilk I refuſed to do, knawing as I beleued that ſche wald never mary, vpon the conceat that I had that ſche, knawing hir ſelf vnable for ſucceſſion, be the taill that her varlet of her chamber had tald me, I ſaid ſtill that ſche wald not render hir ſelf ſubiect till any man. The ſaid duc wes very angry at me, becauſe I refuſit to paſs with that commiſſion.

About this tym the Cardinall of Lorrain being at Trent, tok occaſion to veſit the auld Emperour Ferdynand at Yſbruck, his duelling place not far fra Trent. And ther the ſaid Cardinall proponit tua mariages ; firſt, the K. of France Charles the ix, to the eldeſt dochter of Maximilien ſone to Ferdynand, and new choſen King of Romanis and coadjutor to thempyre ; then he proponit the Quen of Scotland, dow-

gier of France, to Charles Archeduc of Auftria, brother to the said Maximilien. The Quen was then retournit in Scotland, and appeirantly efterwart aduertift be the said Cardinall, how he had proponit the said mariage and had gottin a gud anfuer.

P. 49. The Quen being returnit in Scotland, was glaidly welcom vnto the haill fubiectis. For folowing the confaill of hir frendis, ſche behaued hir ſelf humanly vnto them all ; bot committed the cheif handling of hir affaires to hir brother the Pryour of S^t Androwes, (whom efterwart ſche maid Erle of Murray,) and to the ſecretaire Liddingtoun, as meteft baith to hald the contre at hir deuotion, and alfo to pak vp a ſtrait frendſchip betwen hir Maieſte and the Quen of England. For my L. of Murray had gret credit with my L. Robert Dudly, wha was efterwart maid Erle of Leceifter ; and the ſecretary Liddingtoun had gret credit with the ſecretaire Cicill. Sa thir four packit vp a ſtrait and fiſterly frendſchip betwen the twa Quenis and ther contrees, as aperit outwardly na mair difference in langage, bot that the Quen of England wes the eldeſt fiſter, and the Quen of Scotland the yonger fiſter, whom the Quen of England promyſed to declair ſecond perſone, with tym, according to hir gud behauour ; ſa that lettres and intelligence paſt oukly be poſt betwen them, and nathing mair deſyred for the fiſt then that they mycht ſea vther, be a meating at a convenient place, wherby they mycht alfo declair ther hartly and loving myndis till vther. For the ingratitude and miſhandling of our Quen be the Quen Mother of France, moued hir the mair cairfully and ernestly to mak frendſchip by hir, and ratheſt with them whom ſche lyked worſt ; for then the houſe of Guiſe wer alfo be hir decourted at the eſtatis of Orleans, as is ſpecified of before. The twa Quenis keping on this ma-

ner ther outward frendſchip for a whyll, with the plain and honeſt menyng of our Quen, as I knew perfytly efterwart.

Ther cam a wreting to me out of Scotland from the ſecretary Lid-dingtoun, be the Quenis command, willing me to be acquainted with the Archeduc Charles of Auftria, yongest brother to Maximilien, then K. of Romans, and Emperour in effect ; for themperour Ferdinand his auld father bur bot the name, be raifoun of his age. This Charles had bene proponit be the Cardinall of Lorraine for to mary the Quen our maiftres, as is els ſpecified. I wes then defyred to know of his religion, of his rentis, and of his qualites, and to ſend hame word to the Quen ; as alſo of his age and ſtature, and his pictour to ſend therwith, gif it culd be poſſible ; quhilk wes thocht that I mycht eaſely know and obtean be the meanis of the Prince Electour Palatin my maifter, for the tym greteſt in fauour be apperance with the ſaid Maximilien.

Now my ſaid L. Electour had be auentour of his awen head, (he beand at ane imperiall convention halden in Aufbrugh) aſkit at Maximilian, what wes the errand or the matter that the Cardinall of Lorraine had bene in dealing with his father Ferdinand, that tym that he cam to him out of Trent, wher the confell wer fittand for the tym. For the gud Elector fearit that it wes for ſome papifticall matters ; for Ferdinand wes a deuot Catholik, and Maximilien ſeamed to be a zelous proteſtant. For

P. 50. Maximilien wes bot laitly choſen King of Romanis at Franckfort, not without difficulte. Being ane of the ſeuen electours him ſelf, as King of Bohem, he had to ſut ſex electours for ther votis ; to wit, thre princes proteſtantis, the Electour Palatin, Duc of Sax, and Markiſ of Brandenburg ; and thre biſchoppes, Magonce, Triers, and Colen, catholikis. Baith thir factions wer put in hope that being Emperour, he wald

declair him self to the protestantis, efter the discesé of Ferdinand his father ; and in the mean tym vsed secret prechingis to please them. On the other part he past openly to the mess, wherby the bischoppis thocht them selues assured of him ; bot the gud Electour Palatin beleued firmly that he wald schaw him self a plain protestant efter his fathers discesé. Alwais, he wan baith the parties to becom Emperour, and tald the Electour Palatin, at the convention in Aufburgh, how that the Cardinall of Lorrain had proponit twa mariages to themperour his father. The ane wes Charles the yong K. of France, to Maximiliens eldest dochter ; the other wes the Quen of Scotland douagier of France, to his brother the Archeduc Charles. The Electour inquiryed how he lyked of the twa mariages. He said, he culd not bot lyk weill of them ; seing he culd not get a better matche to his dochter then the K. of France, nor to his brother then the Quen of Scotland, douagier of France, and as the Cardinall allegit, to haue rycht also to the crown of England. The Electour said, sen that he lykit weill of his brothers mariage with the Quen of Scotland, that he had a Scottisch gentilman with him, wha culd schaw him perfytly of that richt and of the estaitis of England and Scotland, and culd be a gud instrument] to bring fordward the said mariage.

Wherupon Maximilien desyred to speak with me ; and because I was absent in the contre of Hesse for the tym, to send me vnto him at my retournyng ; quhilk the gud Electour did, and send with me ane of his confell, callit Mons^r Zuleger, geving us together a commiffion to deall for Vlrich Fouker, wardit be his awen frendis because of his extraordinair magnificence, quhilk they allegit to be waisting prodigalite ; and he again allegit that they did it because he wes a pro-

teftant. When we had vfed our conjunct commiffion, Zuleger my compaignion tald his Maiefte, that I had a particulaire commiffion, and fa retirit him and left me alane in the chamber ; wher I presentit a letter vnto his Maiefte, wreten with the electours awen hand in Dutche, declaring how I wes the Scottifch gentilman whom he promyfed to fend. Sa his Maiefte, efter that he had red the wreting, fchaw me the part wher the Electour affured hym that I wald fchaw him the treuth of all fic thingis as I knew that he wald fpeir at me ; and faid, “ Ye are mekle behalden to the Electour Palatin, for he hes infourmed me weall of yow ; I prey yow tell me how lang haue ye remanit in his company.” I faid, thre yeires and mair. He inqyred why I maid not anfwer in Dutche ; I faid, becaufe I had the Frenche mair famyliar, and knew that na langage culd com wrang to his Maiefte ; indeid he culd alfo fpeak gud Latin, Ytalien, Efpaignoll, P. 61. Sclavon, and Frenche. Then he inqyred again in French, how I cam to the Electour Palatin. I faid, that being brocht vp in the court of France, with the Conftable, at what tym ther fell out fome variance betwen France and Scotland, partly for religion myxt with some vther particulartez, wherof procedit a miflyking of famany Scotis men as wer for the tym in France ; that some Scotis men wer wardit vpon fufpition, and some wer loked down vpon ; quhilk mouit me to tak the occafion to vefit vther contrees, quhilk I had deliberat to do lang of before ; and mynding to begin in Dutcheland, the Conftable of France adreffit me to the Electour Palatin be his fauorable wreting. He inqyred how lang I had remanit with the Conftable ; I faid, nyn yeiris. Then he faid, that I was happy to haue bene fa lang in company with the twa wyfett in Europe, and that he was glaid to be acquainted with me ; and began to fchaw me the caufe why he defyred to fpeak with

me; inquiring of the estait of Scotland, of ther lait troubles with France, of the agrement new maid, and sen the agrement what gret men had the gretest handling, and all the noblemens names that had affistid baith the parties; and proceadit to inqyre of the help that England had maid vnto Scotland, during ther troubles with France; gif they wer bandit together, and gene ther frendfchip continowed; and of the Quenis rycht to England, and gif the nobilite of Scotland wald be glaid to set fordwart ther Quen vnto the crown of England; and gene they wald think it a weall vnto the crown of Scotland, to haue the twa contrees junit tother, supposing ther Quen or Prince wald rathest duell in the best contre, and wald be that way farther fra them. Thir and many vther thingis he inqyred; to the quhilkis I anfuerit the best I culd. Then he said, it wes not the least gud office that my Lord Electour had done vnto hym, in sending me ther; and thankit me also for the panes I had tane, and said, gif Charles his brother chan-cit to be sa happy as till obtean our Quen in mariage, that na man fuld haue mair credit with him then I; willing me to abyd with him a whyll, that he mycht discours with me at mair lenth. Sa eftir that I had taried with hym xv dayes, with faorable and humain enter-tenement when his leasor wald permit, putting me in hope that Charles wald be schortly at hym, and tald me sic newes as cam till hym out of all contrees; specially of the death of the Duc of Guise be Poltrot at the seage of Orleans, and apperit to be glaid of the death of that vailgeant wariour. I culd not juge for the tym what moued him.

Efterwart be oft conference with hym, I persauit and suspected that he wald be found ennemy to the mariage of his brother with the Quen; and to get some tryall therof, I requestit my compaignon Mons^r Zuleger, to

drink him self mery with some of his secretaires, and then to cast in the purpos of the mariage of Duc Charles with the Quen of Scotland, whither it was desyred and lyked by Maximilien or not. The said secretaire schew hym, how that he was against any sa gret preferment to his brother, wherby he mycht becom King of Scotland and England baith; be raifoun of a mint that themperour Charles 5. maid anes, to devyd his dominions among the thre sonnes of Ferdinand his brother, failgeing aires of K. Phillip his sone; wha then had bot a sone, to wit Don Carle, feakly of complexin, whom he efterwart slew secretly in prifoun hym self, suspecting him to be of the reformed religion and having intelligence with the princes of Flanders that professit the same; and Maximilien hoped to succed to the haille, failgeing aires of the said K. Philippe, as having married the said Philips sifter, and had many children of his awen with hir, who he desyrit to be preferrit rather then his awen brother. For incaice the Archeduc Charles had bene K. of Scotland and England, he mycht the better vsurp the Law Contres, vpon the allegeance of some auld rycht.

Eftir that I vnderstod this I wald tary na langer, bot preffit daly to return towardis my L. Electour; and he again to stay me besyd him, seamed that he wuld fayn haue reteanit me in his seruice; at lenth willit me to tary bot a half year; bot humbly excusing my self, for that I wes fend for to be schortly in Scotland; quhilk moued hym the mair earnestly to desyre me to tary with hym. Quhilk becaufe I wald not grant to do, I thocht he was discontent; and a nycht lait efter supper, he parted in a boit towardis the town of Lintis, and send his secretary vnto me, excusing him that he mycht not meit with me before his parting, for he had ane necessary occasion; and seing I was to return

in Scotland, he had wreten a letter to the Quen in my fauours and commendation, quhilk the secretaire delyuerit vnto me. I tald the secretaire that I had not yet sean Italy, and that I was purposed first to se Venise, Rome, and sic thingis as wer to be sean ther, before my re-tournyng in Scotland, and refused the said letter at the first. He said, "Ther is na danger how lang it be on delyuerit, nathing contenit therein bot concernyng your self." The toun of Aufburgh being the nereft part of Germany towardis Venise, I agreid with Mons^r Zuleger to re-tourn towardis my L. Electour; and I tok my journey to Venise and Rome, and cam bak throw all the fairest townis, and throw the Swif-ers land till Heildilberg, wher the Prince Electour held his court.

I haue said heir abone how that the Duc of Guise wes slain be Pol-trot during the seige of Orleans, efter the battail of Drues; in the quhilk baith the chiftanis war tane, the Prince of Conde for them of the religion, and the Conftable for the K. The Quen mother maid the paice incontinent betwen the parties, against the mynd of Madame de Guise, wha requested hir not to mak the paice sa sodanly, for then it wald be thocht that the Duc of Guise had bene the only cause of the warres. The Quen mother past fordwart nevertheles with the paice, chenging the Prince of Conde for the Conftable, making them baith gud instrumentis of the agrement. The paice being maid, the Quen mother maid moyen for a wyf to hir sone K. Charles, and for that effect send vnto the Prince Palatin, a secretary callit Monsieur Mylot; schawing vnto hym how that the King hir sone had apprehendit earnestly the mariage of Maximiliens eldest dochter; willing him as a trusty frend, of his awen head to propone the matter as a stedable ally-ance for the weill of the empyre; and to send hir his apperance, and

the yong prences picture, quhilk ſche thocht meit to be done before ſche wald proceed mair publykly, for ſome raifones that ſche had for hir ; quhilk he did very deligently, and fend me in France with the anſwer and pictour, with a congratulation of the lait maid paice.

- P. 53. At my commyng to the court of France, quhilk wes at Paris for the tym, the Conftable wald nedis be my convoy to the yong K. and Quen mother; wha had a miſlyking of the ſaid Conftable for the tym, as having brocht in the Admyrall to Paris againſt hir will ; wha was acufit to haue promyſed reward vnto the foirſaid Poltrot for to ſley the Duc of Guiſe. The Admyrall again deſyred to com before the preuy conſaill, till purge him ſelf and to be tryed ; bot the Quen mother deſyred rather ther hattrent and contention to continow, as having layed hir plat till fyſche hir gretnes in the dromely pondes of ther ſtryf, as was manifeſtly ſean ſen ſyn. For during ther deuyſion, the Duc of Guiſe, K. of Navar, Prince of Conde, Conftable, Marchall of St Andre, with the maift notable gret men of France, wer all flain down ; and becauſe the ſaid Admyrall eſchaupt during the warres, the paice was maid for the thrid tym ; and vnder traift, at the mariage of the yong Prince or K. of Navar, now K. of France, the ſaid Admyrall was murdrift, with all that reſted of the worthyeft noblemen and captens of France.

To return vnto the purpoſ ; the Conftable and Admyrall wer at court at that tym againſt the Quen mothers will ; wher the Admyrall wes declairit innocent of the Duc of Guiſe ſlauchter. And at that tym the Conftable determinit to abyd at court, and till mantean him ſelf ther in his office of Gret Maifter, and be the autorite of his gret office of the conftablerie, aſſiſted be the force of his frendis ; for he vnderſtod ſufficiently the Quen mothers Italien trickis. Therefore he to won credit

presented me to the yong King, and sat down vpon a stull beynd him and the Quen his mother, and held his bonet vpon his head, taking vpon him the full autorite of his gret office ; to the Quen mothers gret mislyking, with sic impafience that sche turnt away hir faice when I wes declairen my commiffion, efter the delyuerie of my lettres of credence to the K. and hir. Quhilk the K. wes very glaid to heir, being therby put in hope that the mariage wald tak effect, and wes sa desyrous to se the picture of that lusty yong princefs, that he cutted the thredis him self that band on the waxit claith about the said picture. And I in the mean tym reterit me fourth of the chamber, and was earnestly socht that after nun, bot not found vntill the Constable and Admyrell cam to ther chamber at euen. Wha requyring to wit the cause of my retering, I remembrit the Constable how he mycht see the rage that the Quen mother was intill ; and how I again stod vpon the reputation of my maister, wha was a fre prince. Then they wer glaid, and said that I had done weill, and schew me how they wer the cause ; and that sche had maid a proclamation, that na ambaffador fuld address them bot vnto the K., and hir as Regent ; therefore aduyfit me to pass the nyxt day to see hir at denner, and that sche wald not fail to call for me, and inqyre the cause of my absenting before I had tald out my hail commiffion ; and instructed me what I fuld say for answer. Sa schone as hir Maieste saw me, sche send and desyred me to stay ther till sche had dynet, and that sche fuld send for the K. hir sone to com to hir chamber, to heir out the rest of my commiffion. The K. being com, the chamber wes yfched.

P. 54. Hir Maieste first inqyred, why I tald not out the rest of my commiffion the day before. I answerit, as I was instructed, how

that it apperit to me, that for the tym ſche had na will of ſa many auditours, and that I ſteyed vpon hir better opportunitie. Quhilk anſwer ſche feamed to tak in a gud part, willing me when at any tym I mycht be ſent again, to addreſs my ſelf only to the K. and to hir, and to nane vther. To that I anſwerit, that amang all the Kingis ſaruandis I was beſt acquainted with the Conſtable, and therefore maid him my convoy to baith ther Maieſteis. "Na," ſaid ſche, "I find na falt that ye addreſſit yow to my gud goffup;" bot ſche hatted hym deadly. Sa efter that I had endit the declaration of my hail commiſſion, firſt anent the congratulation of the paice, and excuſes of the confederat princes of thempyre for ſending help to the Prince of Conde, during the warres for the religion, with a requeſt to kepe the ſaid paice vniolat, and till mak ſic lawes of obliuion as wer wont to do the Grekis and Romanis efter ſic ciuill diſcenſions; and then how that my lord Electour had procedit with Maximilien, and how his anſwer was at wiſſis. All the tym that I ſpak, ſche remembrit the K. to tak gud head, and ſaid he was mekle obliſt to that gud prence that tok ſic panes for his marriage, and for the weall of his affaires.

Then ſche entrit with me in particulair, eſtemyng that I wald not ſpend ouer mekle tym in Dutcheland, ſeing that I was firſt brocht vp in the court of France; for albeit, ſche ſaid, ſche had anew that culd ſpeak Dutche, yet few wer ſa famylierly acquainted with the princis of thempyre, or that had ſic fauour and credit as ſche vnderſtod I had, to do the K. and hir ſeruce; therfor offerit to mak me gentilman of the Kingis chamber, prouydit with ane honorable penſion, and to be aduancit till offices and honnours as gene I wer a Frenchman born; and that ſche wald employ me not only in Germany, bot alſo in England and Flanders.

I thocht her Maieſteis offers very acceptable ; bot in the mean tym that I was awaiting vpon my diſpaſche, the Admyralis death was conſpyred be the brether and frendis of the Duc of Guiſe, to be executed be capten Charry, in greteſt fauour with the Quen mother as cheif capten of hir garde ouer vi hundreth hacbuters, Gaſcons choſen out of his regiment, by the ordinary gard. The ſaid enterpryſe being diſcouerit to the Conſtable be the auld Dutcheſ of Ferrar, dochter to K. Louys the xij., mother to the Dutcheſ of Guiſe wydow, the Conſtable paſt to his houſe 4 legues fra Paris ; and the nyxt day eſter, the ſaid Capten Charry was ſlain vpon the caſſay of Paris, be Mons^r Chattelier thadmyralis frend, quhilk pat the Quen and all the court in ane fear and firme oppinion, that the dede was done be the Conſtable and Admyralis direction. Bot the Admyrall purgit him ſelf. The Conſtable was ſend for, and many requestis maid vnto hym to ſattill and eſtabliſ quyetnes in the court and town.

P. 55. Being yet at Paris on diſpatched, I raſauit wretingis to com in Scotland, directed by my lordis of Murray and Liddingtoun, at the Quenis Maieſteis command, to be employed in ſome of her hyenes affaires of conſequence, quhilk I vnderſtod to be anent hir Maieſteis marriage. Wherupon I tok deliberation, at my retournyng in Germany, to mak a voyage in Scotland ; far againſt the oppinion of the Conſtable, the Admyrall and the Prince Palatin ; bot his ſone the Duc Caſimir tok occaſion to deſyre me till preſent his picture to the Quen of England. I haue ſaid alredy how that he was angry at me, becauſe I reſuſed to be ſent in England till propon his marriage to that Quen ; being perſuadit thertu be the Vydamme of Charters, laitly com ther from the court of England ; wha thocht him ſelf

fa famylier with the said Quen, that he send a gentilman Italien of his to propon that mariage, as he allegit, at the instance of the Electour Palatin. To whom the Quen gaif a generall alluring answer, desyryng the yong prince to com in England, eyther openly or prevely disgyfed ; and how that sche wald never mary any man till sche mycht first see him. Still I diffuadit his father to send hym, alleging that it wald be gret chargeis to him, and get nathing bot scorn for recompence ; wherat the yong prince was fa commoved that he left the court for thre dayes. Bot the gud prince his father send for him, and boisted him, incaice he becam not my frend. Sa we wer agreid that at this tym I fuld cary with me his picture, and present it to the Quen of England in my hame passyng throw England, feing that I was fa far againt his gangyng ther ; whilk I was content to do, prouyding that I mycht also haue hame with me the picture of his father, his mother, and of all the rest of his brether and sisters, together with a famylier wretyng from the Electour, wherby I mycht haue the better occasion and acces to bring in the purpos of the pictures as be accident ; hoping that sche wald desyre to see them, specially the pictour of the said yong Duc.

And having obtenit my desyre, I tok my leaue and parted from Heildilberg, wher my gud lord Electour held his court for the tim ; wha gaif me commiffion to the Quen of England, to wit, ane answer to hir demandit allyance offensyve and deffensyve with the princes protestantis of Germany ; quhilk of before was bot obscurly answerit vnto hir ambassadour Sir Hery Knollis, at the dyet imperiall halden at Franckfort the year 1562 ; excusing him self and the rest of the princes his confideratis, wha had bot new chofen Maximilien to be K. of Romains, and coadjutor to themperour his father ; and that he had promysed vnto

them to schew him self a plane protestant, sa schone as he durst efter the discese of his auld father Ferdinand ; and in the mean tym, had ther promyse to kepe correpondance with him, and to mak na band with any forrene prince, by his consent and knowlege ; quhilk gene they did, he mycht perchance tak occasion therupon to lay the wyet on them, incaice he did not as he had promysed. For they began to fear and dout of his vprycht meanyng anent the religion, and yet thocht not meit to mak him any occasion for ther part ; bot incaice he kept not his promyse efter the discese of Ferdinand, they fuld then planly band, and mak sic allyance with hir as sche had requyred ; quhilk they durst not for the tym discouer vnto hir ambassadour ; requesting hir Maieste yet to kepe this secreet vnto hir self.

P. 56. This excuse sche seamed to tak in a gud part, and promysed to discouer it to nane of hir consaill ; bot sche lamented that the princes of Germany wer sa slaw and langsome in all ther deliberations. Wherupon again I began till prayse them for ther treuth, constancy, religion, ordour, and quik execution eftir they had concludit any wechty matter ; bot I set out maist specially the Electour Palatin his humanite, his trating of strangers, vphalding of vniversities ; and how he was the mouth of his confideratis, to deal with all vther prencis nybours. Sche said that I had raifoun to speak sa of him, for he had wreten very far in my fauour, and how that he wald fayn haue retenit me langer with hym. I schew again how laith I was to leaue him ; and for to haue the better remembrance of hym, I desyred to cary hame with me his picture, and the pictures of his wyf and all his sones and dochters. Sa schone as sche hard of the pictures, sche failed not till inquiryre gif I had the picture of the Duc Hans Casymir, and desyred very earnestly

to se it; and when I allegit that I had left the said pictures at Londoun, sche being then at Hamtoncourt ten mylles fra Londoun, and that I wes redy to pafs fordwart, sche said I fuld not part till sche had sean the haill pictures. Sa the nyxt day I delyuerit them all vnto hir Maieste, and sche defyred to retean them all nycht; bot sche tok my L. Robert Dudley to be jure of the Duc Casymirs picture, and aponted me to meit hir the nyxt mornyng in hir garding; wher sche caused delyuer them all vnto me, and gaif me thankis for the sicht of them. I again offerit vnto hir Maieste any of the pictures, sa sche wald let me haue the auld Electour and his lady; bot sche wald haue nane of them. I had also intelligence how first and last sche dispyfed the said Duc Casymir. Therefore I wret bak from Londoun in chiffer, to his father and him self baith, disfluading them to medle any mair in that mariage; and resauit gret thankis efterwart fra the said yong Duc, wha maried incontinent the Duc August Electour of Sax his eldest dochter.

Albeit this is somthing by the purpos that I wes wreten anent the Quen our souerain, yet it bringis me hame vntill hir Maieste, with som purpos of mariage to hir self. For the Quen of England enterit with me very famylierly, and schew me of the sifterly love that was betwen hir and the Quen my souerain; and how cairfull sche was of hir weelfare, and to se hir weall fattelit in hir awen contre with hir subiectis, and also weill maried; and how that sche had in hir head twa perfonas to propone, any ane of the twa, for fitteft husbandis vnto hir, wherby ther amytye mycht best stand and increase; hopping that sche wald alwayes mary be hir aduysse, for hir weall; promysen vpon hir faith to wret vnto me with hir awen hand, schortly efter my hame-

commynge in Scotland, that I mycht be a gud instrument to moue the Quen my mestres till accept other the ane or the other. Albeit sche forget to wret vnto me theranent, sche send instructions vnto Mester Randolph, till propon my L. Robert Dudley as a meit husband for our Quen. I suppone that my Lord Robert Dudley, efterwart Erle of Lecester, had diffuadit hir to employ me in his mariage with the Quen my fouerane, feing that Mester Randolphe was ther alredy hir Hynes agent.

P. 57. Now the Quen my maiftres, to kep promyse and correpondence with the Quen of England, had send and aduertift hir, how that the mariage with Archeduc Charles was proponit vnto hir; requyryng hir frendly aduyse and consent therto.

The Quen of England answereit, be hir agent Mester Thomas Randolphe, as folowes. Efter a litle preface this he declaires, and geues in be wret, the Quen his mestres mynd.

“The Quen my fouerane,” said he, “hes not only deaply aduyfed vpon the matter anent the mariage of your Maieste, bot hes also thocht it necessary now by me, to schaw yow what sche thinketh baith meit and vnmeit to be confiderit, and seamly for hir be way of frendfchip to declair, as a dear sifter that intendis your Maiesteis honnour, and a loving frend that is cairfull for your Graces weall.

“Thre speciall thingis hir Grace thinkis fit to be confiderit in mariage. Firft, the mutuell contentation betwen baith parties, in respect of ther priuat personages, sa that the loue may probabely continow, asweill before God as man.

“Secondly, that the personage may be such as your Maieste, being

a Quen of a gret realm and multitude of people, may be fure of ane vengeance allyance, be your nobilite realm and commouns.

“Thridly, that the chuse be futch, that the amytye quhilk is now fastrait betwix the Quenis Maieſte and your Hynes, not only for your awen perſonnes bot with boith your realmes, may be continuat and not defoluit nor difminiffit.”

Then he delaitis at lenth, how that he dowtis not bot hir Maieſte, wha was anes maried, will confideratly wey the match to be very meit boith for hir and hir awen ſubiectis; bot anent the thrid head, that belanges vnto the Quen his ſouerane, it meritis to be weall loked vpon.

“It is trew that the ſeaking out of a huſband to your Maieſte is honorable and expedient; a thing that hir Maieſte lykys weall of in your Grace, albeit hitherto ſche has not found ſuch diſpoſition in hir ſelf; remitting hir hart and mynd in that behalf to be directed be almychty God.

“Bot this heirin hir Maieſte confidereth, that to ſeak out ſuch a huſband as is weall knawen to hir, is ſocht be your Gracis frendis in themperours lineage, moſt bring a maniſeſt danger vnto the pryvat amytye betwix your Maieſties; ane apperant occaſion to deſolue the concord that is preſently betwix the twa nations; and thridly, ane interruption of ſuche a courſe as vtherwais mycht be taken, to forther or advance ſuche a tytyle as your Grace mycht haue to ſucceed vnto hir Maieſte in the crown of England, gif hir Grace fuld depart without yffue of hir body.”

Then he vſes ſome vnfit perſuaſions and menaces; as boiſting how that ſome in England ar going about, with practyſes to ſet fordwart

ther pretendit richtis, to hir Maiesteis prejudice ; quhilk sche, be hir difcret behauour and confourmitie to his mestres plefour may preuent, “ in moving hir not only to proceed in the inquisition of your G. richt, and to forther the same at hir power, bot also to hender and empesche that quhilk fall seam to the contraire.

“ And now gif your Maieste wald knaw, what kind of mariage mycht best content hir and hir realm. Such a ane as may bred na jeloufie nor trouble betwix your Maiefties and your contrees, as did the mariage with the Frenche King ; bot rather it is to be wiffit, that ther mycht be found out some noble man of gret birthe within England, that mycht be agreable vnto you, with whom hir Maieste wald more
 p. 58. redely and more easely extend and declair the gud will that hir Maieste has, to cause you enjoye before any creature any thing sche hes, nyxt hir self or childrene. Vtherwais I most planely say, that my souerane can promyse nothing agreable to the feruent desyre sche hath to do your G. gud.”

This was Maister Randolphes first instructions and proposition vnto the Quen, anent hir mariage with the Archeduc Charles. Bot he had a secret commiffion vnto my L. of Murray, and the secretaire Liddingtoun, to propon my Lord Robert Dudly ; and willit me also to set fordward his mariage with the Quen, as metest of all vther ; as falbe declaired mair amply heirefter.

Be this kynd of dealing it apperis weall, how that the Quen of England mislyked the mariage of the Quen with the Archeduc Charles ; and gaue farther declairation be sending of the Erle of Suffex to themperours court, asweill to congratulat his coronation, as indirectly to draw on the mariage between the said Charles and his maistres the

Queen of England ; and brocht that matter sa fynly about, that Charles thocht the mariage with the Queen of England meter, and was put in gret hope that it fuld tak effect. Yit it was not sa secretly handled bot our Queen was aduertift thereof, be some of hir weill willairs in England ; wherupon procedit inwart greffis and gruges betwen the twa Quenis ; quhilk bursted out at a litle occasion geuen be the Queen of England, in hir first famylier wreting vnto the Queen, appering therby to geue her a frendly aduyse on the auld maner ; quhilk the Queen again thocht bot a double dealing, remembring afweill vpon hir lait diffwading answer from the mariage of the Archeduc Charles, as vpon hir practyses newly parfourned in themperours court. The Queen of Englandis letter was wreten at the fut of some of the frendis of the house of Hammiltoun. For efter that mester Randolph had spoken, as is abone mentionat, against the mariage of the Queen with the Duc Charles, and had allegit that some nobleman born within England wald be meter ; he procedit sa far, in preuy conference with my L. of Murray and the secretary Liddingtoun, as to say, " What wald ye think of my L. Robert Dudley for your Queen ? " And finding small accompt to be maid therof, aduertift the Queen his mestres. Wherupon occasion wes tane to geue leaue vnto Mathow Erle of Lenox, wha dwelt in England for the tym, to pass in Scotland as desyrous to se the Queen, and tak ordour with some of his awen turnis ; whais eldest sone my Lord Darly was a lusty yong prince, and apperantly was ane of the twa that the Queen of England had tald me sche had in hir head till offer vnto our Queen, as born within the realm of England.

To return vnto the letter wretin be the Queen of England vnto the Queen ; sche wald appear therby to be cairfull for the Queen hir festers

quyet estait and gouvernement ; willing hir to tak head that in schawing plesour to the Erle of Lenox, not to displeas nane of the houfe of Hamiltoun, wherby trouble and stryf in hir contre mycht aryse ; quhilk sche allegit to do vpon some brutis that sche had hard ; with findre vther sic purposes, that somtymes wald not haue bene tane in ane euell part. Bot now euery aduysse geuen be the Quen of England was euell interpret, partly for her proceedingis to the hendrance of the mariage with Charles, and partly because that Seigneur Dauid, now enterit to be hir Hynes Frenche secretary, was not very skilfull in dyting of French lettres quhilk sche did not wret ouer again with hir awen hand ; for then baith the Quenis wret till vther in Frenche with ther auen handis. The answer then that the Quen wret vnto the said letter, declaired some suspition and anger to haue bene tane, in burfing out with some speches, that it was thocht be the Quen of England as an vpegeing of the famyliarite and sifterly correspondance that had bene kepit sen the Quenis retournyng hame out of France. Wherupon sa gret a cauldnes grew, that they left aff baith fra wreting till vther, as they used to do euery owk, be the postis that passit betwen ther courtis and Barwick ; letting a 2. monethes pass by before that the Quen my mestres tok purpos to send me vnto the Quen of England, to renew ther outward frendship ; for in ther hartis, fra that tym fourth, ther was nathing bot geloufies and suspitions. The Quen my maiftres thocht that gif ther discord continowed, it wald cut aff all intelligence betwen hir and a number of gud frendis that sche had in England ; and that Quen had na will of warres, bot desyred be all meanis possible till eshew commor or any occasion of expensis ; the King of Spain and sche being already

entrit in controversy, and lyk to tak findre courfes, for the troubles and rebellion of Flanders and the Law Contrees ; eftemyng hir a fecret fterer vp of them, not without caufe ; for fche thocht hir felf abandonit be the K. of Spain, at the lait paice maid at Catteau Cambrifis ; and hir cheifeft confaillouris thocht convenient for the eftait of England to fofter and nurife contrary factions, baith in France, Flanders, Scotland and Spayn.

At my hamecommyng in Scotland, I fand the Quenis Maiefte at Sant Jhonftoun, in the year of God 1564. the 5. day of May, and was very fauourably refaut be the Quenis Maiefte ; when I prefented vnto hir Hynes, wretingis from themperour Maximilien, the Electour Palatin, the Duc of Lorrain, the Cardinall of Lorrain, and Duc of Aumall, all in my fauours. And efter I had infourmed hir at lenth how Maximilien was againft the mariage of his brother Charles, fche vnderftanding alfo the Quen of Englandis part therintill, as is abone fpecified, fche pat the mariage with Archeduc Charles clean out of hir conceat. And wheras fche had bene myndit to fend me in Germany, now fche tok purpos to fend me in England ; at what tym I was not yet refoluit to fetle my felf in Scotland, feing apperance of fmall commodite, and of greter troubles and difordour then I beleuit to find at my hamecommyng ; and was laith to loife the occasions and offers of preferrement that had bene maid to me in France and vther partis. Bot the Quen

P. 60. my fouerane was fa infant, and fa weill inclynit, and fchew hir felf endewed with fa many princely vertus, that I thocht it wald be againft gud confcience to leawe hir, requyring fa ernestly my help and feruice to draw hame again ay mair and mair the hartis of hir fubiectis, that

had strayed and wer growen cauld during the lait troubles the quhill that s^che was absent in France, and wer junit in a gret frendschip with England ; wherin s^che had also gret handling for the t^ym, to won frendis and kepe correpondance with that Quen. Then s^che was sa effable, sa gracious and discret, that s^che wan gret estymation, and the hartis of many baith in England and Scotland, and myn among the rest ; sa that I thocht her mair worthy to be seruit for litle proffet, then any vther prence in Europe for gret commodite. Then s^che was naturally liberall, mair than s^che had moyen ; for not only provydit s^che me with a pension of ane thousand markis, ane part of the same to be tane out of hir drowry in France, bot s^che wald also haue geuen me in heritage the landis of Auchtermouchtie besyd Facland ; quhilk I refused, alleging the same to be the nereft part of hir propertie, quhilk s^che mycht not weall want. Bot another, hearen that s^che was sa weil harted, socht it and gat it.

This way I was vincuift and won to tary with hir, and to leawe all vthir proffitis or preferrement in France and vther contrees, albeit that for the t^ym I had na vthir heritage bot my seruice. Sa about 2. or 3. monethes efter my hame commyng, I wes sent to the Quen of England, with thir instructions folowing, out of hir Maiesteis awen mouth ; to deall with the Quen of England, with the Spanisch ambaffadour, and with my Lady Margret Douglas, and with findre frendis s^che had in England of dyuers oppinions ; and generall instructions wreten be the secretaire Liddingtoun, subscryuit with hir Maiesteis hand, as foloues.

“ Instructions to our famylier seruitour James Meluill, presently directed to our derrest sifter the Quen of England. At Edenbrough the 28. of September 1564.

“ In the first, efter that ye haue presented our lettres, and maid our commendations in maift hartly maner, ye fall declair vnto our gud sifter, that having bene in our progres towardis the nourthemest partis of our realm thir tua monethes, during the quhilk tym we haue had nether lettres nor vthir aduertifment from our said gud sifter, for continuation of the mutuell intelligence betuix us be all gud offices of amytye, we tok purpos to direct yow towardis hir, to vefit hir vpon our behalf, to lat hir knaw our health and gud estait, and also at your return, be able to report the lyk of hir vnto us ; being the persoun in the warld to whom nyxt our self, we wifs maift gud luk and prosperite.

“ Item, that by lettres of my Lord Robert to Liddingtoun, as also of her secretary to our brother of Murray, and ficlyk to Liddingtoun, we haue persauit that our said gud sifter findis some falt with our lettres, wreten to hir for answere of hers in the Earle of Lenox matter, as gif we had taken her motion therin in euell part. We are maift fory that our lettres hes bene sa interpreted, sa far as concernis to our meanyng. For of treuth we had na vthir oppinion of hir in that matter, bot that hir aduertifment cam from a frendly mynd, and was baith worthy of thankis, and to be answerit with the lyk gud will ; as we beleue we did in our lettre, albeit we remember not presently the very wordis or substiance therof. For we vse not to referue any copie of our famylier lettres wreten with our awen hand, quhilk now we repent of that lettre ; for gene we had ane copie of it, we mycht now clear our self of

P. 61. that dout, what wordes they wer therin mycht any wife seam to tend to hir offence. Therefore ye fall prey hir in our name, to let you see in her letter what wordis they ar wherof sche conceaues offence; that ye declaring thereupon my part and meanyng, may put hir out of any sic suspition. Treuth it is, at the resait of the letter we wer not a little offendit, and thocht we had gud cause. It apperit no les then that our nobilite wes so greuit with our liscence granted to the Erle of Lenox, that his commyng wes lyk to disturb the quyetnes of our realm. Our brother of Murray and Liddingtoun schew vnto vs, that they perceaued by her secreтарыs lettres, that they wer also thocht as parties in this matter; and that they mislyking also his commyng, defyred the stay therof to be procured by tha indicent meanis, wherof they protestit vnto us the plat contraire. And indeid we haue better proof of ther fidelite towardis ws, then that we can suspect any sic double dealing in ther handis, they being sa far oblist vnto vs, and sa neir about ws. We thocht vs litle addetted vnto that perfone, whom-foeuer he wes, maid sic report of our subiectis, that they wald mak ther doleancis till any vther then our self; specially in a matter wherein no man culd be tuiched to his displeasour.

“ Thir and the lyk confiderations mouit vs to a gret choler; quhilke mycht haue bene occasion that we wret the more frelye, and wes not curious to couer our passions; wreting to hir with whom we esteame vs sa famylier, that sche wald tak all in gud part that proceadis from vs; specially that tendis not to hir offence, as trewly never word of that lettre was menit by vs. Therefore ye fall prey hir to put away all sic oppinions, gif sche has conceaut any; and gif ther be any word in our letter hauyng twa fences, by mysconstruyng or taking in

the worst part may geue hir occasion of offence, that s^che will rather interpret the same to the gentillest signification, and not cryminallie; and then I dout not bot the hail letter fall appeir to hir, as it wes by vs conceaut and directed; that is, from a dear frend to another.

“ Farder of our mynd ye haue conceaut, by that we haid said vnto you be mouth; quhilk ye mon enlarge as occasion requyres.

“ Ye may weall, be any vther talk that s^che fall minister vnto you, answer conform to the substance of Liddingtons lettres, wreten to my L. Robert and Mester Cicill, to draw on specially another meting of men of credit, fullie instructed with baith our myndis; and to deall sa planly and franckly as all suspitions, driftis and eylestis may haue ane end.

“ Ye mon also inquyre diligently of the parlement, at all them that can geue you knowlege therof; for what cause it is callit, what is to be treited in it, how lang it will last; and gif ye may learn any thing to be handled therin tueching vs, ye fall say as of your awen head, that your mestres will not beleue that s^che will suffer any thing to be trait-ed therin, that may directly or indirectly tend to our prejudice, we not being by hir foirwarnit therof. S^che knawes that asweill our self as our ministers, whom we haue at any tym directed in tha partis, hes euer dependit vpon hir only aduise, and folowed the samyn in all pointis; and that sen it was the speciall matter that was moued in the begynnyng of the last parlement, the establiffing of the succeffoun, and lyk enough the subiectis will yet be earnest to be at ane certantie in that point; gif s^che omitis sa gud ane occasion to do something for vs, wherby the world may vnderstand that s^che vses vs and esteemes vs as hir nyxt cusing and only sifter, the world will think that hir amytie is

not sa gret as we tuk it to be ; and them that envyes our familiarite, and wald haue it broken, will conceaue matter to sþeak that the frendship is rather in wordis then in effect.

“ MARIE R.”

P. 62. Being arriuit at Londoun, I tok loging neir the court, quhilk wes at Westmester. Incontinent my host aduertist of my commyng, and that same nycht hir Maieste sent Maister Lattoun, now gouernour of the Yll of Weicht, to welcom me in hir name, and to schaw me that the nyxt mornyng sþe fuld be in hir garding be aucht houres, to geue me audience ; for sþe wes aduertist from the Erle of Bedford, gouernour of Berwik, that I was be the way. That same nycht, Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun, ane of my auld and detest frendis be lang acquaintance, first during his banissement in France in the regne of Quen Marie, and efterwart being ambassadour in France for this Quen, wher I was for the tym yet very yong, pensioner to the King Henry II., and saruant to the constable his cheif consaillour : This Sir Nycholas was not only my dear frend, wha had procured a pension for me fra his mestres, to help to enterteny me, (when I was willingly baniffit from the court of France, sa lang as ther wes ciuill warres betwen France and Scotland, during the quhilk tym I remanit in Germany :) The said Sir Nycholas being for the tym at court, cam and souped with me that same nycht ; wha was also a devot frend to the Quen my mestres, and to hir richt and title to the succeffion of the crown of England. Be him I had ample and famylier infourmation, and sur intelligence and frendly aduise, how to proceed with the Quen and euery courteour in particulair ; for he wes a gret instrument to

help my L. of Murray and secretary Liddington, to pak vp the first frendfchip and correspondance betwen the twa Quenis, and betwen the Erle of Murray and my L. Robert, and betwen the twa secretaires. Albeit he had na lyking for the tym, nother of my L. Robert, nor of Mester Cicill, yet he knew that then nathing culd be done without them. Amang vther thingis, he gaif me aduysé to vfe gret famylarite with the ambaffadour of Spain, in caice I fand the Quen his maistres our hard and difficill ; alleging that it wald be a gret spure to moue the Quen of England, to geue our Quen a greter contentement in hir defyres then sche had yet done.

The nyxt mornyng, Maister Lattoun and Mester Randolphe, lait agent for the Quen of England in Scotland, cam to my loging to conuoy me to hir Maieste, wha wes as they said alredy in the garding ; and with them a seruand of my L. Robertis, with a horse and futmantill of veluet passmented with gold, for me to ryd vpon ; quhilk seruand with the said horse awaited vpon me all the tym that I remanit ther. I fand her Maieste spacing in ane alley ; wher efter that I had kiffit hir hand, and presented my letter of credence, I tald her Maieste in Frenche the effect of my commiffion, as neir to the forsaide instructions as I culd ; and sometymes being interrupted be hir demandis, I answerit accordingly. The cause why I spak Frenche was, that I wes bot laitly com hame, and culd not as yet speak my awen langage sa redely. Hir first demand was anent the lettre that the Quen had wreten, with sic dispytfull langage vnto her, that sche beleuit all frendfchip and famylarite had bene geuen vp ; quhilk wes cause that sche myndit never to wret again bot another as dispytfull, quhilk sche tok out of hir poutch, for sche had it alredy wreten, to let me see :

P. 63. and said, because ſche thocht it ouer gentill ſche deleyed to fend it, vntill ſche had wreten another mair vehement, for anſwer to the Quenis angry bill. For my part, I apperit to find ſic hard interpretation to be maid vpon the Quenis loving and frank dealing, very ſtrange; and how that the Quene culd not remember what wordes they ar wherat ſche conceaues ſic offence. Wherupon ſche ſchew me alſo the Quenis lettre, quhilk ſche had redy in hir hand to let me ſee. Quhilk when I had ſean, I ſaid I culd find therein na offenſywe word, in reſpect of ther gret famyliarte; alleging that albeit hir Maieſte culd ſpeak aſgud Frenche as any that had never bene out of the contre, that yet ſche laiketh the vſe of the Frenche court language, whilk wes frank and ſchort, and had oft tymes twa ſignifications, quhilk diſcreit and famylier frendis tok alwayes in the beſt part; preing hir to rywe the angerie wretingis quhilk ſche thocht to have fend for anſwer, and in reuenge of the Quenis; and ſaid, that I fuld never let the Quen knaw, that her trew plain meanyng was ſa miſconſtrewed. Alwais at lenth, ſche being deſyrous of ane honeſt colour or excuſe, ſche was the eaſelyer pleaſit and ſatiſfied in that point, for the fear ſche had that frendſhip and correſpondance fuld leaw aff; our Quen being the firſt ſeaker to renew and continow the ſam be ſending of me ther, and wald not ſtand vpon ceremonies with hir eldeſt ſiſter. Then in my preſens ſche rawe all the angrie wretingis and anſweres, with promyſe of ſic frendly and frank dealing in tymes comyng, as all hir gud ſiſters doingis and proceedingis fuld be interpret to the beſt.

The harrang that I maid firſt vnto hir in Frenche is bot ſchort, as folowes.

“ Madame la royne vostre fueure se recommande tres affectueusement a vostre bonne grace, et m'a commande de vous dire qu'elle a estimé ces deux moys passées plus qu'un an, pource que durant icelles elle n'a rien entendu de vostre Maïeste, pour tousiours continuer l'amytie et bonne intelligence entre vous deux comme au parauant. Pourtant elle delibera me despecher vers vostre Maïeste, tant pour vous visiter de sa parte, et de vous faire entendre de sa sante et bonne prosperite, comme aussy a mon retour de pouvoir faire le semblable raport de vostre Maïeste, comme de la personne de ce monde alaquelle, apres foy mesmes, elle souhait plus de felicite et prosperite.

“ Sa Maïeste m'a aussy commande de vous declairer, que par quelques lettres de Monsieur le Grand a Liddingtoun, elle a peu comprendre que vostre Maïeste a trouue quelque chose a reprendre dans la lettre quelle vous a escrit, pour responce a la vostre touchant laffaire du Conte de Lenox, comme s'elle eut prins vostre admonition en mauuais parte. Sa Maïeste sera bien dolent dentendre que ses lettres aurront estees interpretees sy contraires a son intention, voyant quelle ne print autre conception de laduyse de vostre Maïeste pour lors que comme procedant dune amyable volunte, incitant sa Maïeste plustost a vous remercier et respondre gratieusement, comme elle pense auoir fait, que de monstrier aucun sing de mescontentement; sa Maïeste ne pouvant foy resouenir de toutes les termes de sadite lettre, pource quelle nest accoustume de garder aucune copie des lettres quelle escrit famylierement de sa propre main, dequoy elle se repent tresbien a present.”
 Being procedit this far sche stayed me, and tok out the lettres abone specified, to schew me as said is.

Now the auld frendschip being renewed, sche inqyred gene the

Quen had fend any answer anent the proposition of a mariage maid to hir be Maister Randolphe. I answerit as I wes instructed, that the Quen thocht litle or nathing therof; bot lukit for the meting of some commiffioners vpon the borders, with my Lord of Murray and the secretary Liddingtoun, to confer and trait vpon all sic matters of gretest importance, as mycht concern the quyetnes of baith the contrees, and contentement of baith the Quenis myndis. "Sa feing that your Maieftis can not fa schone find the opportunitie of meting, famekle defyred between your selues, quhilk is not expedient nether vntill all vther doutis and defyres be first maid clear, be your maist trusty and famylier confellours; the Quen my mestres, as I haue said, is myndit to fend for hir part, my L. of Murray and the secretary Liddingtoun, and is in hope that your Maiefte will fend my Lordis of Bedford and my L. Robert Dudley." Sche said, that it apperit I maid bot small accompt of my L. Robert, feing that I named the Erle of Bedford before him; bot or it wer lang, sche fuld mak hym a greter erle, and that I fuld se it done before my returnyng hame; for sche estemed him as hir brother and best friend, whom sche fuld haue married hir self, gif euer sche had bene myndit till tak a husband. Bot being determinit to end hir lyf in virginite, sche wiffit that the Quen hir suster fuld mary him, as metest of all vther; and with whom sche mycht find in hir hart to declaire the Quen second person, rather then with any vther. For being matched with hym, it wald best remove out of hir mynd, all fear and suspition to be offendit be vsurpation before hir death; being assured that he was sa loving and trusty, that he wald never geue his consent, nor suffer sic thing to be enterpryfed during hir tym. And to cause the Quen my mestres to think the mair of him, I was requyred to stay

till I had sean him maid Erle of Leycester, and Barron of Denbich, with gret solemnite at Westmester ; hir self helping to put on his ceremoniall, he sitting vpon his knees before hir, keping a gret grauite and discret behauour ; bot s^{ch}e culd not refrain from putting hir hand in his nek to kittle him smylyngly, the Frenche ambassadour and I standing befyd hir. Then s^{ch}e asked at me how I lyked of him. I said, as he was a worthy subiect, he was happy that had rencontrit a princes that culd discern and reward gud seruice. “ Yet,” s^{ch}e said, “ ye lyk better of yonder lang lad ;” pointing towardis my Lord Darley, wha as nereft prince of the bluid bure the sward of honour that day before hir. My answer again wes, that na woman of sprit wald mak choise of sic a man, that was lyker a woman than a man ; for he wes very lusty, berdles and lady facit. I had na will that s^{ch}e fuld think that I lyked of him, or had any ey or deling that way ; albeit I had a secreet charge to deall with his mother my Lady Lenox, to purches leawe for him to pass in Scotland, wher his father was alrede, that he mycht se the contre, and convoy the Erle his father bak again to England.

Now the said Quen was determinit to trait with the Quen my fouerane, first anent hir mariage with the Erle of Leycester, and for that effect promysed to send commiffioners vnto the borders. In the mean tyme, I was fauorably and famylierly vsed ; for during nyn dayes that I remanit at that court, hir Maieste plesit to confer with me euery day, and somtymes thrys vpon a day, to wit a foir nun, efter nun and efter supper. Sometymes s^{ch}e wald say, that sen s^{ch}e culd not meit

P. 65. with the Quen her gud sister hir self, to confer famylierly with hir, that s^{ch}e fuld open a gud part of hir inwart mynd vnto me, that I mycht

ſchaw it again vnto the Quen ; and ſaid that ſche was not ſa offendit at the Quenis angry lettre, as for that ſche ſeamed to diſdain ſa far the mariage with my L. of Leyciſter, quhilk ſche had cauſed Meſter Randolphe propon vnto hir. I ſaid that it mycht be he had tuechit ſomething therof to my L. of Murrey and Liddington, bot that he had not proponit the matter directly vnto hir ſelf ; and that afweill hir Maieſte, as they that wer hir maift famylier conſellouris, culd conjectour na thing thervpon bot delayes and drifting of tym, anent the declaring of hir to be ſecond perſoune ; quhilk wald try at the meating of the commiſſioners abone ſpecified. Sche ſaid again, that the tryall and declairation therof wald be haifted fordwart, according to the Quenis gud behauoir, and applying to hir pleaſour and aduſe in hir mariage ; and ſeing the matter concernyng the ſaid declairation wes ſa weichty, ſche had ordonit ſome of the beſt lawers in England, diligently to ſearch out wha had the beſt rycht ; quhilk ſche wald wiſs fuld be hir dear ſiſter rather than any vther. I ſaid I was affured that hir Maieſte wes baith out of dout therof, and wald rather ſche fuld be declairit than any vther ; bot I lamented that euen the wyfeſt princes will not ſkance ſufficiently vpon the parcialites and pretences of ſome of ther famylier conſeillouris and ſeruandis ; except it wer ſic a notable and rare prince as K. Hary the 8., hir Maieſteis father of gud memore, wha of his awen head was determinit to declair his ſiſter ſone K. James the 5., (at what tym hir Maieſte was not yet born, bot only hir ſiſter Quen Mary,) hayr apparant to the crown of England, failgeing the aires gottin of his awen body, for the ernest defyre he had till vnit this hail ylland. Sche ſaid, ſche was glaid he did it not. I ſaid that then he had bot a dochter, and was in dout to haue any ma children, and yet had not ſa many ſuſpitions in

his head ; and that hir Maieſte wes out of all dout euer till haue any childrene, as being deliberat to dy a virgen. Sche ſaid that ſche was never myndit to mary, except ſche wer compellit be the Quen hir fiſters hard behauour towardis hir, in doing by hir conſaill as ſaid is. I ſaid, “ Madam, ye ned not to tell me that ; I knaw your ſtaitly ſtomak : Ye think gene ye wer married, ye wald be bot Quen of England, and now ye ar King and Quen baith ; ye may not ſuffer a commander.”

Sche apperit to be ſa effectiōnit to the Quen hir gud fiſter, that ſche had a gret deſyre to ſe hir ; and becauſe ther deſyred meting culd not be ſa haiftely brocht till paſs, ſche delyted oft to luk vpon hir picture, and tok me in to hir bed chamber, and oppenit a litle lettroun wherin wer dyuers litle pictures wrapped within paiper, and wreten vpon the paiper, ther names with hir awen hand. Vpon the firſt that ſche tok vp was wreten, “ My lordis picture.” I held the candell and preſſit to ſe my lordis picture. Albeit ſche was laith to let me ſe it, at lenth I be importunite obteanit the ſicht therof, and aſkit the ſame to cary hame with me vnto the Quen ; quhilk ſche refuſed, alleging ſche had bot that ane of his. I ſaid again, that ſche had the principall ; for he was at the fartheft part of the chamber ſpeaking with the ſecretary Cicill. Then ſche tok out the Quenis picture and kiſſit it ;

P. 66. and I kiſſit hir hand, for the gret loue I ſaw ſche bure to the Quen. Sche ſchew me alſo a fair ruby, gret lyk a racket ball. Then I deſyred that ſche wald eyther ſend it as a token vnto the Quen, or elis my Lord of Leceſters picture. Sche ſaid, gene the Quen wald folow hir conſaill, that ſche wald get them baith with tym, and all that ſche had ; bot fuld ſend hir a dyamont for a token with me. Now it was lait eſter ſupper ; ſche appointed me to be at hir the nyxt mornyng be

8. heures, at quhilk tym ſche vſed to walk in hir garden ; and inquyred fundre things at me of this contre, or vther contrees wherin I had laitylly trauelit ; and caufed me to eat with hir dame of honour, my lady Stafford, ane honorable and godly lady, wha had bene at Geneva, baniffit during the regne of Quen Mary, that I mycht be alwayes neir hir Maieſte, that ſche mycht conferr with me ; and my lady Staffordis dochter was my meſtres, for I was of ther acquaintance when they paſſit throw France, and had gud intelligence be hir and be my lady Throgmortoun.

At dyuers metingis ther wald be dyuers purpoſes ; and the Quen my ſouerane had inſtructed me ſomtymes to leau matters of grauite, and caſt in ſome purpoſes of mirrines, or elis I wald be tyred vpon, as being weill infourmed of hir fiſters naturell. Therfore in declaring the cuſtomes of Dutchland, Polle and Italy, the buſking and clothing of the dames and wemen was not forget, and what contrey weid was beſt ſetten for gentilwemen to wair. The Quen of England ſaid ſche had of dyuers ſortis ; quhilkis euery day ſa lang as I was ther ſche chengit ; ane day the Engliſch weid, ane the Frenche, and ane the Ytalien, and ſa of others ; aſking at me quhilk of them ſet hir beſt. I ſaid the Italien weid ; quhilk pleſit hir weill, for ſche delyted to ſchaw her golden coloured hair, wairing a kell and bonet as they do in Italy. Hir hair was reder then gellow, curlit apparantly of nature. Then ſche entrit to dicern what kynd of coulour of hair was reputed beſt ; and inquyred whither the Quenis or hirs was beſt, and quhilk of them twa was faireſt. I ſaid, the fairnes of them baith was not ther worſt faltes. Bot ſche was ernest with me to declare quhilk of them I thoct faireſt. I ſaid, ſche was the faireſt Quen in England, and ours

the fairest Quen in Scotland. Yet s^che was earnest. I said, they wer baith the fairest ladies of ther courtes, and that the Quen of England was whytter, bot our Quen was very lusome. Sche inqyred quhilk of them was of hyest stature. I said, our Quen. Then s^che said, the Quen was ouer heych, and that hir self was nother ouer hich nor ouer laich. Then s^che askit what kynd of exercyses s^che vsed. I said, that I was dispatchit out of Scotland, that the Quen was bot new com bak from the hyland hunting; and when s^che had leaser fra the affaires of hir contre, s^che red vpon gud bukis, the histories of dyuers contrees, and somtymes wald play vpon lut and virginelis. Sche spe- rit gene s^che plaid weill. I said, raifonably for a Quen.

That same day efter dener, my L. of Hundfiden drew me vp till a quyet gallerie that I mycht heir some musik, bot he said he durft not advow it, wher I mycht heir the Quen play vpon the virginelis. Bot efter I had harkenit a whyll, I tok by the tapifferie that hang before the dur of the chamber, and feing hir bak was toward the dur, I entrit within the chamber and stod still at the dur chek, and hard hir play excellently weill; bot s^che left aff sa s^chone as s^che turnit hir about and saw me, and cam forwartis femyng to stryk me with hir left
 P. 67. hand, and to think s^chame; alleging that s^che vsed not to play before men, bot when s^che was solitary hir allaine, till eschew melancholy; and askit how I cam ther. I said, as I was walken with my L. of Hundfiden, as we past by the chamber dur, I hard sic melodie, quhilk rauyft and drew me within the chamber I wift not how; excusing my falt of hamelynes, as being brocht vp in the court of France, and was now willing to suffer what kynd of puniffement wald pleife hir lay vpon me for my offence. Then s^che sat down laich vpon a

kuffchen, and I vpon my knee befyd hir ; bot fche gaif me a kuffchen with hir awen hand to lay vnder my kne, quhilk I refused, bot fche compellit me ; and callit for my lady Stafford out of the nyxt chamber, for fche was hir allain ther. Then fche asked whither the Quen or fche played beft. In that I gaif hir the prayfe. Sche faid my Frenche was gud ; and fperit gif I culd fpeak Italen, quhilk fche fpak raifonable weill. I faid, I taried not abone tua monethes in Italy, and had brocht with me fome bukis to reid vpon ; bot had na leafer to learn the langage perfytly. Then fche fpak to me in Dutche, bot it was not gud ; and wald wit what kynd of bukis I lyked beft, whither of theologie, hiftory, or loue matters. I faid, I lyked weill of all the fortis.

I was ernest to be difpetfchit ; bot fche faid that I tyred fchoner of hir company nor fche did of myn. I faid, albeit I had na occafion ty tyre, that it was tym to retourn ; bot I was ftayed twa dayes langer till I mycht fe hir dance, as I was infourmed ; quhilk being done, fche inquyred at me whither fche or the Quen dancit beft. I faid, the Quen dancit not fa hich and difpofedly as fche did. Then again fche wiffit that fche mycht fe the Quen, at fome convenient place of meat- ing. I offerit to convoy hir fecretly in Scotland be poift, clothed lyk a paige difgyfed, that fche mycht fe the Quen ; as K. James the 5. pait in France difgyfed, with his awen ambaffadour, to fe the Duc of Vendomes fifter that fuld haue bene his wyf ; and how that hir chamber fuld be kepit as thoch fche wer feak, in the mean tym, and nane to be preuy therto bot my lady Stafford, and ane of the grumes of hir chamber. Sche faid, Alace ! gene fche mycht do it ; and feamed to lyk weill of fic kynd of langage, and vfed all the meanis fche culd to caufe me perfuad the Quen of the gret loue that fche bure vnto hir, and was

myndit to put away all geleafies and fufpitions, and in tymes comyng a ftraiter frendfchip to ftand betwen them then euer had bene of before ; and promyfed that my difpafche fuld be delyuerit vnto me very fchortly, be Mefter Cicill at Londoun. For now fche was pafte till Hamton court, wher fche gaif me my anfwer be mouth hir felf, and hir fecretary be wret.

The nyxt day my L. of Leycifter defyred me to faill in his barge down the watter of Tames to Londoun, quhilk wes ten myles from Hamtoncourt. He had in his company, his gud brother Sir Harry Sidney deputy of Yreland. Be the way my faid L. entrit with me famylierly, alleging that he wes weill acquainted with my L. of Murray, Liddingtoun and my brother Sir Robert ; and that he was alfo fa weill acquainted with me be report, that he durft be fa hamly as to requyre, that I wald fchaw him what the Quen my meftres thocht of of him, and of the mariage that Mefter Randolphe had proponit. Wherunto I anfwerit very cauldly, as I was be the Quen commandit. Then he began to purge himfelf of fa proud a pretence as to mary fa gret a Quen, eftemyng him felf not worthy to deicht hir fchone ; alleging the invention of that propofition to haue procedit of Mefter Cicill his fecret enemy. “ For gif I fuld,” faid he, “ haue feamed to defyre that mariage, I fuld haue tint the fauour of baith the Quenis ;” preing me till excufe him vnto the Quen, that it wald pleafe hir Maiefte not to imput vnto him that lourd falt, bot vnto the malice of his ennemys.

Landing at Londoun, our denner was prepared be the Erle of Penburg ; wha being gret maifter, yet humbled him fa far as to ferue the faid table, as mefter houfehald him felf ; and fchew him felf to be a

deuot frend to the Quene anent hir title. That efter denner, I tok my leawe at the Frenche ambaffadour, with dyuer aduertifmentis from him, and from the Spanifch ambaffadour. My L. of Leycefter fend alfo wretingis with me to my L. of Murray, till excufe him at the Quenis hand.

The day apponted, I gat my despatche fra secretary Cicill, together with a lettre of credit and a mair ample declaration of the Quenis mynd, tueching the fame anfwers that sche had maid vnto me hir felf. He gaif me alfo a wreting to the secretary Liddingtoun; for as I haue said, my L. of Lecifter, and he my Lord of Murray and the secretary Liddingtoun, reuled baith the Quenis, and keptit correpondance together as yet.

When I tok my leawe, the secretary Cicill convoyed me throw the clofe to the vtter get of his palice, fa I may call it, efter he had put a faire cheigne about my nek hym felf. My Lady Lenox and Sir Nycholas Throgmorton fend many gud aduyces to the Quen, to be folowed fourth according to the tym and occafions. My Lady Lenox fend alfo takens to the Quen, a ring with a fair dyemont; ane emeraud to my L. hir hufband, wha was yet in Scotland; a dyamont to my L. of Murray; ane orlege or montre fet with dyamontis and rubis, to the secretary Liddingtoun; a ring with a ruby to my brother Sir Robert; for sche was still in gud hope, that hir fone my Lord Darley fuld com better fpeid then the Erle of Leycefter, anent the mariage with the Quen. Sche was a very wyfe and difcret matroun, and had many fauorers in England for the tym.

At my hamecommyng, I fand the Quenis Maiefte ftill in Edinbrough; to whom I declaired the maner of my proceeding with the Quen of

England, and hir answer to the special headis of my instructions in wret.

Hir Maieſte answerit to the first; That wheras the Quen thocht the tym very lang ſen ſche refaut other word or wret fra hir, wherby ſche mycht vnderſtand of her gud eſtate, and had ſend me ther to veſit hir in hir behalf; That ſche thocht the tym aſlang, albeit ſche had conceaued ſome greif anent the angry lettre; quhilk was the greter, in reſpect it apperit that ſche diſdanit the offer of the beſt gud ſche had till geue, to wit the man whom ſche eſtmed as hir brother. And wheras ſche had ſend me to veſit hir, ſche was mair content with my commyng then ſche wald haue bene of any vther; being of hir gud acquaintance, with whom ſche mycht famylierly declair hir inwart mynd vnto the Quen my maiftres, ſeing ſche culd not meit with hir
 P. 69. (ſa ſchon as ſche deſyrit) hir ſelf; as I mycht declaire, how famylierly ſche had conferrit with me all hir inwart greifis and deſyres, and how weill ſche was ſatiffied, and how willing till continow all gud offices of amytie; and fuld for that effect ſend ſhortly down to the borders, commiſſioners that wer named be hir ſelf, to meit with my L. of Murray and Liddingtoun.

As for the Parlement, it wes yet in dout whither it held or not. Gene it held, the Quen fuld get na hurt in hir richt, nother directly nor indirectly, bot fuld be alwayes fairwarnit in dew tym.

Then I ſchew hir Maieſte at lenth, of all vther purpoſes that fell out be occaſion betwen hir and me; together with the opinions and aduertifmentis of dyuers of hir frendis in England, aſweill catholikis as proteſtantis; and from the ambaffadour of Spain, of the K. his maſters gud will towardis hir Maieſte; and lyk wayes of Don Carle the

prince, albeit that he was for the tyme in some suspition with his father; wherby the purpose of mariage wald apperantly tak some delay, vntill matters mycht fram better betwen the father and the sonne; assuring hir Maieste of his awen perticular seruice and futherance at his power, and suld from tyme to tyme mak hir intelligence.

Hir Maieste was very glaid that matters wer brocht again in sa gud termes, as that famylier dealing mycht continew betwen hir and the Quen of England; wherby sche mycht haue acces to get intelligence fra a gret number of noble men and vthers, hir frendis and factioners in England; and because sche fearit also to get the wyet of ther discord, gif it had continowed.

Efter that hir Maieste had vnderstand at gret lenth, all my handling and proceedingis in England, sche inquiryt whither I thocht that Quen menit trewly towardis hir asweill inwardly in hir hart, as sche apperit to do outwardly be hir speach. I said, in my iugement, that ther was nather plain dealing nor vprycht meanyng, bot gret dissimulation, emulation, and fear that hir princely qualites suld ouer schone, chaife hir out, and displace hir from the kingdome; as having alrede hendrit hir mariage with the Archeduc Charles of Auftria, and now offering vnto hir my L. of Leycester, whom sche wald be laith as then to want. Then the Quen gaif me hir hand, that sche suld never mary the said new maid erle; albeit schortly whyll efter, my L. of Murray and Bedford met besyd Berwik to trait vpon the mariage with Leycester, with slenderer offers and les effectuell dealing then was loked for. Bot the said Erle of Leycester had wreten sa discret and wyse lettres vnto my L. of Murray, for his excuses, that the Quen apperit to haue sa gud lyking of him, as that the Quen of England began to fear and suspect that the said mariage

mycht perchance tak effect. And therefore my L. Darley obteanit the rather licence to com in Scotland, wha was a lusty youth, in hope that he fuld preuail being present, before Leycester that was absent. Quhilk licence was obteanit be the meanis of the secretary Cicill ; not that he was myndit that any of the mariages fuld tak effect, bot with sic schiftis and pratikes to hald the Quen on married sa lang as he culd. For he perswadit him self, that my L. Darley durst not pass fordwart without the consent of the Quen of England to the said mariage ; his land lying in England, and his mother remanyng ther. Sa he thocht it lay in the Quen his mistres awen hand, to let the mariage go fordwart, or to stey the same at hir plesour ; and incaice my L. Darley wald disobey the Quen of Englandis charge, to com bak at hir ca, intendit to forfault him, wherby he fuld lois all his landis richtis and titles that he had in England.

P. 70. The Quenis Maieste, as I haue said, efter hir returnyng out of France to Scotland, behaued hir self sa princely, sa honorably and discretly, that hir reputation spred in all contrees ; and was determynit and also inclynit to continow in that kynd of comelynes, vnto the end of hir lyf ; desyryng to hald nane in hir company bot sic as wer of the best qualitez and conuersation, abhorring all vices and vitious personnes, whither they wer men or women ; and requested me to assist hir in geuyng hir my gud counsaill, how sche mycht vse the meatest meanis till aduance hir honest intention ; and incaice sche, being yet yong, mycht forget hir self in any vnseamly gestour or misbehauour, that I wald warn hir therof, with my admonition to forbear and reform the same. Quhilk commissioun I refused altogether, saying that hir verteuous actions, hir naturell iugement, and gret experience sche had learnit in the company

of ſa many notable princes in the court of France, had inſtructed hir ſa weill and maid hir ſa able as to be ane exemplar to all hir ſubiectis and ſeruandis. Bot ſche wald not leaue it ſa, bot ſaid ſche knew that ſche had committed dyuers errorrs, vpon na euell menyng, for lek of the admonition of loving frendis ; becauſe that the maiſt part of courteouris commonly flatteris princes to won ther fauour, and will not tell them the verite, fearing to tyn ther fauour ; and therefore adjured me, and commandit me to accept that charge ; quhilk I ſaid was a ruynous commiſſion, willing hir to lay that bourthen vpon hir brother my Lord of Murray and the ſecretary Liddingtoun ; bot ſche ſaid that ſche wald not tak it in ſa gud a part of them as of me. I ſaid, I fearit that it wald cauſe me with tyn tyn hir fauour ; bot ſche ſaid, it apperit I had ane euell oppinion of hir conſtancy and diſcretion, quhilk oppinion ſche doubted not bot I wald alter eſter that I had eſſayed the occupation of that frendly and famylier charge. In the mean tyn, ſche maid me famylier till all hir maiſt vrgent affaires ; bot cheiſly in hir dealing with any forren nation, ſche ſchew unto me all her lettres, and them that ſche reſauit fra vther princes ; and willit me to wret vnto ſic princes as I had acquaintance of, and to ſome of ther counſellours ; wherin I forget not to ſet out hir vertus, and wald ſchaw hir again ther anſwers, and ſic occurrences as poſted for the tyn betwen contrees, to hir gret contentement. For ſche was of a quyk ſpirit, and curious to knaw and to get intelligence of the eſtait of vther contrees ; and wald be ſome-tymes ſad when ſche was ſolitary, and glaid of the company of them that had trauelit in vther partis.

Now ther cam heir in company with the ambaffadour of Scauoy, ane Dauid Ricio, of the contre of Piedmont, that was a merry fallow and a

gud mucitien ; and hir Maieſte had thre varletis of hir chamber that ſang thre partis, and wanted a beifs to ſing the fourt part ; therfor they tald hir Maieſte of this man to be ther fourt marrow, in fort that he was drawn in to ſing ſomtymes with the reſt ; and eſtirwart when the ambaſſadour his maifter retournit, he ſtayed in this contre, and wes retiret in hir Maieſtes ſervice as ane varlet of hir chamber. And efterwart when hir French ſecretary retired him ſelf till France, this David obtenit the ſaid office, and therby entrit in greter credit, and occupied

P. 71. hir Maieſteis ear of tymes in prefens of the nobilite, and when ther was greteſt conventions of the eſtatis ; quhilk maid hym to be ſa invyed and hatted, cheifly when he grew ſa gret that he preſented all ſignatours to be ſubſcryuit be hir Maieſte, that ſome of the nobilite wald glowm vpon him, and ſome of them wald ſchulder him and ſchut hym by, when they entrit in the chamber, and fand him alweis ſpeaking with hir Maieſte. And ſome again that had hard turnis to be helpit, new inſtmentis to be tane, or that deſyred to preuail againſt ther enne-mys in court or ſeſſion, addreſſit them vnto him, and dependit vpon hym ; wherby in ſchort tym he becam very rich. Not without ſome fear, therefore, he lamented his eſtair vnto me, and aſkit my conſaill, how to behaue hym ſelf. I tald him, that ſtrangers wer commonly envyed when they medlit ouer far in the affaires of forren contrees. He ſaid, he being ſecretary to hir Maieſte in the Freuche tung, had occaſion therby till occupy hir Maieſteis ear, as hir formair ſecretary vſed to do. I ſaid again, that it wes thoct that the maiſt part of the affaires of the contre paſt throw his handis ; and aduſit him, when the nobilite wer preſent, to gif them place, and prey the Quenis Maieſte to be content therwith ; and ſchew him, for ane example, how I

had bene in sa gret fauour with the Electour Palatin, that he caused set me at his awen 'table, and the burd being drawen, used to confer with me in prefens of his haill court; wherat dyuers of them tok gret indignation against me; quhilk sa schone as I persauit, I requested him to let me sit from his awen table, with the rest of his gentilmen, and na mair to conferre with me in ther prefens, bot to send a paige for me, any tym that he had leaser, till com to hym in his chamber; quhilk I obteanit, and that way maid my master not to be hated, nor my self to be invyed; and willit him to do the lyk. Quhilk he did, and said vnto me efterwart, that the Quen wald not suffer him, bot wald nedis haue him to vse him self in the auld maner. I answerit, that I was fory for the inconuenientis that mycht ensue therupon; and efterwart, seing the invy against the said David till increase, and that be his wrek hir Maieste mycht incurre displeour, I remembrit vpon hir Maiesteis commandement, till foirwarn and admonish hir of all apperant eylestis that mycht chance to fall out, as I had done dyuers tymes of before, (quhilk was gratioosly reformed and redrest be hir Maieste.) Now I tok occasion lykwayes to enter with hir Maieste, and in maist humble maner schew her what aduise I had geuen unto Seigneur David, as is abone specified. Hir Maieste said, that he medlit na farther bot in hir French wretingis and affaires, as hir vther Frenche secretary had done of before; and said, that wha euer fand falt therwith, sche wald not leawe to do hir ordinary directions. I remembrit hir Maieste what displeour sche had tane of before, for the rasche misbehauour of a Frenche gentilman callit Chattellier, transported be hir affabilite; and lykwaies of the Erle of Arran for the same cause; not douting bot hir Maiesteis graue and comely behauour towardis sic stran-

gers, and transportit leicht perfonen, wald bring them in a mair deutifull reuerence to hir honour, and the contentement of hir fubiectis. Sche thankit me for my continuell cair, and promyfed to tak sic gud ordour ther intill as the caufe requyred.

P. 72. I haue faid alredy, how that my Lord Darley was aduyfed to fut licence to com in Scotland; wha at his firft commyng fand the Quen in the Wemes, makand hir progrefs throw Fyfe. Hir Maieftie tok weill with him, and faid that he was the luftieft and beft proportionit lang man that fche had fean; for he was of a heich ftature, lang and small, euen and brent vp; weill instructed from his youth in all honeft and comely exercyfes. And eftir he had hanted a quhill in court, he proponit mariage to hir Maieftie; quhilk fche tok in ane euell part at the firft, as fche tald me that fame day hir felf; and how fche had refufed the ring quhilk he then offerit vnto hir. Wher I tok occafion, as I had begun, to fpeak in his fauour, that ther mariage wald put out of dout ther title to the fucceffion. I can not tell how he fell in acquaintance with feignieur Dauid, bot he alfo was his gret frend at the Quenis hand; fa that hir Maieftie tok ay the langer the better lyking of him, and at lenth determinit to mary him. Quhilk being knawen vnto the Quen of England, fche fend and chargit him to return; and alfo fend hir ambaffadour Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun in Scotland, baith to diffuad the Quen to mary him, and incaice the Quen wald not folow hir advyfe in hir mariage, to perfwad the lordis and fa many as wer of hir religion, to withftand the faid mariage, onles the faid Lord Darley wald promife and fubfcrbye to abyd at the religion reformed, quhilk ha had planly profeffit in England. The Quen again perfauing the Quen of Englandis ernest opofition till all the mariages that wer of-

ferit vnto hir, thocht not meit to delay any langer hir mariage. Bot my L. Duc of Chattelerault, my Lordis of Argyll, Murrey, Glencarn, Rothes, and dyuers vthers lordis and barrons, withstod the said mariage ; wha efter that they had maid a mynt to tak the Lord Darley, in the Quenis company, at the raid of Baith, and to haue send him in England as they allegit, I wot not what was in ther mynd, bot it was ane euel fauorit enterpryse, wherintill the Quen was in danger other of keping, or hart breking ; and as they that had failed of ther sulifche enterpryse, tok on planly ther armes of rebellion. Hir Maieste again conuenit forces till persue them, and chacit them heir and ther, till at lenth they wer compellit to fle in England for refuge, to hir that had promysed be hir ambassadours to wair hir crown in ther defence, incaice they wer dryuen till any strait for ther opposition vnto the said mariage. Quhilk was all denyed at ther commyng to seek help ; and when they send vp my L. of Murray to that Quen, the rest abyding at Newcastell, he culd obtean nathing but disdain and scorn ; till at lenth he, and the Abbot of Kilwynning his compaignon in that message, wer perswadit to com and confes vnto the Quen vpon ther knees, and that in presens of the ambassadours of France and Spain, that hir Maieste had neuer moued them to that opposition and resistance against ther Quenis mariage. For this sche had desyred, to satisfie the saidis ambassadours, wha baith allegit in ther maisters names, that sche was cause of the said rebellion, and that hir only delyt was to steir vp discention amang all hir nybours, not without cause ; yet in this allegiance sche ouer cam them ; for sche handlit the matter sa subtilie, and

P. 73. the vther twa sa blaitly, in granting vnfuthfastly hir desyre, vpon hir faire promyse, that sche tryumphed ouer the saidis ambassadours, for

ther allegiance. Bot vnto my L. of Murray and his marrow sche said, " Now ye haue tald the treuth ; for I nor nane in my name fterit you vp againft your Quen ; for your abominable tresoun mycht ferue for exemple, to moue my awen fubiectis to rebell againft me. Therefore pak you out of my prefens ; ye ar bot vnworthy traitours." This was all ther meritorious reward ; and wer not the mair moyen was maid be some in England that pitied them, they had not bene fufferit to remain within hir dominions during ther baniffement. Howbeit sche had promysed of new again to affift and help them to the vttermaift of hir power, with condition that they wald pleife hir fa far as to fit doun vpon ther knees, in prefens of the saidis ambaffadours, and mak the foirfaid fals confession. As for fecret help, sche maid them nane ; only they obteanit a fmall contribution of a thre thowfand poundis Scotis, amang some of ther awen religion ther, wha had born them gud will of before ; quhilk wes diftribut amang the reft of the baniffit lordis, wher they remanit altogether at Newcaftell, comfortles and in gret miferie.

I haue declairit, that afweill the confell of Englandis courtly dealing, fchifting and drifting, be ftaying the Quen fa far as they mycht fra marieing with any man, far or neir, gret or fmall, caufed the Quen to haift fordwart hir mariage with my L. Darley ; quhilk was folemnffit in the palice of Halyrodhoufe, within the Quenis chapell, at the mefs ; wherin feigneur Dauid was na fmall inftrument, as faid is.

Then Scotland being almaiit hailely at the refourmed religion, tok a diflyking of the K. becaufe, as was allegit, he had planly profeffit the fame religion before in England. Then inventions and bruitis wer raifed, how that the faid feigneur Dauid had a penfion of the Paip ;

and having baith Quen and K. of his oppinion, mycht the rather and eafeyler attempt with tym, to plant again in Scotland the Roman Catholik religion. And euen in tha dayes, the Paip fend the foun of 8000 crownis to be delyuerit to the Quen ; bot the fchip wherein the faid gold was, brak vpon the coift of England within the Erle of Northumberlandis boundis. Wha allegit the hail to appertean vnto him be juft law ; quhilk he caufed his aduocat red vnto me, (when I was directed to him for the faid filuer,) in the auld Normand langage, quhilk nother he nor I vnderftod weill, it was fa corrupt. Bot he wald geue na part therof to the Quen, albeit he was a Catholik him felf, and vtherwayes profeffit secretly to be hir frend.

Efter that the Quenis Maiefte had married my L. Darnley, fche did him gret honour her felf, and willit euery ane that wald deferue hir favour to do the lyk, and to await vpon him ; fa that he was weill accompanied, and fic as futed him and be him, for a whill, cam beft fpeid of ther errandis. And becaufe he married by the aduyfe of the Quen of England, my Lady Lenox his mother was committit til be wardit in the tour of Londoun, wher fche remanit lang.

All this whyll I attendit ftill vpon the Quen, with les famylierite than I had of before ; lykways the fecretary Liddingtoun was in fufpition, as a fauorer of my L. of Murrey. I feing my feruice for the tym na mair nedfull, humilly procured lifcence at the Quen to return till France, and vther partis wher I had fpendit the half of my tym ;
74. bot hir Maiefte wald not grant that I fuld leaue hir, meruelen what mycht moue me. I faid that the tym was full of fufpitions, and that I was affured to do hir Maiefte better feruice in any vther contre then heir at hame, as matters had fallen out. Sche faid, that I culd do hir

afgud feruice heir at hame as any that feruit hir, gif I plefit ; bot that I had left af to tell hir my oppinion anent her proceedingis. I faid, that I fearit that my oppinionis mycht chance to be vnplaisant vnto hir Maieſte ; bot ſche affirmed the contrair, and faid that I had ennemys that did what they culd to put me in fuſpition with the K., as being a fauorer of my L. of Murrey ; quhilk ſche had put out of the Kingis head, as being better acquainted with my natur and conditions ; ſaying that ſche knew weill that I had a lyking of my L. of Murrey, bot not of his maner of doing, and that ſche was affured that I loued hir ten tymes better nor hym ; and faid mair ouer, that gif afmekle euell wer ſpoken of hir to me, as was of me till hir, that ſche wald wiſs that I ſuld geue them na mair credit againſt her, then ſche did or ſuld do againſt mé ; and gaif me hir counſail to await vpon the King, wha was bot yet yong, and to geue him and hir my gude aduylſe, as I was wont to do, that mycht help hir till eſchew all apperant inconvenientis ; and gaif me hir hand, that ſche ſuld tak all in a gud part what euer I ſpak, as proceding of a loving and faithfull ſeruand ; willing me alſo to be frend vnto ſeigneur David, wha was haited without cauſe. The K. alſo tald me, what they wer that had ſpoken in my contraire ; and faid, that they were knawen to be ſic commown liers as ther tong was na ſlander. Be this meanis the Quenis Maieſte obligit me, ay mair and mair, to be carefull for the weill of hir ſeruice ; and to tak occaſion of new to geue hir Maieſte my oppinion, to mak her proffit be the miſ-handling of the Erle of Murrey and his affociatis in England, be that Quenis vncourteous dealing with him before the twa ſpecified ambaffadours, and had broken all her faire promyſes vnto him and them.

Fiſt I ſchew vnto hir Maieſte, how that euer ſen hir return in hir

awen. contre, ſche had findre tymes effayed to get hir nobilite and hail ſubiectis entierly and foundly affected, to tak plaine part with hir in all actions whatſomeuer; and cheifly againſt England, incaice ſche mycht haue occaſion till employ them; quhilk ſche culd not as yet obtean, becauſe of the ſecret band and promyſe wes maid amang them, the tym when the Engliſ army cam in at Leith, to help to put the Frenche men out of Scotland.

“ Now,” ſaid I, “ the occaſion is offerit, wherby your Maieſte may bring your deſyred intention till paſs, gif ye culd find in your hart, other till pardon my L. of Murray and his affociatis, or elis till prolong the parlement wherin they ar to be forfeald, vntill your Maieſte may aduſe and ſe what proffit may be drawen, other be ther forfealding, or be putting them in hope of grace with tym, according as they may mak cauſe in folowing and obſeruyng ſic reules and directions as ſalbe ſet doun vnto them be your Maieſte.” To this ſche anſwerit, that now when they mycht not do na better they ſocht hir; bot when ſche ſocht ther concurrence, as ſubiectis vnto ther natywe prince, they wald not heir hir; na mair wald ſche now heir ther futtis. I ſaid, when ſoeuer they fuld mak ther futtis, it fuld not be by me; bot this I propone of my ſelf to your Maieſte, wha can chuſe the beſt and leave the worſt in all accidentis. Sen it is na litle matter to won the hail hartis of all your ſubiectis, and alſo of a gud number in England that fauours them and ther religion; wha wald admyre ſic princely vertus, as to ſe your Maieſte to reull ouer your awen paſſions and affections, and thereby think you maift worthy to regne ouer kyngdomes; redy to forgeue, and laith to vſe vengeance cheifly againſt ſubiectis alredy vincuſt, and not worthy of your wraith, and wha ar now ſa willing to be

reuengit vpon your greteft aduerfary. Sa that clemency at fic a tym will be found maift convenient, and the part of juftice callit equite mair proffitable than rygour ; for extremitie bringis on oft tymes difpaired enterpryfes. At this hir Maiefte entrit in choler, faying, “ I deffy them. What dow they to do, and what dar they do ? ” I faid, “ Madame, with your Maiefteis pardone, my propofition is bo folowing your Maiefteis commandement, to fchaw you my oppinion and aperances at all occafions, for the weill of your feruice.” Then fche faid, that fche thankit me for the fame, and granted that it was a gud aduyfe and neceffary to be done ; and that yet fche culd not find in hir hart to haue ado with any of them, for dyuers respectis ; preing me not to leawe aff fra geuyng hir my continowell aduyfe, at all fic occafions ; for howbeit fche mycht not folow this, fche mycht perchance do better another tym. I faid, that many noblemen being baniffit, and fa neir hand as the Newcaftell, having many vther noblemen heir at hame of ther kin and frendis, fa mall content as I knew them to be for the tym, with fic vnhappy bruitis wherof fche was not ygnorant, caufed me to fear fome attemptat till ane alteration ; for I faid I had hard weyd fpeaches, that we wald heir newes or the parlement was endit. Hir Maiefte fayed, that fche had alfo fome aduertifmentis of the lyk bruitis, bot that our contre men wer weill wordy. Efter that I had bene this way in hand with hir Maiefte, I entrit with f^r David in the fame maner ; for then he and I wer vnder gud frendfchip. Bot he difdanit all danger, and difpyfed confaill, fa that I was compellit to fay that I fearit our lait repentance.

Ye haue hard how that Sir Nycholas Throgmorton was ane of the twa Englis ambaffadours, that wes fent in heir to ftay the mariage,

and to mak many promyses in his mestress name to sa many as wald resist the same ; quhilk promyses wer afterwart denyed be the Queen of England, and be Mefter Randolphe. Bot Sir Nycholas Throgmorton stod na aw, nother of the Quen nor confaill, to tell the verite, how that he had maid sic promyses to them in hir name. Quhilk the confaill and craftiest courteouris thocht strange, and wer myndit to punishe him, P. 76. for aduowing the said promyse to haue bene maid in his mestres name, wer not that he, wyfely and circomspectly, had ane act of confaill for his warrant till produce ; and the said Sir Nycholas was sa angry, for that he had bene maid ane instrument to disceaue the Scotis baniffit lordis, that he aduyfed them to fut humbly for pardone at ther awen Quen, neuer again till offend hir for na prince alywe. And because they had na moyen nor outgait, he pennit a perfwasywe proposition, and send in heir vnto hir Maieste.

“ Your Maieste has in England many frendis of all degrees, that fauores your title ; bot for dyuers respectis. Some for very conscience saik, being perswadit that in law your rycht is best ; some for the gud opinion they haue conceaut, by the honorable report they haue hard of your Maiesteis vertues and liberalite, wherby they esteam you maist worthy to gouern ; some for factions that fauores your religion ; some for the euell will they bear vnto your compeditour, seing ther awen parell, gif my Lady Katherine fuld com in that place.

“ Of thir some ar papistis and some protestantis ; and yet how euer they differ amangest them selues, in religion or vther particulariteis, they ar baith of a mynd for the aduancement of that propos that tueches your Maieste. Your Maieste has also many ennemys, for dyuers re-

spectis not onlyk to the other ; whais study has alwayes bene and wilbe, (onles they may be maid frendis,) to hender any thing that may tend to your commoditie. In a point all concurre, baith friendis and enemys, yea the haill people ; that they ar maift defyrous to haue the succeffion of the crowne declaired and affured, that they may be at a certaintie. Only the Quen hir self is of the contrary oppinion, and wald be glaid the matter alwayes fuld stand in doubt, and hing in fuspens.

“ Your vnfrendis has done what they culd, to tak the aduantage of the tym to your prejudice ; and to that end preffit the halding of the parlement, quhilk was befor continowed vntil October laft ; knawing affuredly that gif the parlement held, the succeffion of the crown wald be callit in queffion ; and they thocht the tym ferued weall for ther propos, when ther was diuiffion and trouble in your awen realm, and your intelligence in England, baith with the Quen and fubiectis, as they thocht, at the worft. Your fauorers, for efchewing of that inconvenient and wynnyng of tym to gif your Maiefte place to werk, and remoue all impedimentis fa far as wyfdome may, has found the meanis to drywe it prefently whill the nyxt fpring. Now ther aduyfe is, that in this mean tym, your Maiefty proceed by wifdome to affure your felf of the haill vottis, or at leaft the beft and maift part of the parlement, when euer the matter falbe brocht in queffion ; quhilk may be done by re-teanyng the hartis of them ye haue alredy, recouering of them that ar brangled, wynnyng of the neuteris and fa many of your aduerfaris as may be wonn ; for all ar not, as is to be fupponit, fa far addicted to the contrary faction, bot when the caufe is remoued of the affection that way, the effect also will ceafe.

“ Generally your Maiefty mon forbear to do any act that will offend

the haill people, and vse sic meanis as ar lyk to content any people. Strangers ar vniverfelly suspect to the haill people; wherinto your Maieste in your mariage has wyfely prouidit for ther contentation, in absteanyng from matches with forren princes. Sa aduysē they your Maieste, to absteane from the conclusion of any leig or confederacy with any forrene prince, that may offend England, whill ye haue first essayed what ye may purchese be benevolence of the born men of the land. Not that they wald wis your Maieste to forsaike the frendship of France and Spaine, bot rather that your Maieste fuld wyfely enterteny them baith, to remane at your deuotion incaice that efterwart ye haue to do

P. 77. with ther fauour. Nevertheles, that the same remain rather in generall termes, as heirtofoir, quhill ye se farther, then that ye proceed till any speciall actis that may offend England, and that ye can not with honour bring bak again when ye wald. Sa many of your aduersaries as ar addicted to the contrary faction, for hattrent of your religion, may be wone, when they se your Maieste wyfely continow in the temperance and moderation ye haue hitherto vsit within your awen realm, in matters of religion, without innovation or alteration. Sa many as by misreportis has bene caried to the contrary faction, may by trew report be brocht bak again, when they fall heir of your beniguite and clemency, vsed alwaies towardis your subiectis; quhilkis vertues in princes, of all vthers maist allures the hartis of people, to fauour and yeild euen vnto ther commoun ennemys. Sa many as can deall warrely and discretly with your frendis of baith the religions, and ar only addicted for conscience saik vnto my Lady Katherine, being persuadit of the betternes of your title by richt, may be wone to your Maieste be contrary persuasions, and be deducing of sic raifouns and argumentis, as may be allegit

for proif of your gud caufe, where there is ftoir enough. Some your Maiefte will find in England, that will hazard fa far as they dar, to ferue your turn in this behalf. Bot becaufe it is fa dangerous to men to deall in, and ftandis fubiectis vpon lyues and landis, gene they be fean ernest medlers to trauell in that part fa fufficiently as appertenis, it will requyre fic instrumentis of your awen, when tym commes, wha may baldly fpeak without danger, and with whom the fubiectis of England dar frely communicat ther myndis, and enter in conferrence. Gif any feris your Maiefte, thinking that ye haue an euell oppinion of them, the affurance of any trusty minifter, of your gud will, whom they will credit, will fchone put them out of dout and mak them fauourable enough. They that ar constantly yours, are eafely retenit at your deuotion. They that heirtofore has born any fauour, and be the lait occurrences ar any thing branlet, wilbe brocht hame again, when they fall fe your Maiefte, now when it is fallen in your handis to vfe rygour or mercy as plesis you, rather inclyn to the maift plaufible part, in fchawing your magnanimite, wher ye brocht your fubiect to fubmiffion; and then fchawes gentilnes, as the gud paffour to reduce his fcheep that wer gone aftray hame to the fald again. They that ar yet newerelis, by the fame meanis and trew information of your intrefs by law, may all be won to your fyd. This done, when the matter commes in queftion, as your frendis will ernestly prefs at this nyxt parlement, your Maiefte will bear it away without contrauerfie.

“ This deuyfe, in fa far as tuechis the reconcilien of your fubiectis, is not a fetche for ther fauour, bot thocht expedient for your feruice; done be many that has na fauour to them, and ar different from them in religion. For it fall put the Quen of England in a gret fear, when

fche fall see in this realm sic a vnion, the head and haill membres together ; and will not wit how to trouble your Maiefteis eftait, specially when the reconciliation takis effect in the hartis of the fubiectis of England ; wha fall think them felues in ane happy eftait, gif they fuld

P. 78. com vnder the obedience of fa bening a princes, wha can find in hir hart fa weill to forgeue, when men becomes recreant. For albeit it can not be denyed bot my L. of Murray had mifufit himfelf towardis your Maiefte, and your Maiefte has gud caufe to be offendit with him, yet it is hard to perfwad the protestantis that some part of his greif is not for religion. This way redreffis all ; and na doubt they that ar protestantis in England, will declaire them felues a gret deall the mair effectionit in your caufe, when they fall see men of ther awen religion clemently handled. And that your Maiefte may haue experience, that it is your aduancement that men wald by this meanis procure, and not the commoditie of them that your Maiefte is offendit with, a myd way may be folowed out ; that is, in all femblable caufes the multitude is fpaired, and the cheif authours ar principally perfewed. It may pleife your Maiefte to caufe pen a lettre in gud termes and form, and publifch the fame by proclamation and prent, declairing the just caufe of your greif againft them ; and yet for declaration of your awen gud nature, abone their defertingis, ye ar content to remit the haill, except sic principallis as ye pleis to referue and except by name in the general pardone ; with whom ye will not tak sic ordour, quhill ye haue farther tryell and experiance of ther penitence. The perfones fo to be nominat and excepted fall depart out of England, to what contre plesis your Maiefte, and ther to remaine during your plesfour. In this mean tym, gif your Maiefte find that this bening vſage of your Maiefte in this be-

half, fall produce any sic fruit as is heir spoken, and ye lyk, for your Maieſte has the crymes lyand abone ther head to be perſewed and rygour execut againſt them, as pleſit your Maieſte, gif ye find it proffit-able ; or than your Maieſte will extend your fauour further as ye think gud, and as ther deportementis in the mean tym deſeruis ; and all that fauoris them in England will trauell in your cauſe, ſa far as ther credit will extend, as gene they wer agentis for your Maieſte. They will in na wayes, gif they may eſchew it, be in the Quen of Englandis common ; nother by obteanyng of any fauour at your hand by hir intervention, nor yet for any ſupport in the tym of ther baniſſement ; bot rather it may pleaſe your Maieſte, that ther chargis be tane vpon that quhilk was ther awen lynings. Be folowing this aduylſe, quhilk in na wayes can be prejudicialle to your Maieſte, and is able to bring on a greter commoditie, your Maieſte may recouer and wone the maift part of the biſchoppis of England, many of the greteſt of the nobilite and gentilmen, wha is yet newterall.”—Whais names wer declairit vnto hir Maieſte in chiffer ; be whais meanis he allegit hir Maieſte fuld obtean ſa gret ane entreis in England, that albeit that Quen wald kyeth in hir contraire, ſche nedit not to cair ; for in ſending bot ane thowſand men of hir awen, out of four partis of England a ſufficient number fuld jun with them, be whais forcis without any ſtrangers hir Maieſte fuld obtean that thing quhilk is wrangeouſly reſufit and detenit.

P. 79. When hir Maieſte had muſed vpon this diſcourſ, it had gret force to moue hir, aſweill for the gud oppinion ſche had of him that ſent it, as being of hir awen nature mair inclynit to mercy then rigour ; together that ſche was wyſe, and perſauit a weill therby vnto the aduancement of hir affaires in England. Sche tok a reſolution to folow this aduylſe,

and to prolong the Parlement quhilk was fet to forfait the lordis that wer fled. Seigneur David apperit to be also wone to the same effect ; for my L. of Murray had futed him very earnestly, and mair humbly then any man wald haue beleued, with the present of a faire dyamont, inclofed within a lettre full of repentance, and faire promyses fra that tym fourth to be his frend and protectour ; whilk the said David granted to do with the better will, that he persauit the King to bear him litle good will, and to glowm vpon him.

Folowing this aduyse and aduertiffement geuen be Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun, the Quenis Maieste send my brother Sir Robert Meluille, to remain hir ambassadour ordinair at the court of England ; to be redy at all occasions, incaice any thing wer traitit of the Parlement anent the succeffion, as till folow fourth the plat laid down be Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun and hir vther frendis in England. In this meantym, ther wes a Frenche gentilman send hame heir, callit Mons^r de Villemonte, with a commiffion to flay the Quen in nawayes till agre with the lordis protestantis that wer baniffit, becaufe that all catholik princes wer bandit to rut them out of all Europe ; quhilk was a deuyce of the Cardinall of Lorraine, laity com bak from the concile of Trent, and had caufed the King of France to wret earnestly to that effect. Quhilk vnhappy meffage haifted fordwart dyuers tragicall accidentis. For the Quen was laith till offend hir awen frendis in France, of the house of Guife, albeit sche wald haue done litle by her dyet then for the King of France, yet yong, only gydit be his mother whom sche had na gud cause to lyk weill of ; bot f^r David was thocht also of oppinion, not till offend sa many confiderat catholik princes, and specially the Paip, with whom as was allegit he had some secreet intelligence. Heirby the Quen

was mouit to hald fordwart the Parlement, and till forfalt the baniffit lordis, againft hir awen intention, and againft hir formair deliberation.

Now ther was a number of lordis at hame, that apperit to be frendis to the lordis that were baniffit ; as the Erle of Mortoun, the Lord Ruthven, the Lord Lindfay, and dyuers vthers gentilmen ther fauorers only for religion. Some of thir wes mifcontent that ther frendis fuld be forfalted ; vthers had vther particulaires ; fpecially the Erle of Mortoun and his dependers fearit a reuocation that was allegit to be maid at the faid parlement, to bring bak again to the crown dyuers gret difpofitions geuen out during the Quenis minoritie, and fome benifices that wer tane be noblemen at ther awen handis, during the ciuill warres, under pretext of religion. Thir and vther particularites moued them to confult together how to get the parlement ftayed, and to mak a chenge in court. The Erle of Mortoun had a crafty head, and had a cufing callit George Dowglas the poftulat, fone natural to the Erle of Angus, was alfo father to Dame Margret Dowglas Contes of Lenox, the Kingis mother. The faid George was continowally about the K. as his mother brother, and put in his head fic fufpition againft feigneur Daid, that the K. wes wone to geue his confent ouer facely to the flaughter of feigneur Daid, quhilk the Lordis of Mortoun, Ruthven, Lindfay, and vthers had devyfit ; that way to be mafters of the court and to ftay the parlement.

The King was yet very yong of yeares, and not weill experimeted with the nature of this nation. It was fupponit alfo that the Erle of Lenox knew of the faid enterpryfe, for he had his chamber within the palice ; and fa had the Erles of Atholl, Bothwell, and Huntly, wha baith efchaiped be louping down out of a window, towardis the litle

garding wher the lyons are ligit. This vil act was done vpon a Saturday [the 9.] of [March] in the year [1565] about sex houres. When the Quen was at hir supper in hir cabinet, a number of armed men entrit within the clofs before the clofing of the getis, and tok the keys from the porter. Ane part of them paffit vp throw the Kingis chamber, conducted be the Lord Ruthven, and George Douglas the postulat; the rest remanit in the clofe, with drawen fwerdis in ther handis, crying "a Douglas, a Douglas," for ther flougern; for it was in the glomyng of the euenyng. The King was pafft vp to the Quen of before, and was leanin vpon her chair, when the Lord Ruthven entrit with his knappifca vpon his head, and George the postulat entrit in with him and dyuers vther, fa rudly and vnreuerently, that the burd fell, the candelis and meat and plaitis fell. S^r Dauid tok the Quen about the waift, and cryed for marcy; bot George Dowglas pluckit fourth the Kingis dager that wes behind his bak, and strak him first with it, leauyng it sticking within him. He geving gret skirlis and cryes, wes rudly rest from the Quen, wha culd not get him saif, nother for boift nor fairnes. He wes forceably drawen fourth of the cabinet, and slain in the vtter hall, and her Maiefte keped as captywe.

That same nycht, the Erle of Atholl, lard of Tullibardin, and secretary Liddingtoun, and Sir James Balfour, wer sufferit to reteir them selues fourth of the palice of Halirudhouse, and wer in some feir of ther lyues. The nyxt mornyng, quhilk was Sunday, I was lettin fourth at the get: for I lay therin. Passing throw the vtter clofe, the Quenis Maiefte was loking fourth of a window, and cryed vnto me to help hir. Then I drew neir vnto the window, and askit what help lay in my power I fuld mak. Sche said, go to the prouest of Edenbrough, and bid him in my name

convene the toun with speid, and com and releaue me out of thir traitours handis: " Bot run fast," said sche, " for they will stay yow." Be this was said, ane Mr Nisbit, maister houshold to the Erle of Lennox, was sent with a company to stay me; to whom I gaue gud wordis, and said that I was only passing to the preching in S^t Gillis kirk, for it [was] sonday; bot I went with speid vnto the said prouest, and tald hym my commission from the Quen. He said he had another commandement fra the K; ; alwayes, that he suld draw the people to the towbuith, and se what they wald do; bot he loked for na help at ther handis, because the maist part of them wer sa miscontent with the present government that they desyred a chengement. Yet he conuenit them in vain, and schew me ther answer; quhilk I maid hir Maieste till vnderstand be ane of hir ladyes, whom sche send again vnto me; and said that sche supponit that my L. of Murray and his associatis that wer yet baniffit, remaining at Newcastle in England, wald be sent for be them that wer about hir; willing me at his commyng to admonisch and perswad him not deffyll him self as to jun with them, bot to hald him self fre, and be hir frend at this strait; quhilk doing suld be his greatest weill, and wone her loue and fauour as euer he had it. Quhilk commission I used at his incommyng, quhilk was vpon

P. 81. the monday; bot he was mair moued at his meating with hir Maieste, wha embracit him and kiffit him, alleging that incaice he had bene at hame, he wald not haue sufferit hir to haue bene sa vncourtesly handlit; quhilk mouit him sa, that the teares fell from his eyn. He knew also that it was not for his cause, bot for ther awen particulairs, that the maist part of them maid that enterpryse; yet he and his company kepit the day to the quhilk they wer sumondit to the parlement.

In the mean tym the K. repented his foly ; wherupon hir Maieſte tok occaſion till perſwad him till abandone the lordis, that had committed ſa odyous a crym as to put hir in hazard of hyr lyf, together with his barne that wes in hir wamb ; neuerthèles ſche wald forgeue them, and mak them ſic ſecurite as they wald deuyſe. The L. enterpryſers ſeing the K. wone, and my L. of Murray not ſa frak for them as they ſupponit, wer fayn to do the nyxt beſt, and let a maner of a pacification he pennit ; quhilk wes dyuers tymes wreten ouer again, to put in and out certane headis and clauſes, to dryue tym vntill the wret mycht appear plaucible and at a point. Hir Maieſte cauſed the K. to aduſe them to diſcharge the gard that kept hir, that ther ſecurite mycht be paſt, ſche being at liberte, or elis it wald not avail them. Sa that nycht, quhilk was Tuifday, they went all to ther reſt ; bot the Quen, with the K. and Traquair, and Arthur Aſkin maſter ſtabler for the tym, paſt out of Halyrudhouſe at mydnycht towardis the caſtell of Dombarr, and left word with ane of hir ladys to me, that I ſuld be ernest to keip my L. of Murray in tune not to jun with the reſt of the lordis ; wha the nyxt mornyng fand them ſelues far diſappointed without any apperance of a drefs or pacification. In the mean tym hir Maieſte vſed deligence to ſend out of Dombarre Meſter Jhon Hay Abbot of Bamirinoch, to my L. of Murray ; willing him to tak my help to draw my L. of Murray vtterly from the lait offenders, and in ſa doing, to be pardonit, he and all his part takers. They on this maner being deſtitute of all aſſiſtance, wer compellit to flee in England, to the Newcaſtell, wher in a maner they mycht find the other lordis neſtis yet hait.

A few dayes of before, my L. Duc, my Lordis of Argyll, Glencarn and Rothes had obtenit ther pacification ; for they wer deuydit during

ther baniffement, and hir Maieſte thocht not meit to haue ſa many lordis in hir contraire; as now again, when the Erle of Murray was drawn fra the Erle of Mortoun and his marrowes, becauſe he had a gret frendſhip and dependance for the tym; that ſche mycht the eaſelier be reuengit vpon the laſt maift deteftable dede, as till mourther hir ſaruant in hir preſens, ſche being gret with chyld; done apperantly to cauſe hir and hir bairn baith be diſtroyed; wheras they mycht haue flane the ſaid Daud in any vther part at any tym they pleaſit. My L. of Murray and his dependers deſyred me to cary his humble thankis and conſent vnto hir Maieſteis deſyre, and how that he had diſchargit him ſelf vnto them that had committed the lait odious crym; and wald promyſe hir Maieſte never to haue to do with them, nor trauell for them.

I met hir Maieſte commyng from Dombar to Hadingtoun, and was very fauourably receaued, with gret thankis for my continowell cair of hir honnour and weilfaire; and that nycht in Hadingtoun, ſubſcryuit dyuers remiffions for my L. of Murray and his dependers; lamenting vnto me the Kingis folly, vnthankfulnes and miſbehauour, and alſo of my L. of Lenox part; quhilk I ſupponit had bene pardonit, and I excuſed the beſt I mycht be raifoun of his youth, and layed the wyet vpon George Douglas and vthers; preing hir Maieſte, for many neceſſary reſpectis, to remoue out of hir mynd all eyeleftis againſt him, ſeing that ſche had choſen him hir ſelf againſt the oppinion of many, and promyſed hym fauour again of new. Bot I culd perſaue nathing bot a gret gruge that ſche had in hir hart. That nycht in Hadingtoun, the K. inquiryt at me gene my L. of Murray had wreten vnto him. I ſaid that his letter to the Quen was wreten in haift, and that he eſtemed the Quen and him bot ane. He ſaid, he mycht haue wreten alſo to me. Then he

P. 82. inquired what was becom of Mortoun, Ruthven and the rest of that company. I said, I beleued they wer fled, I wist not wher. He said, "as they haue brewen, so let them drink." It apperit that he wes fory that he had left them, finding the Quenis fauour bot cauld. The nyxt day they cam till Edenbrough, and logit within the castell; wher some wer apprehendit and execut, that had bene in the clofe of the palice, and had kepit the getis the nycht that Daid was flain.

Hir Maieste was now far gane with chyld, and past to Stirling, intending to ly ther; wher the K. folowed hir, and fra that till Alloway. At lenth sche cam bak again to the castell of Edenbrough, and some thocht that sche fled fra his company. I trauelit earnestly to help matters betwen them, and was sa importun that I was thocht sa feschious, that hir Maieste desyred my L. of Murray to reprove me, and forbid me to be famylier with the K.; wha past vp and down his allane, and few durft bear hym company. He was mislyked be the Quen, and be all them that fauorit secretly the lait baniffit lordis. Sa that it was a gret pitie to see that gud yong prince casten aff, wha failed rather for lak of gud confaill and experience, then of euell will. It apperit to be his desteny to lyk better of flatterers and euell company, then of plane speakers and of gud men; quhilk hes bene the wrak of many princes, wha with gud company mycht haue productit worthy effectis.

About this tym the Quen of England was sa fair vesit with a het feuer, that na man beleued any vther bot death to be the end of it, all England being therthrow in a gret perplexite. Bot a thing is to [be] markit, that twa contrary factions ther for the tym, had baith determinit, vn knawen vthers myndis, to send for the Quen of Scotland, and set the crown of England vpon hir head.

This suld
haue bene
placet ef-
ter the
baptysm of
the prince,
at this
mark.

+

My brother Sir Robert Melville was then ambaffadour ther resident for the tym, and I ferued in ftead of secretaire heir at hame, becaufe the secretairey Liddingtoun was absent in fome fufpition. He fend hame continowally, and aduertifementis how till proced ; and I again wret the anfweres at hir Maiefteis direction ; [*wha a litle before this tym being at Gedbrouch, to vefit the Erle Bodowell, wha wes ouerthrawen be the theues, and hurt vnto the death as wes fupponit, yet he reco-uerit again to wirk greter mifcheif, hir Maiefte fell ther deadly feak, and maid a very wyfe and discret testament, and many godly prayers, and gaif many gud documentis to my L. of Murrey ; quhilk all I fet out in wret, and fend in England at dyuers tymes ; quhilk my brother fchew to dyuers noblemen and vther fauorers of hir Maiefte, wha all defyred copyes of the faid lettres ; quhair of my brother aduertifed hir Maiefte, to caufe me continew, alleging that it layed down dyuers euell brutis that hir ennemys fprede abroid ; for the dayes wer euell, and it was a bufy tym.*]

Now the Erle Bodowelis fauour increaffit, quhilk miscontentit many. He and the Erle of Huntly and the Bifchop of Rofs invyed the fauour that the Quen fchew vnto the Erle of Murray ; for they wer vpon contrary courfes. The Quen again knew what fauour was born vnto him
P. 83. baith in England and Scotland, and that fche wald be the better lykit in baith the contrees then for his faik ; folowing and taking vp again the formair aduyfe and information quhilk was fend in be Sir Nycolas Throgmortoun, and forget not the lait help that he had maid hir at his hamecommyng. Thir twa erles, with the foirlaid bifchop, tok occasion when the tym of hir Maiefteis birth drew neir, to perfuad hir Maiefte to put my L. of Murrey in ward, to remain na langer bot till hir Maiefte

wer delyuerit of hir birth ; alleging that they wer affuredly aduertit, that he and his dependers wer myndit to bring in the baniffit lordis, euen at the very tym of hir birth. For they thocht, gif anes he wer wardit, that they fuld get deuyces anew to caufe him be keptit, and difgracit ay the langer the mair, when he fuld not be present nor haue plaice to answer and refist ther callomnies ; quhilk hir Maieſte tald me, at a meit tym to put it clean out of hir mynd, and to let hir fee that it was bot a plane practys. For many of the barrons of Loudien wer frendis to the Erle of Mortoun, among the reſt the lard of Elphinstoun my gud brother, whais mother was a Douglas of the houſe of Whittingem. Be this frendſhip, the Erle of Mortoun caufit wret a bill vnto my ſiſter the lady of Elphinstoun, that ſche wald deall with me and perſuad me to wret lettres vnto the Electour Palatin, and vther princes of my acquaintance in Germany, to ſuffer hym to lywe in ther contre. For my brother, be hir Maieſteis direction, preffit the Quen of Eugland to put them fourth of hir contre ; and he durſt not ga in France, wher the Quen had ſa many frendis. This I ſchew vnto hir Maieſte, and ſa ſche wardit him not, bot farbad me to wret in fauours of Mortoun.

Thir gelouſies was among the cheiffeſt courteours for the tym. In the mean tym Meſter Hary Killygrew was ſent in heir, ambaffadour from the Quen of England ; wha was in gret ſuſpition of hir eſtair, for the many frendis in England that wer knawen to be fauorers of our Quen, and lykways in Yreland. The ſaid ambaffadour complainit againſt ane Meſter Ruxbe, that was recet in Scotland, being a rebell and a papiſt ; declaren how that the Quen his meſtres had commandit Mortoun and his complices fourth of hir contre ; quhilk was done be open proclamation, to pleiſe the Quenis Maieſte and hir ambaffadour,

that cryed out continually for hir fuffring them to abyd ſa lang in England. Yet as we had intelligence efterwart, they wer ſecretly ouerſean, with condition that they wald kepe them ſelues quiet.

Mefter Killigrew allegit alſo, that the Quenis Maieſte had maid practyſes with Onell in Yreland, wha had his ambaffadour preſently in Edenbrough, in company with the Erle of Argyll. And thridly, he complenit of ſome diſorder vpon the borders mouit be Scottiſmen. Bot the cheif colour of his commiſſion was, till confort the Quen ouer hir lait troubles, and to congratulat hir fredome and gud ſucces ouer hir wickit and rebellious ſubiectis.

It may appear ſufficiently be that Quenis formair proceadingis, how that all ther fiſterly famyliarite was ceffit, and inſted therof nathing bot jelouſies, ſuſpitions and hattrent; and yet they kept ane outward dealing, for keping of nybourhead and intelligence. The Scottis ambaffadour for the tym in England had ſa gud hope that his credit was gret, for he was eſtymed ſur and ſecret; quhilk cauſed a gret number of nobilite, proteſtantis and papiftis, to communicat ther inwart myndis vnto hym. Mefter Randolphe had not the lyk credit in Scotland, bot only with ſome of the ſempleſt fort of the miniſters; ther-

P. 84. for this Ruxbe was ſend in heir, to ſeam to be a zelous fauorer of hir Maieſteis richt and tytle vnto the crown of England, and to purches famylier ſpeaking with the Quen, to bring in purpos his frendſhip with dyuers catholikis in England, wha durſt not deal with the Scottis ambaffadour being a proteſtant, bot wald deall him ſelf betwen hir Maieſte and them; to eſſay what he culd draw out of hir Maieſtis mynd, to mak aduertisement again to the ſecretary Cicill; and adreſſit him vnto the Quenis Maieſte be the biſhop of Roſs, wha was

a catholyk ; the said bifchop defyring hir Maieſte to be ſecret. What he learnt for the tyme, I can not tell, bot he wret findrie intelligences vnto the ſecretary Cicill, quhilk did harm ; bot it was not ſa ſecretly kept bot my brother gat knowledge therof, and alſo of a lettre that the ſecretary Cicill wret again in Scotland to the ſaid Maifter Ruxbe, promyſen to cauſe him be rewardit, and willing him to continow. Wherof my brother be his gret intelligence was ſa weill aduertift, that he maid hir Maieſte foirſean therof in dew tyme, with his information alſo vnto me, to remember hir Maieſte how to convoy that matter. Sa that when Meſter Killigrew maid his complaint vpon Meſtre Ruxbis receyting and traityng in this contre, hir Maieſte cauſed him incontinent to be apprehendit, and all his chiffers and wretis ; among the quhilkis was found lykwaies the letter wreten be the ſecretary Cicill abone ſpecified. Ruxbe finding his fynes diſcouert, fell incontinent vpon his knees, and granted himſelf worthy of a thouſand deathes, crauyng humbly grace and pardone. Hir Maieſte cauſed hym to be ſa ſecretly and ſtraitly keped, that the Engliſh ambaffadour culd get na intelligence how nor for what cauſe, vntill that the Quenis [Maieſte] ſchew him hir ſelf, how that vpon his complaint, to pleaſe the Quen hir gud ſiſter, ſche had cauſed apprehend the ſaid Ruxbe ; wha ſuld be delyuerit ſa ſchone eſter his retournyng, as it wald pleaſe hir ſiſter ſend for him.

Bot as this Maifter Ruxbe was feingzeit, ſa was the complaint. Bot hir Maieſte was aduysit not to ſeem till knaw any wretyng or practyſe maid in hir contraire be the ſecretary Cicill, to do him that ſchame, wha profeſſit be ſa many fair promyſes to be hir frend ; becauſe it was not yet tyme to caſt aff intelligence, ſa lang as hir Maieſte had maift

proffit therby ; as wald haue prouen in effect, wer not sic vnhappy handling and chances that fell out fchortly after.

The Quenis Maieftis rekonyng being neir run out, hir Maiefte caufed mak my difpafche for England in a redines, to annunce the gud newes of hir delyuery vnto that Quen ; leaving a blank in hir lettre, to be fillit other with a fone or a dochter, as it mycht pleafe God to grant vnto hir ; and to requyre the Quen of England to fend heir in hir name, fic of hers as fche knew to be beft addicted to enterteny gud loue and frendfchip between them, to goffuppis, for fa ar they callit in England ; as alfo to fatiffie hir anent the maift part of Mefter Killigreues demandis in hir name.

All this whyll I lay within the caftell of Edenbrough, preing nycht and day for hir Maieftis gud and happy delyuery of a fair fonne. This prayer being granted, I was the firft that was aduertift be the Lady Boyn, in hir Maieftis name, to part with deligence, the xix day of Junij in the year 1566, betwen ten and eleuen houres before nun. It ftrock tuelff houres when I tok my horfe, and was at Berwik that fame nycht. The fourt day efter I was at Londoun, and met firft with my brother ; wha fent and aduertift the fecretary Cicill that fame nycht of my commyng, and of the birth of the prince ; willing hym to kep it vp, vntill my being at court to fchaw it my felf vnto hir Maiefte, P. 85. wha was for the tym at Grenwitch ; wher hir Maiefte was in gret merines and dancing efter fupper ; bot fa fchone as the fecretary Cicill roundit the newes in hir ear of the prince birth, all merines was layed afyd for that nycht ; euery ane that wer present marueling what mycht moue fa fodane a chengement ; for the Quen fat down with hir hand vpon hir haffet, and bourfting out to fome of hir ladies, how that

the Quen of Scotlandis was leichter of a faire sonne, and that sche was bot a barren stok. The nyxt mornyng was appointed vnto me to get audience ; at what tym my brother and I pafst down the watter be boit vnto Grenwitche, and wer met be some frendis that tald us how forowfull hir Maieftè was for my newes, and what confaill sche had gottin to schaw a glaid contenance ; quhilk sche did in hir best appa-rell, and fayed that the joyfull newes of the Quen hir sisters delyuery of a faire sone, quhilk I had sent vnto hir be Mester Cicill, had reco- verit hir out of a heauy seaknes quhilk had halden hir xv dayes. Ther- fore sche welcommit me with a mirry volt, and thankit me for the de- ligençe that I had vsed. All this sche said before I had delyuert vnto hir my lettre of credence. Efter that sche had red it, I declaired how that the Quen had haisted me towardis hir Maieftè, whom sche knew of all vther hir frendis wald be glaideft of the gud newes of hir birth, albeit dear bocht with the parell of hir lyf ; for I said, that sche was fa fair handled in the mean tym, that sche wiffit neuer to haue bene ma- ried. This I said to geue hir a litle skar to mary, be the way ; for fa my brother had infourmed me, becaufe sche boisted somtymes to mary the Archeduc Charles of Austria, when any man preffit hir to declair a second persone. Then I requested hir Maieftè to be a goffup vnto the Quen, for our commers ar callit goffups in England ; quhilk sche granted glaidly to be. Then I said, hir Maieftè wald haue a faire oc- casion to se the Quen, quhilk sche had sa oft desyred. At this sche smyled, and said sche wald wifs that hir estait and affaires mycht per- mit hir ; and promysed to fend baith honorable lordis and ladyes to supple hir rowm. Then I gaue hir Maieftè maist harty thankis, in the Quenis name, for hir frendly vesitation and conforting of the Quen be

Mefter Hary Killigrew. Sche inquyrit gif I left him in Scotland, and what was the caufe of his lang tary. I faid, that the Quen tok hir childbed fchortly efter his arryving, quhilk was the cheif caufe of his delay ; bot I had in commiffion to tell hir Maiefte fomthing theranent, to fatiffie hir mynd in the mean tym ; and to thank hir Maiefte for the way putting of the Scotis rebels out of hir contre, albeit ther wer some bruitis, that they wer yet fecretly kepit be some of hir fubiectis ; bot I beleued not that any of hir fubiectis durft be fa bald, or fa difobedient. Bot fche affermed that they wer fourth of hir contre ; and gif it mycht be vtherwayes tryed, it fuld not pafs without rygorous punifement.

I fchew hir Maiefte, that vpon hir ambaffadours defyre and complaint, the Quen had caufed apprehend Mefter Ruxbe, and fall caufe hym be delyuerit vnto hir Maiefte, when euer fche pleafis fend for hym. And as concernyng Onell, fche had na dealing with him, nor knew not that ther was a faruand of his fend vnto my L. of Argyll, ontill Mefter Killigrews commyng, that fche caufed inquyre at the faid Erle ; wha granted that Onell had fend ane vnto hym, for fome purpofes amang them felues, bot that fche nother faw nor fpak with that man, nor had dealing with any man in Yreland.

P. 86. Hir Maiefte apperit to be weill fatiffied with the matters of Yreland, and anent Maifter Ruxbe ; bot fche forget to fut or fend for him. Before I tok my leawe to return, I enterit with hir Maiefte anent the title ; for my L. of Leycifter was become hir plane frend, and had bene twyfe in hand with the Quen of England, a litle before my commyng, to declaire the Quen of Scotland fecond perfonne ; alleging that it wald be the Quen his maiftres greteft weall and securite ; and faid

in ane anger, that Cicill wald vndo all. Lykwayes the Duc of Norfolk, the Erle of Penbrough and many vthers, schew them selues mair planly frendis, efter they vnderftod the birthe of the prince ; fa that hir Maieftis matters in England wer for the tym far agaitwart, and I was aduyfit therfore till fay vnto hir Maiefte, that I was affured sche ftayed to declair the Quen fecond perfonne, only vntill sche mycht fee fic fuceffion of hir body as now God had gratioufly granted ; preing hir Maiefte to tak the fame gud occafion to fatiffie the myndis of many, afweill in England as in Scotland, that defyred to fe that matter put out of dout ; and the rather becaufe that the Quen my meftres wald neuer feak any richt or place in England, bot be hir Maieftis fauour and fortherance. Sche faid, that the birth of the prince was to hir a gret fpur, to caufe the maift skilfull lawers of England to vfe gretter deligence in the trying out of that matter, quhilk sche eftemit maift iuftly to appartean vnto hir gud fifter ; and that sche wiffit from hir hart that it fuld ga that gait. I replied, that at my laft being ther, hir Maiefte was vpon the fame termes ; and that as I had brocht hir gud newes from the Quen, I wald defyre to be fa happy as to cary hame with me vnto hir Maiefte, the gud newes of that lang delayed declairation. Then sche faid, that sche hoppit to fatiffie the Quen farther in the matters, be fic noblemen as fuld be fent in Scotland for the baptifme of the prince. All this I tok for delayes, and fa tok my leaue, becaufe my brother wes to remane ther. The nyxt day, hir Maiefte fent vnto me twa grumes of hir chamber, with hir wreting, and the prefent of a fayre chaigne.

My brother gaued me the aduyfe of hir Maieftis freindis, together

with his awen instructions, how till proceed efter my hame comyng, as folowes.

“ First, that he is in sic suspition for his handling ther, be the advertimentis of Master Ruxbe, and practyses of hir ennemys, that hir Maieste mon lat Mester Kelligrew vnderstand, that sche is myndit to reteir him hame schortly ; or elis he feares to be commandit to return.

“ 2. That hir Maieste requyre the Erle of Leycifter and secretary Cicill to be sent for to be hir goffoppes, as metest instrumentis to parfyt all articles and gud offices of amytie between them.

“ Item, that Mester Killigrew be weill traited and rewardit, that he may mak gud report, till hald aff discord, that intelligence may continow ; and defyre him to declaire vnto the Erle of Lecester and secretary Cicill, that it can not stand with gud frendschip, to be sa lang fed with fair wordis without effect.

“ Item, that hir Maieste cast not aff the Erle of Northumberland, albeit as a fearfull man and of facillite, he delyuerit hir letter vnto the Quen of England ; nather seam to find falt with Sir Hary Percy as yet, for his dealing with Mester Ruxbe, quhilk he dois to won favour in court, being of a contrary faction till his brother the Erle.

P. 87. “ Item, that Mester Ruxbe be weill keaped, and sent far north in a sure part, that he geue na haifty intelligence ; for he has alredy wreten vnto secretary Cicill, be Sir Hary Percy his moyen, that he can discover all your practyses and secretis.

“ Let my L. of Argyll enterteny Oneill as of him self, the Quen not seaming to know therof.

“ The secretary Cicill deuyfed a ftrange practyfe againft the meat-
ing, quhilk becaufe my Lord of Leycefter difcouerit vnto the Quen
his meftres, Cicill fterit vp the Erle of Suffix to forge a quarell againft
him ; bot the Quen tok the Erle of Leycefters part, and fynally agreed
them, and alfo Leycefter and Vrmond.

“ Item, that hir Maiefte fuld wret twa lettres with Maifter Killi-
grew to my brother ; the ane that he may fchaw it vnto the Quen of
England, and the other that he may fchaw vnto the secretary Cicill.

“ Item, to aduertis my brother, what he fall do mair for my Lady
Lenox, whais libertie mycht do mekle gud.

“ Now till conclud ; feing the gret mark that hir Maiefte fchutis
at, let hir Maiefte be mair cairfull and circumspect, that hir defyres
being fa neir to be obteanit, be not all ouerthrowen for lak of fecrefie,
gud handling and precely behauour ; having fa many factious enne-
mys lying at the wait, to mak ther proffit of the leaft little apperance
that can be maid.”

Schortly efter my hamecommying, Maifter Kelligrew the Englis am-
baffadour obteanit his difpafche, with a frendly anfwer, to his conten-
tement, and with a faire cheignge ; and with hym, hir Maiefte fend
thir twa lettres folowing to my brother, be his awen aduyfe, as faid
is, that he mycht tak occafion to let the Quen of England fe the ane,
and Mefter Cicill the other ; partly to ferue to put fome doutis out of
ther myndis, engenderit be Mefter Ruxbis aduertifmentis. For as I
haue faid, the bifchop of Rofs had maid the faid Ruxbis convoy vnto
the Quen ; for nether he nor the Erle Bothuell defyred hir turnis to
profperere vnder my brothers hand, becaufe he was not of ther faction ;

fa that be ther meanis he gat sic intelligence, as pat all hir Maiesteis procedingis anes in ane vntre, vntill my brothers extraordinair intelligence, be them that wer in gret familiarite with the Quen, maid hym foirsean to cause apprehend the said Ruxbe, with his haill lettres and memories as said is. Sa ar many gud princes handled, and commonly ther trewest saruandis decourted, be the enuy and craft of ther factious ennemys ; for wicked men, that haue lost ther credit be tromperie and trikis, wherby they get na place to do gud saruice to princes, essayes to creip in ther fauour be wyles, flattery and vther vnlesome meanis, wherby they may decourt sic as surmontis them in vertu and honest reputation.

HER MAIESTEIS LETTRES VNTO MY BROTHER.

“ Trusty and belouit, We greit yow weill. Wheras your brother James has tald us of the frendly and fecfull aduise, geuen vnto yow and him be Mester secretary Cicill, towardis the continuation of the amytye betwix the Quen our gud sifter and us, tending also to our awen particulier preferrement, We thocht meit to send thir few lynës vnto yow, that ye mycht thank him hartly in our name, and declair vnto him our meanyng and intention, as ye find opportunitie, tueching the thre pointis that he mentionit at that tym.

“ The first, as we vnderstand, tueching our towardnes to them of the religion ; the second, tueching strait justice to be obserued vpon the
 P. 88. borders ; the thrid, that we will searche na vther meanis to com vnto the succeffion of the crown of England, bot only be the fauour and fourth-setting of the Quen our gud sifter.

“ As to the first, ye sall answer in our name, That sen our retourn-

ynge out of France, we haue neyther constrained nor persecuted any for cause of religion, nor yet myndis to do ; ther credit with vs being sa manifest, that they bear the cheiffest offices, ar cheiffest of our consell, and principally employed in our maist vrgent affaires befoir all vthers. Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun can testifie what he has seane and hard, at his being heir, theranent, howbeit that contrary bruitis ar blawen abroide, be the malice and practyses of our aduersaires.

“ To the second, that concernis bordour matters ; it is maist certain, that the principall officers on baith the sydes, ar speciall instrumentis of all the difordour ; taking occasion vpon our lait troubles, when as they perfault that we mycht not sa weill tak ordour with them as we wer willing, as now when it hath pleasit God grant vnto vs some mair quyetnes ; desyring him also to procure at the Quen his soueranes handis, that the lyk deligence be tane for hir part, as falbe seane vfit be us ; and then we dout not bot that baith siche, he and all vthers that complanes, falbe satisfied.

“ As to the thrid and laist head ; ye shall schaw vnto him the tenour of our vther lettre vnto the Quenis satisfiacion, and our vther frendis in tha partis. Sa with my frendly commendations vnto him and his wyf, I commit yow to the protection of the Almychty. From the castell of Edenbrouch this
of the year 1566.

“ Trusty and belouit, We gret yow weill. We haue receauit gret confort and contentement, be the declairacion your brother has maid vnto vs, of the Quen our gud sisters continowell affection and constant loue towardis vs ; quhilk siche has now schawen vnto yow, and your brother at his commyng, as also be hir lettres vnto our self ; lykwayes

for the grant ſche has maid to be our goffup, and promyſe to fend ſa honorable a company of lordis and ladyes, for ſolemniffing the ſame in hir name ; wherof ye ſhall geue hir maift hartly thankis in our behalf, and ſay vnto hir, that we deſyre nathing to be done therin, bot at hir beſt commoditie and leaſt charges ; preing hir alwayes, that the principall man that it may pleiſe hir to fend, be ſic a ane as we haue knawen be lang experience to haue bene maift tender and famylier with hir ; to whom we may the mair frely oppen and ſignify dyuers thingis, quhilkis we intendit to haue ſpoken be mouth vnto hir ſelf, gene God had granted our deſyred meating. As concernyng Oneill, Ruxbe, and all vther matters, we hope that Meſter Killygrew ſhall ſatiſſie hir ſufficiently ; and alſo how that we deſyre to haue na aduancement in that contre, bot be hir only meanis and help, hoping and intending ſa to direct our courſe and behauour towardis hir, as ſche ſhall haue cauſe more and more to procure ernestly and cairfully hir ſelf, all thingis that may forder our weill and aduancement in this contre, that contre, or any vther. In the quhilk eſperance, we will do our beſt to folow ſic thingis as may pleaſe hir, and to ſie and forbear ſic as may offend hir ; with our maift ſtrait command vnto yow to do the lyk at your power, ſa lang as ye remain ther, and wher euer ye be in our ſeruice, euen as I gaif yow commandement of before. Nevertheles in the mean tym, that ye enterten y ſa frendly and diſcretly as ye can, all thais of that contre as profeſſis to bear gud will vnto us and to our title ; yet in ſic

P. 89. ſort as nether ye nor they offend the Quen our gud fiſter. And gene ther chance to com vnto yow any haifty or ſeditious perſones, admoniſch them gently to ceis ; and gene they will not, ſchaw vnto them that our courſe and promyſe is ſic with the Quen, that ye mon nedes declair ther

doings and names vnto hir ; and do it in deid, gif they will not ceis. Sa it falbe knawen, that sic as is about to saw discord betwen the Quen our gud sifter and us, dois it rather vpon particulair respectis and for ther proffit, then for any weill of hers, or our affaires."

This kind of wretings wer for the tym deuysed, till ouerthrow and cast down some intelligences that wer discouerit be Ruxbe, and some bruitis that wer raised be ennemys, how that my brother be his practyses and persuasions had kendlit a gret fyre, and raifit a gret faction in England. He again wald not deny, bot he delt with many to won the fauour he mycht vnto the Quen his mestres, bot he wald do nathing that mycht offend the Quen of England ; and that he had comandement sa to do. Be this meanis, Mester Ruxbeis intelligences wer supprest, and my brother sufferit to remane still in England ; wherby the Quenis frendis wer sa increassit, that many hail sчыres wer redy to rebell, and ther captens alredy named be the election of the nobilite.

About this tym hir Maieste was aduertift be my brothers lettres, how that the Erle of Bedford was vpon his journey towardis Scotland, with ane honorable company, as also the ambassadours of France and Scauoy, for the baptesme of the Prince ; quhilk moued hir Maieste to pass to Stirling with the Prince, for the solemniffing therof. Bot sче was still sad and penywe, for the lait foull forfet committed in hir presens sa vnreuerently, sче being ther born Quen, and then in sic danger as to haue lost the fruit in hir womb. Sa many gret sches sче wald geue, as that it was pitie to heir hir, and ouer few wer cairfull to confort hir. Somtymes sче wald declair part of hir greifis vnto me ; quhilk I effeied to put out of hir mynd, be all possible persuasions, in telling hir

how I beleuit that the gretter multitude of frendis that ſche had conkiſſit in England, ſuld haue cauſed hir forget in Scotland the leſſer number of ennemys and vnrewly offenders, vnworthy of hir wraith ; and that hir excellent qualites in clemency, temperance and fortitud, ſuld not ſuffer hir mynd to be ſuppreſt with the remembrance of tha vill turnis ; bot rather to bend vp her engyn be a prencely and womanly behauour, wherby ſche may beſt wone the hartis of the haille people and ſubiectis, baith heir at hame and a feild ; humbly requeſting hir Maieſte, firſt to conſult with hir God, nyxt with hir honnour, and thridly with hir weill, in the eſtabliſſing of hir eſtair, and in junyng the kingdommes of gret Britaigne in a happy monarchye, quhilk ſche knawes to be fa neir a point to be brocht to paſs in hir perfoun ; ſeing alſo the baniſſit eſtair of the offenders ſa miſerable, not having a holl to hyd ther head intill, nor a penny to by ther denner, that the maift noble natures wald almaiſt think them ſufficiently puniſſit. How feamly it is till a Quen to be pitifull, and a woman to want vengeance, I wald report to hir awen iugement ; “and whither it be meter preſently for your honour and gretnes, to ceis fra the deſyre or perſut of any farther reuenge, whervpon may enſew maa diſpaired enterpryſes, or to geue plaice vnto neceſſite and raiſown, to reull ouer the beaſtly paſſions of the mynd.

P. 90. Wherefore ar princes callit diuyn perſonnes ? Na prince may be callit deuyn, bot ſic as draw neir vnto the nature of God, be godlynes, gud gouvernement, redy to forgeue, and ſlaw to puneis. It is manifeltly knawen, that all wyſe princes haue na feud at ther ennemys, langer then they ſe it may be neidfull for the weill of ther affaires and eſtair, and can chenge ther fauour and hattrent, according to the tym and oc-

cafions. Your Maieſte may remember, that many thingis mycht haue bene better handlit. I ſpeak this with loue and reuerence ; your Maieſte mycht bene afweill obeyed as euer was any king of Scotland, gene ye had tane ſic princely cair as was requiſit. Your Maieſte knowes, how that be your awen expreſs commandement, I ſchew yow lang before, what inconvenientis wer lyk to fall out, vpon the gruges and apperances that I perſauit, before the ſlauchter of Daid, and did what lay in my poſſibilite, as God is my witnes, how to cauſe them be eſchewed and prevented ; and ſen ſyn, your Maieſte repented that my oppinion for the tym was not folowed. I prey God that the lyk repentance fall not out ouer lait again. At my being in England, your aduerſaries wer beginnen to mak ther vantage, vpon vain bruitis that our weſterly wyndis had blawen eaſt among them, that my brother and I had enough a do to ding it out of the headis of dyuers, that wer diuotiously addicted to the aduancement of your title.

This comonyng began at the entre of hir ſupper, in hir ear in Frenche, when ſche was caſten gret fiches, and wald not eat for na perſuaſion that my lordis of Murrey and Mar culd mak hir. The ſupper being endit, hir Maieſte tok me be the hand, and paſt down throw the park of Stirling, and cam vp throw the town, euer raiſonyng with me vpon thir purpoſes. And albeit ſche tok hardly with them at the firſt, ſche began till alter hir mynd, and think meit that my L. of Bedford fuld mak fut for hir rebellis ; they to be baniffit out of England and Scotland during hir pleſour, and to be better vnto them with tym, according to ther deportementis. And for hir part, ſche purpoſit to proceed with ſic a gratious gouernement, as mycht wone the victory ouer

hir ſelf, and all hir compeditours and ennemys in tymes commyng ; as ſche had done at hir firſt hamecommyng, and quhilk ſche culd do aſweill as any prince or princes in Europe.

Bot allace ſche had ouer euell company about hir for the tym. The Erle Bodowell had a mark of his awen that he ſchot at. Sa ſchone as he vnderſtod of hir wyſe and marcifull deliberation, he tok occaſion to be the inbringer of the Erle of Mortoun and his affociatis, to mak them his frendis and to fortifie his faction be them ; for apperantly he had then alredy in his mynd, to perfourm the foull mourthour of the King, quhilk he pat in execuſſion efterwart, that he mycht marry the Quen. Quhilk baith he brocht till paſs, to his awen vtter wrak and confuſion ; and brocht on alſo gret trouble and miſcheif into the contre, and was the Quenis wrak at the laſt, and the hendrance of all our hope, in the haſty obteanyng of all hir deſyres concernyng the crown of England, for a tym.

P. 91. The Quenis Maieſte being aduertift, that the Erle of Bedford was com to Barwick, that far agaitwart to com fordwart to the bapteſme, ſend me, weill accompanied, with deligence to meit hym at Codingame ; to be his firſt convoy, and to inform him richtly of all hir proceadingis, and to ouerthrow all euell bruitis invented be the malice of hir ennemys ; all this of my awen head, be way of the lang familiarite that was betwen him and me. For as I haue ſaid, it wes a paruerfit tym, and the mair that the number of hir frendis increaſſit in England, the ma practyſes hir ennemys maid, and the monyer lyes they invented againſt hir. Sa that the gud erle gaif me mair credit, than he did any wrang report that was maid ; and was at this tym becom ane of the ſureſt and maift loving frendis that ſche had in England. Ther cam

with him Mester Caro, eldest sone to my L. of Hunifdain, Mester Hattoun, gretest in fauour with the Quen of England for the tyme, and ane callit Mester Ligniche, of all vther gretest in fauour with the Duc of Northfolk, and a gud number of knyghtis and gentilmen of Yorkschyre, with the maist part of the captens of Barwick. Hir Maieste was sufficiently informed, be my brothers wretingis to hir and me, what kynd of langage and entertenement was meatest to be vsed and halden to the erle, Mester Caro, Mester Hattoun, and Mester Ligniche.

And when all the rest of the ambassadours wer com, they enuyed to se the Englis men mair frendly and famylierly vsed than they; for then sche had mair ado with England than with France, and the Frenche erle that was sent was na courteour, bot a femple man; and Mons^r de Morat the Duc of Scauoyes his ambassadour, being far aff, cam efter the baptesme. During ther being in Stirling, ther wes daily banketing, dancing, and triumphe; and at the principall banquet ther fell out ane gret eylest and gruge amang the Englis men; for a Frenchman callit Bastien deuyfed a number of men formed lyk fattyres, with lang tailes and whippis in ther handis, runnyng befor the meit, quhilk wes brocht throw the gret hall vpon ane trym engyn, marching as apperit it alain, with musiciens clothed lyk maidins, playing vpon all fortis of instrumentis and finging of musick. Bot the fattiers wer not content only to red rown, bot pat ther handis behind them to ther tailes, quhilkis they waggit with ther handis, in sic sort as the Englismen supponit it had bene deuyfed and done in derision of them, dastly apprehending that quhilk they fuld not seam to haue vnderstand. For Mester Hattoun, Mester Ligniche, and the maist part of the gentilmen desyred to sowlp before the Quen and gret banquet, that they mycht se the better the haill ordour and cerimonies of the triumphe; bot sa

ſchone as they ſaw the ſattires waging ther tailles or romples, they all ſet down vpon the bair flure behind the bak of the burd, that they ſuld not ſee them ſelues ſcornit, as they thoct. Meſter Hattoun ſaid vnto me, gif it wer not in the Quenis prefens and hall, he ſuld put a dagger to the hart of that Frenche knaif Baſtien, whom he allegit did it for diſpyt, that the Quen maid mair of them then of the Frenchemen. I excuſed the matter the beſt I mycht, bot the rumour was ſa gret behind the Quenis bak wher hir Maieſte ſat, and my L. of Bedford, that they hard and turnit about ther faces to wit what the matter merit. I ſchew them how that it was for the ſattiers; ſa that the Quen and my L. of Bedford had baith enough ado to get them ſatiſfied. It fell out vnhappely at ſic a tym, and the Engliſh gentill men committed a gret errour to ſeam till vnderſtand it as done againſt them; bot my L. of Bedford was diſcret, and interpret all thingis to the beſt.

P. 92. My L. of Bedford was rewardit with a riche chaingze of dyamontis, worth twa thouſand crownis; Meſter Caro with a chaingze of perle, and a ring with a fair dyamont; Meſter Hattoun had a chain with hir Maieſteis picture and a ring; Meſter Lignynce and fyve vther of qualite had all chaines. I wes commandit with many vthers to convoy them to the bound rod, and parted all very weill content and ſatiſfied with the Quenis Maieſte, bot lamented that they ſaw ſa litle accompt maid of the King; and my Lord of Bedford deſyred me to requeſt hir Maieſte, to interteny him as ſche had done at the beginning, for hir awen honnour and aduancement of hir affaires; quhilk I forget not to do at all occaſions.

+ Efter the bapteſme and parting of the ambaffadours, hir Maieſte willing to put gud ordour vpon the borders, ſent the Erle Bodowell before,

wha in the chaise efter theues was hurt. Hir Maieſte paſt efterwart to Jedbrouch hir ſelf, wher the Erles of Bodowell and Huntly enterpryſed the ſlauchter of the Erle of Murrey ; bot the Lord Hum cam ther with forces, and preuented that enterpryſe. Hir Maieſte returnit be the Merſe, and deſyred to ſe Barwik a far aff, wher ſche was honored with many ſchottis of arteillerie ; and Sir Jhon Foſter warden vpon the Engliſh border cam ther, and conferrit with hir Maieſte for keping of gud ordour. In the mean tym that he was ſpeaking with hir Maieſte vpon horſbak, his curſour raiſe vp with his forther legges, to tak the Quenis horſe be the nek with his teeth, bot his forder feet hurt hir Maieſteis thy very euell. Incontinent the warden leighted aff his horſe, and ſat down vpon his knees, craving pardone at hir grace ; for then all England bure hir Maieſte gret reuerance. Hir Maieſte maid him to ryſe, and ſaid that ſche was not hurt ; yet it compellit hir Maieſte to tary twa dayes at the caſtell of Hum, vntill ſche was weill again. The K. folowed hir about wher ſche raid, getting na gud contenance ; and therefore he paſt to Glaſco, where he fell ſeak for diſpleaſour, as was allegit, not without ſome bruit of ane il drink be ſome of his ſer-uandis.

In the mean tym the Erle Bodowell rewled all in court, and brocht hame ſome of the baniffit lordis, and packit vp a quyet frendſhip with the Erle Mortoun. Efter that hir Maieſte cam bak till Edenbrough, ſche renewed a frendſhip again betwen the Erle of Murray, Bodowell, Huntly, Argyll and vthers. Fra that, hir Maieſte paſt to Stirling to ſe the prince, and returnit again to Edenbrough ; wher the K. was efterwart brocht and logit in the kirk of feild, as a plaice of gud ayre wher he mycht beſt recouer his health ; bot many

ane suspected that the Erle Bodowell had some enterpryse against him. Few durst aduertise him, because he tald all again to some of his awen feruandis, wha wer not all honest. Yet my L. Robert Erle of Orkeney tald him, that gene he faifed not himself haiftely out of that part, it wald coift him his lyf; quhilk he tald again to the Quen, and my L. Robert denyed that euer he spak it. This aduertiffement moued the Erle Bodowell to haift fordwart his enterpryse, and maid a train of pouder, or had maid ane of before, quhilk cam vnder the houfe wher the K. lay; and in the nycht blew vp the said houfe with the pouder. Bot it was spoken be a paige, that the K. was first tane fourth, and brocht down to a laich stable, wher a faruyet was stopped in his mouth, and smored be halding in of his end, and efterwart laid vnder a tre, and blew vp the houfe.

P. 93. Every body suspected the Erle Bodowell, and they that mycht speak frely till vther said plainly that it was he. Whervpon he drew together a number of lordis to be a led affyse, wha clengt him, some for fear, and some for fauour, and the maist part for commoditie. This way being maid clean, he remanit still at court in greteft fauour. My L. of Murray was retirit from the court certane dayes of before. Hir Maieste kepit hir chamber for a quhill. I cam to the chamber dur, the nyxt mornyng efter the mourther. The Erle Bodowell said, that hir Maieste was sorowfull and quyet; for he cam fourth, and tald he saw the strangeft accident that ever chancit, to wit the foudur cam out of the luft, and had brunt the Kingis houfe, and him self found lying dead a litle distance from the houfe vnder a tre; and willit me to ga vp and se hym, how that ther was not a hurt nor a mark in all his body. When I past ther to haue sean him, he was layed within a

chamber, and kept be ane Sandie Durem; bot I could not get the sight of him.

The brut began to ryse, that the Quen wald mary the Erle Bodowell, wha had a sex monethes of before married the Erle of Huntlies sister, and wald part with his awen wyf. Wherat every gud subiect that loved the Quenis honour, and the princes surety, had fair hartis; and thocht hir Maiestie wald be dishonorit, and the prince in danger to be cutted off be him that had slane his father; bot few or nane durst speak in the contraire. Yet my L. Heres, a worthy nobleman, cam till Edenbrough weill accompanied, and tald hir Maiestie what bruitis were passing throw the contre, of the Erle Bodowell murdering of the K., and how that sche was to mary him; requesting hir Maiestie, maist humbly vpon his knees, to remember vpon hir honnour and dignite, and vpon the surety of the prince, quhilk wald all be in danger of tincell incaice sche married the said Erle; with many vther gret persuasions, to eschew sic vtter wrak and inconvenientis as that wald bring on. Hir Maiestie marvelit of sic bruitis without purpos, and said that ther was na sic thing in hir mynd. He askit pardone, and prayed hir to tak his honest meanyng in a gud part, and tok his leaw immediatly, fearyng the Erle Bodowell fuld get word therof. He had fifty horse with him for the tyme, and caused his men by asmany new speires in Edenbrough, and raid hame.

And I was about to said asmeikle vnto hir Maiestie; bot in the mean tyme ther cam a lettre to me fra ane Thomas Bischop, a Scottis man that had bene lang in England, and was a gret perswader of mony in England to fauour hir Maiesteis title, and vsed to wret oft vnto my brother and me informations and aduertissementis. At this tyme, he vsed

euen the lyk langage that my L. Heres had spoken, bot mair frely, because he was absent in another contre. He adiured me to schaw the said letter vnto hir Maieste, declairing how it was bruted in England, that hir Maieste was to mary the Erle Bodowell, wha was the murtherer of hir husband, another wyues husband ; a man full of reproch and grangoir, with many vther reproches that he allegit ; quhilk bruitis he wald not beleue, be raifone of hir noble wit and qualites, and of the honorable mark that sche schot at : And incaice sche married hym, sche wald tyn the fauour of God, hir awen reputation, the kingdomes England, Yreland and Scotland ; with many vther diffuasions and exemples of histories, quhilkis wald be our lang to reherse. I had bene absent, and past to the court to schaw this letter vnto hir Maieste, protesting that sche wald tak it in a gud part.

P. 94. Efter that hir Maieste had red the said wreting, sche gaif it to me again, without any mair speach ; bot callit vpon the secretary Liddingtoun, and said to him that I had schawen hir a strange wreting, willing him also to se it. He askit what it culd be. Sche said, a deuyce of his awen, tending only to the wrak of the Erle Bodowell. He tok me be the hand and drew me apart to see the said wreting ; and when he had red it, he askit what was in my mynd ; and said, “ Sa schone as the Erle Bodowell getis word, as I fear he fall, he will not fail to fley you.” I fayed, it was a fair matter to se that gud princes run till vtter wreck, and nabody to foirwarn hir. He said, that I had done mair honestly nor wyfely. “ I pray you,” said he, “ retire you with deligence, before the Erle Bodowell com vp fra his denner.” Hir Maieste tald him at the first meting, with a condition that he suld not do me any harm ; bot I was flowen, and was socht, bot culd not be

found, till my lordis fury was flaked ; for I was aduertift that ther was nathing bot flaughter, incaice I had bene gottin. Wherat hir Maieſte was miſcontent, and tald him that he wald cauſe hir be left of all hir ſaruandis. Then he promyſed that he wald do me na harm ; wherof I being aduertift, paſt again vnto hir Maieſte, and ſchew hir that ſche maid me never ſic a fault as to think that I had invented the ſaid lettre, affuring hir that it cam fra the ſaid Thomas Biſchop ; and albeit it had not com fra him, I was myndit of dewty to haue ſaid my oppinion theranent, with all reuerence and humilite. Sche ſaid, matters wer not that far agaitwart ; bot ſche had na will to enter in the termes.

Shortly eſter, hir Maieſte paſt to Stirling ; and in hir bakcommyng, betwen Lithco and Edenbrough, the Erle Bodowell wes in hir gait with a gret company, and tok hir Maieſte be the brydle. His men tok the Erle of Huntly, the ſecretary Liddingtoun and me, and caried us captywes to Dombar ; all the reſt wer lattin ga fre. Then the Erle Bodowell boiſted to mary the Quen, wha wald or wha wald not ; yea whither ſche wald hir ſelf or not. Capten Blaiketer that was my taker, allegit that it was with the Quenis awen conſent. The nyxt day in Dombar, I obteanit leaue to paſs hame. Eſterwart the court cam till Edenbrough, and ther a number of noblemen wer drawn together, in a chamber within the palice, wher they ſubſcryuit all, that the mariage betwen the Quen and the Erle Bodowell was very meit, he being weill frendſted in Lowdien and vpon the borders, to cauſe gud reull be keped ; and then the Quen culd not bot mary him, ſeing he had rauiffit hir and lyen with hir againſt hir will. I can not tell how, nor be what law, he parted with his awen wyff, fiſter to the Erle of Huntly.

A litle before this, my L. of Murray had defyred lificence to pass in France. The secretary Liddingtoun had bene lang in suspition absent from court, and was brocht in again be my brother Sir Robertis persuasion, for the gret credit and handling he had with many noble men in England, fauorers of hir Maiesteis title. Albeit that he had als gret credit and moyen him self, he wald therby eschew the maners of ambitious courteurs, wha wald haue all the thankis to them felues, and may not suffer a compaignion ; he knew also that he was suspected, because the Erle Bodowell was his vnfrend. Alwayes he was brocht in again, and not lang efter, the Erle Bodowell thocht to

P. 95. haue slane him in the Quenis chamber, wer not that hir Maieste cam betwen and saued him ; bot he fled the nyxt day, and taried with the Erle of Atholl. As for me, I taried not at court bot now and then ; yet I chancit to be ther at the mariage. When I cam that tym to the court, I fand my L. Duc of Orkeney fitting at his supper. He said, I had bene a gret stranger ; desyring me to sit down and sounp with him. The Erle of Huntly, the Justice Clark and dyuers vthers wer fitten at the table with him. I said that I had already sounped. Then he callit for a coup of wyn and drank to me, that I mycht plege him, lyk a Dutcheman. He bad me drink it out till grow fatter, “ for,” said he, “ the zeall of the commoun weall has eaten you vp, and maid you sa lean.” I answerit, that euery litle member fuld serue to some vse ; bot that the cair of the commoun weill appertenit maist till him and the rest of the nobilite, wha fuld be as fathers to the same. Then he said, I wist weill he wald find a pin for euery boir. Then he fell in purpos of gentilwemen, speaking sic filthy langage, that [I] left him and past vp to the Quen, wha was very glaid of my commyng.

The mariage was maid in the palice of Halyrudhouse, at a preach-

ing be Adam Bodowell bifchop of Orkeney, in the gret hall for the confaill vfes to fit, according to the ordour of the reformed religion ; and not in the chapell at the mefs, as was the Kingis mariage. Efter the mariage, he that was Erle Bodowell, and now Duc of Orkeney, was very ernelt to get the Prince in his handis ; bot my L. of Mar, wha was a trew nobleman, wald not delyuer hym out of his cufody ; alleging that he culd not, without confent of the thre eftaitis. Yet he was fa oft preft be them that had the autorite in their handis, that he was put to ane ftrait, efter that he had maid dyuers refufes ; that he maid his mean to me amang vthers, preing me to help to faif the Prince out of ther handis wha had flain his father, and had maid his vant alredy amang his famyliers, that gif he culd get him anes in his handis, he fuld warrant him fra reuenging of his fathers death. I faid, that I wald wif that it lay in my power to mak any help in that. He askit, gif I culd find any outgait. I anfwerit, that I had gud acquaintance with Sir James Balfour, and that I knew how matters ftod betwen him and the Erle Bodowell ; for I vnderftod be the lard of Whytlaw, that ther was fome jeloufies and fufpitions ryfen betwen them. I affured him, as the faid lard tald me, that the Erle Bodowell wald haue the houfe out of his handis. The Erle Bodowell and he had bene gret compaignons, and being alfo gret with the Quen, he gat the keping of the caftell of Edenbrough ; bot efterwart wald not confent to be prefent, nor tak plane part with the mourthour of the K. ; wherby he cam in fufpition with the Erle Bodowell, wha durft not credit him na mair ; fa that he wald haue had the caftell out of his handis, and to haue maid the lard of Beinfoun capten therof. This my L. of Mar maid ane of his excufes, that he faw not a fur houfe to kepe the Prince, incaice he wald delyuer him.

Whervpon I tok occasion at my retourning to Edenbrough, to deall with Sir James Balfour not to part with the castell ; wherby he mycht be ane instrument to saif the Prince, to saif the Quen, wha was sa difdanfully handlit, and with sic reprochefull langage, that Arthour Askin and I being present, hard her ask a knyf to stik hirself, "or elis," said sche, "I fall drown my self." Now said I to Sir James Balfour, that ther was na surete for him to be out of suspition, but to kep the castell in his awen handis, and to be that gud instrument to saif baith Quen and Prince, in P. 96. assisting the nobilite wha wer about to crown the Prince, and to perfew the Erle Bodowell for the Kingis mourther. And without he tok part with them therintill, he wald be halden as airt and part of the said mourther, be raifoun of his lang famylarite with the Erle Bodowell ; and that it was a happy thing for him, that the said Erle was becom in suspition of him ; assuring hym that I had intelligence, be ane that was of the Erle Bodowelis conseill, to wit, the lard of Whitlaw, for the tym capten of the castell of Dumbar, that the Erle Bodowell was determinit to tak the castell of Edenbrough fra him, and mak the lard of Benstoun, Hebrown, capten therof, and then to put the Prince ther in his keping.

Sir James Balfour gaif ear incontinent to my proposition, and consented to help to perfew the mourtheror with the rest, sa that the lard of Grange wald promyse to be his protectour, incaice the nobilite mycht alter vpon him ; for he and many of them had run contrary courses of before, sa that he durst not credit them. The Erle of Mar being aduertist heirof be his brother Alexander Askin, wha was trew and cairfull for the Prince saiffete, and cam secretly to me at midnycht ; for the dayes wer dangerous for all honest men. Now my

L. of Mar being continowally requyred and boasted to delyuer the Prince out of his handis, at lenth granted; with condition, only to drywe tym, that ane honest responceable nobleman suld be maid cap-ten of the castell of Edenbrough; because he saw na vther sure house to kepe him intill, he suld delyuer him vnto the Quen his mother; quhilk he was not myndit to do, sa lang as he mycht resist. Albeit, he was not a gud discimulaire, bot thocht it a meit anwer, to drywe a litle tym, and suage the present fury, vntill the nobilite mycht conuene to persue the mourther, and to crown the Prince, as they had alrede concludit at a secret meting amang them selues. Quhilk was not sa secret, bot that ane of the saidis lordes maid aduertisment therof to the Erle Bodowell, how that they wer myndit to enuyron the palice of Hallirudhouse, and tak him therin. Wherupon he forget the futting of the Prince, and was only cairfull how to saif him self; therefore he fled out of Edenbrough to the castell of Borthuik, and from that to the castell of Dombur, taking alwayes the Quen with him wher euer he went.

All Scotland cryed out vpon the foull mourther of the King; bot few of them wer cairfull how to get it reuengit, till they wer dryuen therto, be the crying out of all vther nations generally against all Scot-tis-men, wher euer they trauelit other be see or land. Amang vther princes, the K. of France send heir to his ambassadour, Mons^r du Crok, a graif agit and discret gentilman, aduancit be the house of Guise, a wretting meruelen that sic a foull mourthour being committed in the persone of a king, sa few honest subiectis wer found apperantly to find falt with the same; far les to sut any sure tryall, and to se the same puniffit. Whervpon the lordis that had the enterpryse in ther headis,

wer haifted fordwart to tak armes ; and in the mean tym they obligit them felues be ther handis wretis, quhilk they delyuerit vnto the said Mons^r du Croc, to fend vnto the K. his maifter, that they fuld do ther vttermaift diligence to try out the authours of that foull mourther of ther King ; and in the mean tym conuenit to the number of thre thousand men, and cam firft till Edenbrough, and ther fet out a proclamation of ther juft quarell. Also findre lybelis wer fet out, baith in rym and proife, pitifull and perfwasywe, to moue the hartis of the hail subiectis to affift and tak part with fa gud a caufe. The Erle Bodowell again, having the Quen in his company, conuenit a greter number out of the Merfe and Lowdien, and out of all partis wher he had moyen or frendfchip, at ouer hir Maieftis proclamation, quhilk was not weill obeyed for the tym ; and fa many as cam, had na hartis to feicht in that quarell. Yet the Erle Bodowell marched fordwart out of Dombar, taking the Quen with him, towardis Edenbrough. The Lordis again, with ther companyes, pafte out of Edenbrough vpon fut, with a gret ernesnes and fercenes to fecht ; baith the armyes not far fra Carbarry. The Erle Bodowelis men camped vpon the hill head, in a ftrenth very aduantageous ; the lordis camped at the fut of the hill.

Albeit hir Maiefte was ther, I can not name it to be hir armye, for many of them that wer with hir, had oppinion that fche had intelligence with the lordis ; cheifly fic as vnderftod of the Erle Bodowelis mishandling of hir, and many indignitez that he had baith said and done vnto hir, fen ther mariage was maid. He was fa beaftly and fufpicious, that he fufferit hir not to pafs ouer a day in patience, on making hir caufe to fched aboundance of falt teares. Sa part of his awen company detefted him ; vther part beleued that hir Maiefte

wald fayn haue bene quyt of him, bot thocht schame to be the doer therof directly hir self.

In the mean tym the lard of Grange raid about the bra, with a tua hundreth horfmen that cam ther with Dromlenerick, Ceffurd and Codonknowes, thinking to be betwen the Erle Bodowell and Dombar; and was myndit to mak ane onfet that way that was plain and euen, in the mean tym, that the lordis fuld com vp the bra, to the part wher ther aduerfaris wer camped. When the Quen vnderftod that the lard of Grange was cheif of that company of horfmen, fche fend the lard of Ormestoun to defyre hym to com and fpeak with hir, vnder furete; quhilk he did, efter he had fend and obtenit leawe of the lordis. As he was fpeaking with hir Maiefte, the Erle Bodowell had apponted a foldiour to fchut him, vntill the Quen gaif a cry, and faid that he fuld not do her that schame, wha had promysed that he fuld com and return faifly. For he was declairen vnto the Quen, how that all they wald honour and ferue hir, fa that fche wald abandon the Erle Bodowell, wha was the mourtherer of hir awen husband; and culd not be a husband vnto hir, that had bot laityly married the Erle of Huntleis fifter.

The Erle Bodowell harkenit and hard part of this langage, and offerit the fingular combat to any man that wald mentean that he had done it. The lard of Grange promysed to fend him ane anfwer fchortly theranent. Sa he tok his leawe at the Quen, and pafst down the bra to the lordis; wha wer content that the lard of Grange fuld feicht with him in that quarell, for he offerit hym felf firft, and fend vp word that he wald chelenge him and feicht with him in that quarell. The Erle Bodowell anfwerit, that he was nother lord nor erle, bot a barroun, and fa culd not be his

pere. The lyk answer he maid to Tullibarden. Then my L. Lyndfay offerit to feicht him, quhilk he culd not planly refuse, bot his hart cauldit ay the langer the mair. Then the Quen sent again for the lard of Grange, and said to him, that gene the lordis wald do as he had spoken to hir, sche fuld put away the Erle Bodowell and com vnto them. Wherupon he asked at them, gif he mycht promyse it to hir Maieste in ther name; quhilk they willit him to do. Then he raid vp again, and saw the Erle Bodowell part, and cam down again, and assured the lordis therof; whom they desyred to pass vp again to the hill, and refaue hir Maieste; wha met hym, and said, "Lard of Grange, I render me vnto you, vpon the conditions ye rehearfit vnto me in the names of the lordis;" and gaif him her hand, quhilk he kiffit, and led hir Maieste be the brydill doun the bra vnto the lordis, wha cam fordward and met hir; the noblemen vsing all dewtyfull reuerence, bot some of the rascallis cryed out dispytfully, till the lard of Grange drew his sward, and sa did some vthers that knew ther dewtie better, and straik at sic as spak vnreuerent langage, quhilk the nobilite allowed weill of.

Hir Maieste was that nycht convoyed to Edenbrough, and logit in the midis of the toun, in the proueftis loging. As sche cam throw the toun, the commoun people cryed out against her Maieste at the windowes and staires, quhilk was a pitie to heir. Hir Maieste again cryed out, to all gentilmen and vthers that passed vp and down the cassay, declairing how that sche was ther natywe princes, and douted not bot all honest subiectis wald respect hir as they aucht to do, and not suffer hir to be mishandlit. Vthers again schew ther malice, in setting vp a banere or enseigne, whervpon the K. was painted lying dead vnder a

tre, and the yong prince fitting vpon his knees, preing, "Juge and reuenge my caufe, O Lord."

That fame nycht, it was allegit that hir Maieſte wret a lettre vnto the Erle Bodowell, and promyſed a reward to ane of hir kepers, to ſe it furely convoyed to Dombur vnto the ſaid Erle; calling him hir dear hart, whom ſche fuld never forget nor abandoun for abſens, and that ſche ſend him away only for his ſaffetie, willing him to be confortd, and to be vpon his gardis; quhilk wreting the lown deluerit vnto the lordis, efter he had promyſed to do the contraire. Vpon the quhilk lettre, the lordis tok occaſion to ſend hir to Lochleuen to be kept, againſt promyſe as ſche allegit; and they again affirmyng, that be hir awen hand wret ſche had declaired that ſche had not, nor wald not, leaue nor abandoun the Erle Bodowell. Grange again excuſed her, alleging that ſche had left the ſaid Erle in effect, and that it was no meruell that ſche gaif him yet a few fair wordis; not dowting bot ſche being diſcretly handled, and humbly admoniſſit what inconuenientis that man had brocht vpon hir, ſche wald leaue him be degrees, and deteſt him or it wer lang. They ſaid again, that it ſtod them vpon the furete of ther lyues and landis; and when that tym cam, that ſche mycht be knawen to abandoun and deteſt the Erle Bodowell, it wald be tym then to raiſoun vpon the matter. Grange was yet ſa angry that, wer not that lettre, he had left them inſtantly; and for the nyxt beſt, vſed all poſſible deligence to mak hir and them baith quyt of the ſaid Erle; cauſing mak redy twa ſchippis till folow efter the Erle Bodowell, wha was firſt fled to the Caſtell of Dombur, and fra that failed to Schetland.

Some ſuſpectit this lettre to bene in-vented.

In the mean tym, hir Maieſte ſend a wreting vnto the Lard of Grange, out of Lochleuen, lamentyng that promyſe was broken vnto

hir ; wherunto he answerit, that he had alredy reprochit the lordis for the same ; wha schew vnto him a wreting, sent be hir vnto the Erle Bodowell, promyng amang many vther fair and comfortable wordis, neuer till abandoun nor forget him. Quhilk gif it wes wreten be hir Maieste, as he culd skaircely beleue, it had stopped his mouth ; merueling, that hir Maieste considerit not, how that the said Erle culd not be hir lawfull husband, being sa laitly before married with another, that he had left without any cause of partiffing, albeit he wer not sa hatted for the mourthour of the K. hir husband ; requesting hir Maieste to put hym clean out of hir mynd, or elis sche wald neuer get the loue and obedience of hir subiectis ; with many vther humble and loving admonitions, quhilk maid hir bitterly to weep ; for sche culd not do it sa haftely, quhilk lenth of tym brocht till pafs.

P. 99. Now the Lard of Grange tua schippis being in a redines, he maid failt towardis Orkeney ; and na man was sa frak to accompany hym as the Lard of Tullibardin, and Adam Bodowell Bischop of Orkeney. Bot the Erle was fled from Orkeney to Schetland ; wher also they folowed him, and cam in sicht of Bodowelis schip ; quhilk moued the Lard of Grange to defyre the skyppers to heis vp all ther failles, quhilk they wer laith to do, becaufe they knew the schallow ground therabout. Bot Grange willing to com a tym, compellit the mariners ; sa that for ouer gret haift, the schip wherin Grange was, brak vpon a bed of sand, without tincell of a man. Bot Bodowell had leafer in the mean tym to saif himself in a litle boit, leaving his schip behind him ; quhilk Grange tok, and therwith the Lard of Tallow, Jhon Hebroun of Bowtown, Dagleis and dyuers vthers of the said Erlis seruandis. Him self fled to Denmark, wher he was tane and keped in strait presone, wherin he becam mad and died miserably. Bot Grange cam bak again with Bodowelis

ſchip and faruandis, quhilkis wer the firſt that gaif maift knowlege of the maner of the mourthour ; quhilk the lordis thocht meit to let the K. of France vnderſtand, and of ther deligence, as they had promyſed of before, be a lettre wreten in Frenche as foloues.

“ Sire, dedans peu de jours apres que ceſte horrible tragedie qui eſt aduenu en ce pais, de la mort dufeu roy, mary de la Royne noſtre ſouueraine, par lettres que nous diſpeſchames a lheure a voſtre Maieſte, nous nous ſommes obligees de nous mettre en debuoir pour deſcourir les autheurs d’un ſi execrable miſfait ; eſperans bien avec le temps donner ſi bon ordre, que nous ferions bien paroître quil y a des gens de bien en Eſcoſſe, qui deteſtent lindignite du fait, et ne permetteront jamais eux viuans que ceſt malheureuſe enterprinſe demeure impunie.

“ De puis ce temps la, par lettres adreſſantes aux eſtats de ce pays, preſentees par voſtre ambaffadeur Mons^r du Croc, voſtre Maieſte nous a ramontre ceſte promeſſe, nous mettant deuant les yeux la grande hunt que ce nous feroit a jamais, ſi vn fait ſi enorme, perpetre en la perſone du roy, demuraſt caſche. Ceſte remonſtrance, jointe avec tant d’aduertiſſemens que nous receuons de jour a autre, des Eſcoſſois qui font eſpars par les pays eſtrangers, nous a feruy d’eſperon pour nous faire enterprendre lenqueſt dudict meurtre, qui par trop a eſte differe, de fort que toute ceſte nation en eſt aucunement diſhonore. Len la nous mande de tous ceſtez, que les Eſcoſſois, tant en France qu’allieurs, ſe ſentent tant interreſſees, oyans taxer toute la nation, que pour honte ils n’oſent leuer le viſage ; ains ſont contraincts quaſi de deſaduouer leur patrie, voyants la nonchallance ou connivence de ceux a qui le fait touchoit le plus ; ou pour mieux dire, La Royne par voies diſordonees

et illicites, reduicte en la puiffance du principal meurtrier. Nous auons a la longue eſte contrainctz, pour purger le royaulme de ceſte ignominie publique, de nous mettre enſemble, avec intention de deſcouvrir les auteurs et executeurs dudict meurtre. Enquoy dieu nous a fi bien fauoriſe, qu'encores que lon auoit dreſſe la menee fort ſecretement, fi nous eſt a ceſte heure le fait aſſez entendu, de fort quil ne ſen faut plus enquerir qui a tue le roy. Car entre beaucoup des preſumptions, et circonſtances vehementes, que des le commencement rendoit le conte de Bodowelle aſſez ſuſpect, et que ſes deportements depuis ce temps la eſtoyent baſtants pour donner a entendre a vn chaſcun quil auoit dreſſe le party ; nous ſommes maintenant plus eſclaircys par la confeſſion de ſes gens meſmes, qui dieu nous a mis entre les mains, et qui pour lauoir fuyuy accompaignie et aſſiſte au fait, en peuuent bien depoſer de la verite, et des circonſtances. Par le teſmoignage deſquelz, joint avec d'autres preuues, il eſt tout notour que le dict Conte de Bothuelle non ſeulement a fait la menee, mais auſſy pour mieux jouer ſon perſonnage, et de peur de faillire, luy meſmes a aſſiſte en perſonnee, y a mis la main, et eſte preſent a lexecution.

“ Des occurrences de puis, et comme le tout eſt paſſee, voſtre ambafadeur Mons^r du Croc pourra plus amplement aduertir voſtre Maieſte, comme celluy qui pour eſtre employe pourv oſtre ſeruice pardeça, nous auons voulu inſourmer au longue de la juſtice de noſtre cauſe. Supplians treſhumblement voſtre Maieſte, du prendre en bonne part noſtre reſolution, fondeſ ſur tant des cauſes legitimes, et ne vous laiffer perſuader a ceux qui, pour laſſection quilz portent au meurtrier, voudront peut eſtre deprouuer noz actions, et vous donner a entendre que nous aſpirons a des choſes a quoy nous ne y auons jamais penſee. Quant a

nous, vostre Maieſte ſe pourra bien aſſurer, que nous ne ferons jamais que le debuoir des gens de bien, et quil ne y a ſubiects en Eſcoſſe qui, de meillieur coeur, ſ'efforceront de tant qui fera en noſtre uiſſance, et ſelon le moyen que dieu nous a donnee, de ſeruir a vostre Maieſte, et de conſeruer l'union des deux coronnes, que ſi longue temps a continue au grand proffit et ſeurete de toutes les deux ; comme nous ferons toujours paroître par effect, quand vostre Maieſte nous fera ceſte honneur de nous commander quelque choſe pour ſon ſeruiſſe."

P. 101. My Lord of Murray had obtainit licence to paſſe in France, ſhortly after the murder of the K. ; for he ſaw the great troubles that were able to fall out upon the ſame ; for he had promiſed never to come in the Queen's contrary.

The reſt of the Lords enterpriſers, after that they had put the Queen in Lochleuen, began to conſult how to get her Maieſte perſuaded to demit the government to the Prince her ſon ; and to that effect they dealt firſt with my brother, becauſe he had ſometimes ſome times to ſee her Maieſte. After that he had reſuſed plainly to meddle in that matter, they were myndit to ſend the L. Lindſay, firſt to uſe faire perſuaſions, and in caſe he came na ſpeid, to enter in harder termes. The Earls of Atholl, Mar, and ſecretary Liddington, and the lord of Grange, who ſought her, aduſed my brother to tell her the verite, and how that any thing that ſhe ſhould do in priſon, can not prejudice her, being at liberty. He ſaid, he would not perſuade her, nor ſpeak nothing but as her true and faithful ſervant ; always, he ſaid, he ſhould tell her the opinion of ſo many as were her friends. But ſhe reſuſed utterly till ſhe ſaw her aduſe therein ; but when ſhe heard that the Lord Lindſay was at the

new house, and was upon a boisting humour, s^{ch}e yeldit to the necessite of the t^{ym}, and s^{ch}ew my brother that s^{ch}e wald not ftrywe with them, feing it culd do hir na harm when s^{ch}e was at libertie. Sa at my L. Lindfays commyng, s^{ch}e subs^{cr}ywit the signatour of renunciation and demission of the gouvernement to the Prince ; and certane lordis wer named in the said signatour, to be regentis to the Prince and contre, euey ane efter vther ; hir Maieste desyring my L. of Murray, wha was absent in France, to be the first regent.

This being past, the lordis concludit to crown the Prince ; and send lettres in France for the Erle of Murray to com hame. In the mean t^{ym}, ther was a number of lordis convenit at Hamiltoun, as my L. Hamiltoun, my Lord of Pacely, Jhon Hamiltoun bischop of Santandrowes, my L. Flemyng and Boid, and vthers dyuers. To whom the lordis that wer to crown the Prince wald haue send me ; quhilk commission I refused at the first, till the secretary Liddingtoun, lard of Grange, and vthers secret fauorers of the Quen, aduysed me to tak in hand ; alleging that it was meit to jun all the contre together in quyetnes, and said that incaice that ciuell warres entret amang our selues, that it wald put the Quenis lyf in danger ; for they that wer at Hammiltoun, apperit to lean unto the Quen. At my commyng to Hammiltoun, I tald them my commission, in the name of the vther lordis ; how that the K. being mourtherit, all nations nybours cryed out vpon the hail nation, bot specially the K. of France and Quen of England admoniffit them to tak tryell and to punis the mourtherers. How they had found that it was the Erle Bodowell, wha was fled, and some of them that had asfifted him puniffed ; and what was past sen syn therupon, was manifest to the hail contre. Now the Quenis Maieste had demitted ouer the

gouvernement to the Prince hir sone, whom they wer myndit to crown fchortly ; wherof they thocht meit to warn all the nobilite, as being myndit to hurt na man, nor to prejuge any nobleman in ther rychtis, tytles, or prerogatyues ; requesting them that wer ther conuenit, to com to Sterling and be present at the said coronation, for ther awen preueleges, weill and quyetnes of the hail contre.

P. 102. Some of the yongest lordis anſwerit and ſaid, that they wald not beleue that the Quenis Maieſte had demitted the gouvernement ; and gene ſche had done it, it wald be found for fear of her lyf. Bot the biſchop, that was better experiment, reproued them, and ſaid that it was a very raifonable and diſcret dealing of tha noblemen ; and drew the reſt apart till aduylſe, and then cam again ; and he declaired ther anſwer and ſaid.

“ We ar behalden to tha noble men wha has ſent you with that frendly and diſcret commiſſion ; and folowing ther deſyre, ar redy to concure with them, gif they mak us ſufficient ſecurite of that quihilk ye haue ſaid in ther name. In ſa doing, they geue us occaſion to ſuppon the beſt of all ther proceadingis paſt and to com ; ſa that gene they had maid us foirſean of ther firſt enterpryſe, to the puniſſement of the mourther, we ſuld haue tane plane part with them. And wheras now we ar heir conuenit, it is not till perſew or offend any of them ; bot to be vpon our awen gardis, vnderſtanding of ſa gret a concourſe of noblemen, barrons, bourroues and vthers ſubiectis. Not being maid preuy to ther enterpryſe, we thocht meit to draw us together, till we mycht ſe whertu thingis wald turn.”

When I returnit bak to Stirling, and declaired the anſwer, quihilk was thocht very gud be all wyſe and paiceable myndit men ; bot vthers ſaid again, that howeuer they myndit to do, I had panted out a faire

tail for them and in ther fauours. Sa that I perfault them alre dydeydit in factions and in oppinions; for samany of our lordis as leanit to England, defyred not the stabilitie of our estait; others had particulairs against the Hammiltouns, and supponit to get them wraked, therby to won vantages be fisching in dromly watters. Sa that the Hammiltouns wer euell vfed then; for they wald fayn have agreed with the rest, bot ther frendschip and societe was planly refused at this tym, and wer not admitted to com vnto the coronation, nor yet to tak instrumentis that they fuld not be prejued in any fort; quhilk maid gret trouble efterwart in the contre. For they perfaving them selues casten aff, and ther frendschip and assistance refused, maid the moyen and practiques that they mycht, for ther awen surete and deffence; and sic vther noblemen as fauored them, and wer not yet junit with the new enterpryses, wer the easelyer drawn vpon that syde, that wer efterwart callit the Quenis lordis, when they vnderstod of sic disdainfull proceeding with the Hammiltouns.

My Lord of Murray, wha was wreten for to com hame, as I haue sayed, sa schone as he cam to Londoun, aduertisment was maid vnto the lordis; wha defyred me to ryd and meit him at Berwik, and schaw him how that the office of regency was appointed for hym. Quhilk voyage I accepted with the better will, that some frendis that wer best inclynit, thocht meit to geue him gud consaill in dew tym. The commissioun fra the lordis was to inform him of all ther proceedingis, and of the present estait; and to will him do nathing by them, specially with the Quen. For they fearit that he wald do, as any vther wyse man wald haue done, in respect that he had not offendit the Quen of lait, that he mycht parchance keip hir in hand, in gud hope some day

of releif, and not run ſa hard a courſe againſt hir, as the maiſt part of them wer myndit to do.

P. 103. Another ſort of the ſaidis lordis, that bure ſtill a gret loue vnto the Quen, and had compaſſion of hir eſtate, and had entred vpon that enterprys only for the ſaiffety of the Prince, and puniſſement of the Kingis mourther, as the Erle of Mar, the Erle of Atholl, the ſecretary Lid-dingtoun, the lardis of Tullibarden and Grange, ſend ther inſtructions with me to my L. of Murray; praying him in ther name, to bear him gently and humbly vnto the Quen, and to get ſa mekle fauour of hir as he culd. Not that they wald wiſe hym forget any part of honeſt dewty to the lordis, ſa lang as they kepit tuechis with hym; bot that incaice that they, or part of them, wald ſtart at him eſterwart, for the refuſell of ſome caſualite, benefice or for ſome vther particula-rites, they wald com to them ſelues again, ſeing the Quen and hym in ſa gud termes, for fear that he wald ſet hir to libertie be occaſion of ther miſbehauour. And farther, that hir Maieſte being now fre of euell company, and of a clear wit and princely inclynation, was begynnen alreedy to repent hir of many thingis paſt, the tym mycht bring on ſic ane occaſion, that they wald all wiſe hir at libertie to reull ouer them; then what had he tint, for his diſcret and frendly behauour to hir.

He aperit to lyk very weill of this aduylſe, and promyſed that he ſuld ſolow it fourth, howeuer it wer; bot to accept vpon him the regi-ment, he wald not grant at the firſt, bot refuſit it planly. Albeit, I was infourmed with ſome of his company, that he was rycht glaid when he firſt vnderſtod that he ſuld be Regent. Ther cam hame with him a Frenche ambaffadour of my acquaintance, callit Mons de Lingueroles.

He was fend to fe the faffion, to confort the Quen captuwe, and to request for hir ; bot slenderly, for he said to the lordis, that he cam not till offend any of them ; alleging that the auld band betwen France and Scotland, was not packit vp with any a prince, bot betwen the estaitis of France and Scotland, and with them that wer commanders ower the contre for the tym.

Efter that my L. of Murray had met with all his frendis, he granted to accept the regyment. Bot when he past to fe the Quen in Lochelouen, in steid to confort hir, and to folow the gud counsaill that he had gottin, he entrit instantly with hir Maieste in reproches, and sic injurious langage as was lyk to brek hir hart ; and sa many of us as fand falt with that maner of proceding, tint his fauour. The injuries wer sic, that it cutted the thred of loue and credit betwen the Quen and hym for euer.

Ye haue hard how that the lordis that wer in Hamilton wer casten aff, and refused to be accepted in societie with the rest, against the oppinion of the fewest number, wyfest men and least factious. Bot the worst inclynit and manyest votes obteanit ther intentis ; wherupon the lordis that wer refused in frendfchip, drew them selues together at Dombartan, vnder the coulour to procure be force of armes the Quen ther soueranis libertie ; and bandit them selues together against the Kingis lordis, whilk they wald not haue done, gif they culd haue bene accepted in societie with the rest.

P. 104. Albeit that, the publik professing of the saidis lordis to wair all ther lyues for the Quenis liberte, pat hir Maiesteis lyf in greter danger sa lang as sche was captuwe in the handis of ther contrair partie, and at lenth was hir Maiesteis vtter wrak. For the hope that sche had to get

frendis and fauourers anew, caufet her mak hir moyen to efchaip outt of Lochleuen ouer haftely, or euer the tym was ryp enough to reftore again the hartis of the fubiectis that wer yet allianit ; for albeit my L. Regent was rygorous, he was facill, and mycht haue bene won with proces of tym be hir wifdome, and the moyen of hir frendis that wer in his company.

THE COPIE OF THE BAND MAID AT DOMBERTAN BE THEM
THAT WER CALLIT THE QUENIS LORDIS.

“ For famekle as confidering the Quenis Maieſte our ſouerane to be detenit at this preſent in Lochleuen in captiuite, wherthrow the maift part of hir Graces lieges can not haue fre acces to hir hyenes for doing of ther leifull buſynes, and be raifoun it becommes us, of our dewty, to fut hir liberte and fredome ; We erles lordis and barrons vnderſubſcryuit, promittis faithfully to mak our exact diligence, be all raifonable meanis, to fut hir Maieſte to be put to liberte and fredome, vpon fic honeft conditions as may ſtand with hir hyenes honour, the commoun weill of this haill realm, and ſecurite of the haill nobilite of the ſamyn ; and with the ſecurete of the noblemen wha preſently has hir Maieſte in keping ; wherthrow this our natywe realm may be gouernit, rewled and gydit, be hir Maieſte and hir nobilite, for the commoun quyetnes, adminiftration of juſtice, and weill of the contre. And incaice the noblemen wha has hir Maieſte preſently in ther handis, refuses to put hir to liberte, vpon fic raifonable meanis and conditions as ſaid is, in that caice we ſall employe our ſelues, our kyn and frendis, ſeruandis and partakers, our bodyes and lyues, to put hir hynes to libertie as ſaid is ; and alſe to concure to the puniſſement of the mourther of

the K. hir Maieſteis huſband, and for ſur preſervation of the perſone of the Prince, as we fall anſwer to God and on our honours and credit; and to that effect fall concure, euery ane with vther, at our vtter power. And gene any fall put at us or any of us for the doing of the cauſes foirſaidis, in that caice we promit faithfully to tak eſauld part, euery ane with vther, vnder the pain of perjurye and infammye, as we will anſwer to God, as ſaid is. In witnes of the quhilkis, we haue ſubſcryuit this preſent with our handis. At Dombartan the day of

St Andrewes. Argyll. Huntly. Arbroith. Galloway.
Rofs. Flemyng. Lord Herys. Skirling. Kilwynnyng.
Willyem Hammiltoun of Sancher Knycht."

Thir few number wer the firſt that bandit them ſelues together; and efterwartis all them that wer malcontentis, or had any particulair queſtion, clame or feid, with any of the Kingis lordis, drew to thir new confideratis; hoping with tym to won ther intent againſt ther aduerſaries, incaice ther faction mycht preuail; and ſome drew to baith the factions, that deſyred never to ſe nother K. nor Quen in ane eſtabliſſit eſtair.

P. 105. The court of England, again, left nathing ondone to kendle the fyre, and to furniſh baith the factions with ſome hope of aſſiſtance in a neid. For oft tymes, by ther ambaffadour ordinair that was reſident heir, they vpon ſome new occaſion wald ſend in another, oppenly to deall with the kingis faction, becauſe it was ſtarkeſt and greteſt; and vnder hand to deall with the Quenis faction, and allege that ther quarrell was maiſt juſt and rycht, and that hir Maieſteis authorite was

only lawfull. Na man can tell this better nor I, that was fa lang acquainted with all the ambaffadours that wer fend in Scotland for the tym, during ther baniffement in France in the tym of Quen Mary ; as with Mafter Randolphe, Sir Nycholas Througmorton, Mefter Dauifoun, Thomvorth, . . . Drury . . . and the Marchall of Barwik. Amang the quhilk number, Sir Nycholas Througmorton delt maift honeftly and planly ; for he fchot at the vnion of this hail yll in ane monarchie, and thocht that it confifted only in the perfones of twa for the tym, to wit, the Quen and King hir fonne. And when he faw Mafter Randolphe go about to faw difcord, he declaired the fame to my brother and me, and detefted him for his deuellifch intent and dealling. Yea, he detefted the hail confaill of England for the tym, and tald us frendly what reafonyng they held amang them felues to that end ; to wit, how that ane of ther fynest confellours proponit openly to the reft, that it was neidfull for the weilfaire of England, to fofter and nurifh with fome help the ciuill wairres, afweill in France, in Flanders, as in Scotland ; wherby England mycht kep many aduantages, and be futed and focht of all the parties ; and in the mean tym lywe in reft, and gather gret riches them felues. This aduyfe and propofition was weill allowed of the maift part of the confaill, yet a honeft confellour ftod vp, and faid that it was a very warldly aduyfe, and had litle or nathing ado with a chriften commown weall, nor get wald not be found profitable in all pointis. “ Firft,” he faid, “ fpeaking warldly and not godly, I grant that France, quhilk is fa potent a kindome, gene it knew the awen ftrenth, mycht fuppreff all ther nybours, and therfoire wald be fa handlit ; bot ther the fyre wald dye out incontinent, except the Prince of Conde wer better furniffit and

helpit." As for Flanders, he said that their trouble was hurtfull to England, he raisoun that England hes greteft commoditie be the traffic of marchandise, quhilk is henderit and stayed be the warres of Flanders, wher they had cheiffeft handling. As for Scotland, he said it was against their weill to hald them in discention, sa lang as my lord of Murray wes their Regent, wha was their frend, and wald be redy to assist them in a neid at his power. Another thrid confellow affirmed that to be trew; bot gene my L. of Murrey wer dead, lykwayes Scotland aucht to be halden gangen. Quhilk conclusion wes commenly folowed fourth efterwart; schone persauit be the wyfest that wer not factious, bot ouer lait be the rest of the raging multitude, wha wer with tym sa bitterit against other, and sa annymat or the pley wes endit, that they wald haue eaten vther with their teeth.

P. 106. Now my L. of Murray having accepted the gouvernement vpon him, preffit to get the strenthes in his handis, as the castellis of Edenbrough, Dombur and Donbertan. The castell of Edenbrough wes still in the handis of Sir James of Balfour, wha had assisted the noblemen that perseued the mourther, and now tok plane part with them, and lykwayes to assist the new maid Regent. Yet the Regent desyred to haue the castell out of his handis; quhilk he was content, with condition that the lard of Grange suld be maid captan therof, on whais constant frendschip he reposed maist; quhilk wes easely granted be the Regent and all the rest. Efter this, Dombur was also renderit to him, be the lardis of Whitlaw and Wachtoun. Then he tok gret panes to steall secret raidis vpon the theues, and held Justice aires in the In contre; bot tok na cair how to setle the differentis and partialites among the nobilite, and to draw them, be ane discret and equitable be-

hauour, to the obedience of the Kingis authorite. Quhilk mycht haue bene easely done, letting them se securete for ther personnes, and outgaitis for the weall of ther affaires and actions. Bot sic as fell about hym, for ambition and gredines, wald not suffer hym sa to do, thinking to be maid vp be the wrak of vthers ; and wer sa blindit be ther affections and gredy appetitis, that they thocht all wald succeid prosperously to ther pretences without any resistance. Sa rusching forward, the Regentis ruch proceedingis, vncircumspectly and proudly, gaif occasion to many to draw to the contrair faction ; and to mak practyses how to draw the Quenis Maieste out of Lochleuen, before the tym was ripe to set forward ther particularites against the Regent and his partisans. Wherof the Regent was oft and dyuers tymes warnit, euen be dyuers that wer vpon the confail of hir out taking, wha defyred to won thankis at his handis ; bot he wald credit nane, bot sic thingis as com out of the mouthes of them that had copen in his conceit and fauour be flatterie.

In the mean tym, the Quen was convoyed out of Lochleuen be George Douglas, the lardis brother and the Regentis half brother, wha was for the tym in some euell termes with them. The auld lady his mother wes also thocht to be vpon the confail. My L. Ceatoun, and some of the houe of Hammiltoun, and dyuers vthers of ther dependers, resaut hir Maieste at her landing out of the loch, and convoyed hir to Hammiltoun.

The Regent being for the tym at Glasco halding Justice aires, proclamations and missywes wer incontinent maid, and fend be baithe the fydis to conven samany as wald do for them in the contre. Ane Frenche ambassadour wes com to Edenbrouch ten dayes before, callit

Mons^r de Beaumont, knyght of the ordour of the cocle ; who I had convoyed to Glasco, and procured that he mycht fe the Quen captuwe, in vain. He said to me that he neuer saw sa mony men conuenit sa foudainly ; for he raid to Hammiltoun to the Quen, and delt between the parties for paice, bot was not hard. Hir Maieste was not myndit to feicht, nor hazard bataille, bot to pas vnto the castell of Dombertan, and draw hame again to hir obedience, be litle and litle, the haill subiectis. Bot the bischop of St Androwes and the house of Hammiltoun, with the rest of the lordis that wer ther conuenit, finding themselues

P. 107. in number far beyond the other party, wald nedis hazard the battaill ; wherby they mycht ouercom the Regent ther gret ennemy, and be also maister of the Quen, to command and reull all at ther plesour. Some allegit, that the bischop was myndit to cause the Quen mary my L. Hammiltoun, incaice ther syd wan the victory ; and I was informed sen syn, be some that wer present, that the Quen hir self fearit the fame. Therefore sche preffit them still to convoy hir to Dombertan, and had send me word with the Frenche ambassadour, also caused my brother Sir Robert to wret a letter vnto me, the same mornyng before the battaill, to draw on a commownyng for concord, be the meanis of the secretary Liddingtoun and the lard of Grange ; and for hir part, fuld send the Lord Heris and some vther. Bot the Quenis army cam forduart sa fercely that ther was na stay.

The Regent went out vpon his fut, and all his company, saving the lard of Grange, Alexander Hum of Manderstoun, and some borderers to the number of tua hundreth. The lard of Grange had alrede vewed the ground, and with all possible diligence caused euery horsman tak on a futman of the Regentis gard behind them, and raid with speid to

the head of the Langfyd hill, and set down the said futmen with ther culueringis at a strait lon head, wher ther war some coit houffes and gardis of gret aduantage; quhilkis foldiours, with ther continuell schot, dropped down dyuers in the vangard led be the Hamiltons, wha for ther curage and fearcenes ascending wp the stay bra, wer already out of wind when the Regentis vangard junit with them; wher the worthy L. Hume facht vpon fut, with his pik in his hand, very manfully, weill affited be the lard of Sefford his gud brother, wha helpit him vp again, when he was striken to the ground aff his feit, with many straikis vpon his faice, with the castyng of tume pistoles efter they wer schot, also with staues and flacons, and many straikis with spaires throw his leggis. For he and Grange cryed, at the juning, to let ther aduersaries lay down first ther spaires, to bear vp thers; quhilk spaires wer sa thik fixit in vthers jackis, that some of the flacons, pistollis and gret staues that wer thrawn be them that wer behind, mycht be fean lyand vpon the spaires.

Vpon the Quenis fyd, the Erle of Argyll commandit the battaill, and the lord of Arbroith the vantgaird. On the vther part, the Regent led the battaill, and the Erle of Mortoun the vantgaird; bot the Regent committed vnto the lard of Grange, the speciall cair, as ane experimented capten, to ouerse euery danger, and to ryd to euery wing, and encourage and mak help wher gretest neid was. He persauit at the first junyng, the rycht wing of the Regentis vantgard put bak and sattill lyk to fle, wherof the maist part wer commons of the barronnye of Ranthrow. He cam to them, and tald them that ther ennemys wer already turnyng bakis, that wer behind the rest, and requested them to stay and debait, vntill he had fetched them fresche men fourthe of the

battaill ; wher he raid in diligence his allain, and tald the Regent, or allegit that the ennemys wer ikailen and fleing away behind the litle vilage, and defyred a few number of fresche men till com with him ; wher he fand anew willing, as the Lord Lindfay, the Lard of Lochleuen, Sir James Balfour and all the Regentis faruandis, that folowed him with diligence, and reinforced that wing quhilk was begynnen to fle. Quhilk fresche men, with ther lowse weapons, fraik ther ennemys in ther flankis and faces, quhilk forcit them incontinent to geue place and turn bakis, efter lang fechting and pouffing vthers tu and fra with ther spaires. Ther wer not many horsmen till perfew efter them, and the Regent cryed to saif and not fla, and Grange was never crewell ; sa that ther wer bot a few flane and tane, and the only slauchter was at the first renconter, be the schot of the foldiours that Grange had planted at the lon head behind some dykis.

Efter the tincell of this battaill hir Maieste tint curage, quhilk sche did neuer befoir, and tok sa gret fear that sche rested neuer vntill sche was in England ; thinking hir self assured of refuge ther, in respect of the many fair promyses maid be the Quen of England, be wordis to hir ambassadours, and be wretingis with hir awen hand, baith before and efter that sche was kept captiue in Lochleuen. Bot God and the world wottes how sche wes keped and vfed ; for not only sche wald not se hir of whom sche seamed sa oft to desyre a ficht and a meating, bot also caused kep hir prifonner, and at lenth [*tuik her lyf*] sufferit hir lyf to be tane, or elis was subtilly tane against hir intention.

This puttis me in remembrance of a taill that my brother Sir Robert tald me, the tym that he wes busyest dealing betwen the twa Quenis, to interteny ther frendschip, and draw on ther meting at a part besyde

York callit

Ane Bassentin a Scottis man, that had bean trauelit, and was learnit in hich scyences, cam to him and said ; “ Gud gentilman, I hear sa gud report of yow that I loue yow hartly, and therefore can not forbear to schaw yow, how that all your vprycht dealing and your honest trauell wilbe in vain, wher ye beleue to obtean a weall for our Quen at the Quen of Englandis handis. Ye bot tyn your tym ; for first they will neuer meit together, and nyxt ther will neuer be bot discembling and secret hattrent for a whyll, and at lenth captiuite and vtter wrak for our Quen be England.”

My brother's answer again was, that he lyked not to heir of sic deuelisch newes, nor yet wald he credit them in any sort, as false vngodly and vnlawfull for Christiens to medle them with. Bassentin answerit again ; “ Gud Mester Meluill, tak not that hard oppinion of me. I am a Christien of your religion, and feares God, and purposofes neuer to cast my self in any of the vnlawfull artis that ye mean of, bot fa far as Melanthon, wha was a godly theologue, has declaired and wreten anent the naturell scyences, that ar lafull and daily red in dyuers Christien vniversites ; in the quhilkis, as in all vther artis, God geues to some les, to some mair and clearer knowlege then till vthers ; be the quhilk knowlege I haue also that at lenth, that the kingdome of England fall of rycht fall to the crown of Scotland, and that ther ar some born at this instant that fall bruk landis and heritages in England. Bot alace it will coist many ther lyues, and many bludy battailes wilbe fochten first or it tak an fattede effect ; and be my knowlege,” said he, “ the Spaniartis wilbe helpers, and will tak a part to themselues for ther labours, quhilk they wilbe laith to leaue again.”

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P. 109. Efter that the Quenis Maieſte had demitted the gouvernement, when ſche was captiue in Lochleuen, in ſic maner as is rehearſed, my L. of Murray being the firſt of the Regentis, of whom I haue ſaid ſome thing alredy; I intend now till folow fourth and ſchaw a part of his proceedingis, and to begin wher I left, at hir Maieſteis retrait in England.

Efter the battaill of Langſyd, the ſaid Regent paſt throw the contre, and tok vp the eſcheitis and houſes of them that had aſſiſted at the ſaid battaill; and cauſed caſt down dyuers of ther houſes, and diſponit all ther landis to his ſaruandis and dependers.

The conſaill of England being crafty, and the ſecretary Cicill in ſpeciall, knew what kynd of commodious men had maift credit about him for the tym; and thervpon tok occaſion to deall with the leaſt honeſt, maift ambitious and gredy of the nomber and ſociete, that had junit and bandit them ſelues together to hald hand to other, wherby to mak them ſelues vp, and to diſgrace all honeſt trew men that had euer aſſiſted and helped him in all his troubles. Thir ſort of men wer ſchone perſuadit and corrupted to moue the Regent to paſs in England, and accuſe ther natyue Quen before the Quen and conſaill of England, to the gret diſhonour of ther contre and Prince. For the Quen of England, wha had na juſt cauſe to reteaen the Quen, wha paſt in England in hope to get refuge, and the aſſiſtance quhilk had bene ſa oft promyſed vnto hir, baith before and efter hir captiuitie in Lochleuen, was very deſyrous to haue ſome coulour, wherby ſche mycht mak anſwer

to the ambaffadouris of findre princes, that reprochit hir for hir vnkyndly and vnprincely proceeding theranent.

Because the maift part of them that had the Regentis ear wer won to this oppinion, and the number few that wer of contrary oppinion, he pafte fordwart till England, accompanied with the Erle of Mortoun, the Lord Lindfay, the lard of Lochleuen, the bifchop of Orkeney, the abbot of Domfermeling, Maifter James Magill, Mefter Hendry Belnaves, Mefter George Buchwhannen, the lard of Pittarrow, George Douglas bifchop of Murray, Mefter Jhon Wod the Regentis fecretair, a gret ringleader, Mefter Nycholl Elphinfoun ; the fecretary Lid-dingtoun, the proueft of Lynclowden, Alexander Hay, Alexander Hum of Northberwik, the lard of Cleifche, with dyuers vther barrons and gentilmen, that pafte ther to fe the maner, and fome to await vpon the Regent and lordis ; and fome that culd not get the Regent diffwadit fra this extream folly at hame, pafte with him in England, to fe gene be any affiftance of fic as wer frendis ther to the vnyon of this yll, and to the title of Scotland, mycht perchance mak them fome help to get the accufation ftayed. For they that wer the Quenis lordis, that cam ther to defend the Quenis part, had na credit nor famylyarite with the cheif factions in England anent the tytyle ; wha durft not open ther myndis bot to fic as, be lang acquaintance, they wer weall affured of ther honeftie and fecrefie. The names of the Quenis lordis wer, the Lord Heris, the Lord Boid, the Lord Flemyng, the Lord Lyuiftoun, the bifchop of Rofs, and fome vthers, with my brother S^r Robert Meluill, ane onwaiter to do the gud he culd.

P. 110. The Duc of Norfolk, the Erle of Suffex, Sir Walter Mylmy, and fendre vther confellours, wer fend down to York, to heir the Regentis accufation, and to be as juges between the King and Quenis lordis.

The first day of meting, the Duc of Norfolk requyred that the Regent fuld mak homage, in the Kingis name, to the crown of England ; thinking he had some matter for him, feing the said Regent ther to pled his cause before the confaill of England. Wherat the Regent grew red, and wist not what till answer ; bot the secretary Liddingtoun tok the speache, and said, that in restoryng again till Scotland the landis of Huntingtoun, Commerland and Northumberland, with sic vther landis as Scotland had of auld, that gladly fuld homage be maid for the saidis landis ; bot as to the crown and kingdome of Scotland, it wes freer then England had bene laitly, when it payed S^t Peters peny to the Paip.

It appearit still that the Duc draue tym with us, as having na will till enter vpon the termes of accusation. What was in his head it appearit efterwart, bot was in a dout whom with to deall ; for he thocht he nother saw honest men nor wyse men, as he granted him self efterwart. At last he resoluit to enter in conference with the secretary Liddingtoun, to whom he said, that he had of before estymed him a wyse man, vntill now that he cam before strangers till accuse the Quen his mestres, as thoch England wer juges ouer the princes of Scotland. How culd we find in our hartis to dishonour our Kingis mother, or how culd we answer of our dewty efterwart, doing what he culd to parell the Kingis hir sonnes richt of England, in traueling to put his mothers honestie in dout ? It had bene rather the dewtie of them hir subiectis, to couer hir imperfections, gene s^che had any ; remitting vnto God and the tym to punissh and put ordour, wha is the only juge ouer princes.

Liddingtoun, as he mycht weall do, purgit him self, and sayd he cam ther to essay to stay the said accusation, quhilk the lard of Grange, he

and dyuers vther honeft men, had traueleit to do in vain, before the Regentis commyng out of Scotland ; and that now he wald be glaid of any help, to hender that fchamfull deliberation of the Regentis, pouffit therto be a company of gredy, rafche and cairles confellours, the maift part of them his enuyers and fecret ennemys ; preing the Duc not to conceaue fuch ane euell oppinion of him, bot requested hym to draw the Regent a part, and enter with him in tha termes, quhilk efterwart the Regent wald fchaw him, and he fuld amplifie and fet it out the beft he culd.

The Duc afkit gene the Regent wald kep fecret ; and when he was affured theroff be Liddingtoun, the nyxt day he tok occaſion till enter with the Regent anent ther firft frendſchip and familiarite, contracted at Leith during the feige and helping to put the Frenchemen out of Scotland. Then efter that the Regent had promyſed ſecrefie, and affured him that ther firft frendſchip fuld ſtand to the end of his lyf, the Duc began to declaire, how that he wald be a faithfull ſubiect to the Quen his meſtres ſo lang as ſche lyued, bot that ſche was a woman, ouer cairles what mycht com efter hir anent the weall and quyetnes of hir contre ; quhilk neuertheles was meit the eftaitis of England fuld tak ſome ordour with, as they had eſſayed dyuers tymes to do at euery parlement, to the Quenis gret difcontentement, as one that caireth not what blud may be ſched efter hir, for the rycht and title of the crown of England, quhilk confiſtis only in the perſonnes of the Quen, and King of Scotland hir ſonne. Quhilk had bene put out of dout or then, gene matters had not bene ſa vnhappely handled at hame ; and yet he and vther noblemen of England, as fathers of the contre, ar myndit to be cairfull ; meruelen what mycht haue moued him to com ther, and ac-

cuse his Quen. Albeit sche had done or sufferit harm to be done vnto the K. hir husband, ther was respect to be had vnto the Prince her sonne; quhilk he for his part, and many in England had, as Mester Meluill wha had bene lait ambassadour ther could testifie; and therefore wiffit that the Quen suld not be accused nor dishonorit, for the K. hir sonnes cause, and for the respect of the rycht they baith had to succed vnto the crown of England. And farther the Duc said, " I am send to heir your accusation; bot nother will the Quen my mestres, nor I, discern nor geue out any sentence vpon your accusation; and that ye may vnderstand the verite in this point mair clearly, ye sall do weall, the nyxt tym that I requyre you before the confaill to geue in your accusation in wret, to demand again the Quen my mestres seall and handwret, before ye schaw your foly, that incaice ye accuse, that sche sall immediatly convict and geue out hir sentence; otherwayes that ye will not open your pak; quhilk gene hir Maieste sall refuse to grant vnto you, quhilk vndoubtedly sche will do, then assure your self that my information is rycht, and tak occasion therupon to stay fra farder accusation.

The Regent tok very weill with this aduyse of the Ducis, and kepit it secret from all his company; bot maid the secretary Liddingtoun and me preuy to it, and we confirmed him weall in this oppinion. At the nyxt meating with the confaill, when the Duc demandit the accusation to be geuen in, the Regent askit, for his secrete, the Quen of Englandis seall and handwret, as was aduyfed; whereof the rest of his faction gaif Liddingtoun the haill wyet, because it drew on a delay vntill the post was sent to the court and com bak again; and the Quenis answere being com bak, was, " Sche was a trew princes; hir

word and promyse wald be sufficient enough." The secretary Cicill and Meister Jhon Wod secretary to my L. Regent, thocht strange of this maner of the Regentis proceeding; therefore caused him and the lordis of baith sydis to pass fra York vp to the court, a far way; ther the mater to be traied, wher the Quen was abler to geue redy answers and replies. In the mean tym, the Regent finding the Duc of Norfolkis confaill to be trew, enterit farther with him, and agreed between them, in presens of Liddingtoun, as folowes: " That he in nawayes suld accuse the Quen, and the Duc suld obtean vnto him the Quenis fauour, with a confirmation of the regency; the Duc and he to be as sworn brether, of a religion, schutting continowally at a mark, with the mutuel intelligence of others myndis; the ane to reull Scotland, and the other to reull England, to the glory of God and weall of baith the princes and ther contrees; sa that the posterite suld reput them the happyest twa instrumentis that ever was bred in Britany."

The Duc was then the grettest subiect in Europe, not being a fre prince; for he rewled the Quen and all them that wer maist famyliers with hir; he rewled the confaill, and rewled twa contrary factions in England, baith protestantis and papistis, with the town of Londown and haill commons; the gret men that wer papistis, were all his neir kinsmen, whom he enterteined with gret wisdome and discretion; the protestantis had sic proof of his godly lyf and conuersation, that they loued him entirely.

P. 112. The Regent being arryued at the court of England, quhilk wes for the tym at Hamtoncourt, wes daily preffit to geue in his accusation; specially be them that wer about him, wha all thocht strange that he was sa laith to do it, vntill they wer aduertist be ane of the lordis of

the Quenis syd, of all that wes past between the Regent and the Duc of Norfolk. For the Duc had fend and aduertist our Quen, be a secret man; and sche again schew it to ane of hir maist famyliers, wha advertist the Erle of Mortoun; wha tok it in a very euell part, that the Regent had not made him preuy, nor nane of that societe, how far he had delt and promysed vnto the Duc of Norfolk. Bot first, or them of his awen company wald seam to understand any thing of that matter, they layed ther headis together, and caused Mester Jhon Wod to infourm the secretary Cicill; and willit him to presis fordwart the accusation, wherin he wes earnest enough. They again left nathing vndone for ther part to the same, putting him in hope that the Quen wald geue him hir hand-wret and seall, to convict incaice he accused; and some of the fynest of them persuadit him, that sche wald neuer geue hir hand-wret nor seall, bot pat him till a strait to se what he wald do, incaice he obtenit his desyre. And Master Jhon Wod said, that it was meit to cary in all the wretis to the confaill house, and he suld keip the accusation in his bosome, and suld not delyuer it without all conditions wer also kepit to him. The rest of the Regentis lordis and confellours had concludit amang them, that sa schone as the Duc of Norfolk, as cheif of the confaill, wald inquiryre for the accusation, that they suld all with a voice cry and persuad the Regent to ga fordwart with it. The secretary Liddingtoun and a few vthers remembrit the Regent, how far he had obligit him self to the Duc of Norfolk. He said, he suld do weall enough, and that it wald not com that far agaitwart.

Sa schone as he with his confaill wer within the confaill house, the Duc of Norfolk askit for the accusation. The Regent desyred again the assurance of the conviction, he wret and seall, as said is. It was an-

swerit again, that the Quenis Maiefteis word, being a trew princes, wald be fufficient enough. Then all the confaill cryed out, wald he miftruft the Quen, wha had geuen sic proif of hir frendfchip to Scotland. The Regentis confaill cryed out alfo on that fame maner. Then the fecretary Cicill askit, gene they had the accufation ther. "Yes," faid Mefter Jhon Wod (with that he pluckis it out of his bofome); "bot I will not delyuer it vntill hir Maiefteis handwret and feall be delyuerit to my lord." Then the bifchop of Orkeney cleakis the wret out of Mefter Jhon Wodis handis. "Let me haue it, I fall prefent it," faid he. Mefter Jhon ran efter him, as gene he wald haue had it again, or ryuen his clais. Fordwart pafte the bifchop to the confaill table, and gaue in the accufation. Then faid to him my Lord Willyem Hauvert, chamberlan, "Weill done, bifchop Turpy; thou art the frackeft felow amang them; none of them all will mak thy loup gud;" fcornen him for his lowping out of the lard of Grange fchip. Mefter Hendre Belnaves only had maid refiftance, and callit for the fecretary Liddingtoun, wha taried without the confaill houfe; bot fa fchone as Mefter Hendre Belnaves had callit for him, he cam in, and roundit in the Regentis ear that he had fchamed him felf, and pat his lyf in parell by the los of fa gud a frend, and his reputation for euer.

- P. 113. The Regent, wha had bene brocht be his facillite to brek with the Duc of Norfolk, repented him again fa fchone as Liddingtoun had fchawen him the danger, and defyrit the accufation to be renderit to him again; alleging that he had fome mair to add vnto it. Bot they faid, that they wald hald that quhilk they had, and wer redy to receave any vther addition when he pleafit to geue it in. The Duc of Norfolk had enough ado to keip his contenance; Mefter Jhon Wod winket vpon

the secretary Cicill, wha smyled again vpon him ; the rest of the Regentis company were lauchen vpon other ; the secretary Liddingtoun had a fair hart. The Regent cam fourth of the confaill house with the tear in his eye, and past to his logging at Kingiftoun, a myll from court, wher his factious frendis had enough ado to confort him.

The Quen of England having obteanit hir intent, receaued gret contentement. First sche thocht sche had matter for hir, to schaw wherfore sche reteanit the Quen ; then sche was glaid of the Quenis dishonour ; bot sche detested in hir mynd the Regent and all his company, and wald not ken him, nor hear any mair of him. Sche sent also incontinent to the Quen to confort hir, preing hir to think that sche was in a better caice ther, albeit keaped for a whyll, nor to be in Scotland with sa unworthy subiectis, wha had accused hir falsly and wrangeoufly, as sche was assured ; and that neyther fuld they be the better, nor sche the war, for any thing that they had done ; for sche wald not be juge, nor geue out any sentence therupon, nor nane fuld knawe, be hir or hir conseill, na part of the said false accusation ; preing hir to tak patience in hir gentill ward, wher sche was nerer at hand to get the crown of England set vpon hir head, incaice of hir discese, wha was bot the eldest sifter.

Thus the Regent wan na vther thing for his labour, bot to be dyspyed by the Quen and consell of England, and detested be the Duc of Norfolk, and reprochit be his best and treuest frendis ; and sufferit to ly a lang tym at Kingiftoun, in gret displeasour and fear, without money to spend, and without hope to get any fra the Quen. In the mean tym, the maner of agreement betwen him and the Duc was tald vnto the Quen ; for the Erle of Mortoun caused a minister, callit Jhon Willok,

to declair the dealing betwen the Regent and the Duc of Norfolk to the Erle of Huntingtoun, wha caused my L. of Leycester tell it vnto the Quen.

The Duc of Norfolk finding him self difapointed be the Regent, and his purpos discouerit vnto the Quen, began to boist and speake plane langage, that he wald serue and honor the Quen his mestres sa lang as sche lyued, bot efter hir discese, he wald set the crown of England vpon the Quen of Scotlandis head as lawfull heir ; and this far he said also to Mester Cicill, and bad him pass and prattle that langage again to the Quen. The secretary Cicill answerit agane, that he wald be na taill teller to the Quen of him, bot wald concur with him in any course, and serue him in any thing wherin he wald employ him. He boisted also Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, whom he supponit wald be in his contrair, as a trew and deuot saruand to the Quen ; sa that Sir Nycholas was fayn efterwart to seake his fauour, be the moyen of the Erles of Penbrough and Leycister, wha was also his frend, albeit he durst not hyd fra the Quen that quhilk the Erle of Huntingtoun had maid him aduertisement of, willing him to declaire the same vnto the Quen.

P. 114. The Duc of Norfolk, vnderstanding that his haill purpos was discouerit, stod na aw to confess vnto the Quen, that he wald never offend her for hir tyme, bot serue and honour hir ; and efter hir, the Quen of Scotland, as maist lawfull in his oppinion, for eschewing of ciuill warres and gret bludshedding, that mycht vtherwayes fall out. Albeit the Quen of England lyked not this langage, sche wald not seem to find falt with it for the tyme.

Now matters being casten lowse on this maner, betwen he Regent and the Duc, and the Regent in gret distres, Sir Nycholas Throgmor-

toun, being a man of gret discours, and wha had euer trauelit to the vnion of this yll, efter that he was agreed with the Duc, and saw that the Erles of Leycester, Penbrugh, secretary Cicill, and the rest of the court and commons wer all for the Duc, and that the Quen durst not find falt with him, he deuyfed and brocht till pafs a new frendfchip between the Regent and the Duc ; wha was very laith to enter again with the Regent, yet at lenth sufferit him self to be persuadit. My L. Regent, on the other part, being destitute for the tym of all frendfchip in England, and indigent of money, thocht it a gret happynes vnto him gif he mycht get again the Ducs fauour and pardon. Sa he wes brocht easely and secretly vnto the Duc be Sir Nycholas ; at what tym he granted his offence, excusing him self the best he mycht, vpon the craft and importunite of some of his company. The Duc helpit him to mak his excuses, alleging that he knew how that his gentill nature wes abused, be the craft and concurrence of some of the consaill of England with them that wer about him ; and gene he wald, in tymes commyng, kep tueches and be secret, ordour fuld be put vnto all them that had drawn on that dracht. The Regent promysed, as far as culd be deuyfed ; sa that a greter frendfchip was packit vp between them then ever it was. The Duc had of before tald him, that he was myndit to mary the Quen our mestres, and that he fuld neuer let hir com in Scotland, nor yet that he fuld never rebell against the Quen of England for hir tym ; also that he had a dochter that mycht be meater for the K. then any vther, for many raisons quhilk wer fet out for that purpos. Now the Duc tok in hand to cause the Quen his mestres geue vnto my L. Regent, xxv thousand pondis Scotis ; for the quhilk soun he becam caution, and was efterwart compellit to pay.

Efter that my L. Regent had gottin this money, and tane his leaue of the Quen, he was aduyfed be fic as had yet gret credit about him, to tell the Quen fecretly all thingis that wer paf of new again betwen the Duc of Norfolk and him. And to do it the mair couertly, it was deuyfed that the Quen of England fuld fend for him, feamyng to geue him fome admonition anent gud ordour to be obseruit vpon the borders. This being done, and all thingis difcouerit to the Quen, with a promyfe fa fchone as he cam in Scotland, and had refaut any lettres from the Duc be chiffers or vtherways, to fend them all in England with a man exprefs. In the mean tym the Duc wret vnto our Quen, aduertiffen hir again of the new frendfchip betwen him and the Regent, wha wes very penitent, and had bene difceaued be craftier men nor him felf; willing hir to let him pafs by, without any harm to be done vnto him, or any of his be the way.

P.115. At that tyme, the Duc commandit ouer all the north partis of England, wher the Quen our meftres was keped, and mycht haue tane hir out when he pleafit; and when he wes angry at the Regent, had appointed the Erle of Westmourland to ly in his way, and cut aff him felf and fa many as wer bent to the Quenis accusation. Bot efter the laft agrement, the Duc fend and difchargit the faid erle to do ws harm; yet the erle cam in our way, with a company of faire horfe, to fchew that we wer in his mercy.

Efter the Regentis retournyng faify in Scotland, Mefter Jhon Wod his fecretary procured, vpon the firft occafion, to be fend in England, with all the wretis that culd be gottin that mycht ferue till vndo the Duc of Norfolk; and defyred Mefter Hendre Belnaues to caufe the Regent geue him the bifchoprik of Murray, vaikant for the tym, no-

ther for ambition nor gredines of the rentis, bot rather that he mycht haue ane honorable styll, to fet out the better his ambassage. The said Mester Hendre, being inded sic a man as Mester Jhon wald appere to be, was very angry, and lyked him never efter that. My L. Lindfay wanted him self, that he was ane of the nomber that gaif the Regent confaill fa to do ; alleging that sic promyfes as wes maid vnto the Duc of Norfolk, for fear of his lyf, aucht not to be keped.

A whyll efter that Mester Jhon was com bak in Scotland, weall rewardit for his trew traueling, the Duc wes sent for be the Quen to com to the court. Wherupon first he poisted ane in haift to the secretary Cicill, to haue his confaill ; for he reposed then mekle vpon him, for they wer packit vp in a course. The other maid anſwer, that ther was na danger ; he mycht com and gang at his pleafour, na man wald nor durft offend him ; quhilk moued the Duc to ryd quyety, only with his awen trayn, wher vtherwayes he had bene weill accompanied. In the mean tyme the secretary Cicill infourmed the Quen, how that the necessity of the tyme straited hir, not till omit this occasion till tak the matter stoutly vpon hir self, and command hir gard incontinent to lay handis vpon the Duc, or ellis na vther durft do it ; quhilk gene siche did not at this tyme, hir crown wald be in parell. The Quen folowing this aduysé, the Duc was tane and keped, when he thocht that all England wes at his deuotion ; wha efter lang captiuite was execut, and endit his lyf deuotly in the reformed religion.

Schortly efter Mester Jhon Wodis returnyng out of England, ther was a gret Convention halden at Perth ; wher the Regent was myndit to accuse the secretary Liddingtoun, for being of confaill with the Duc of Norfolk. Bot he had sa many frendis for the tyme, that they durft

not lay handis on him ; albeit fra that hour fourth, he reterit from court and remanit with the Erle of Atholl, wher the Regent entertained him with fair frendly lettres, and vpon a tym being in Stirling wret for him, to com and help to mak a dispasche to England ; wher being com, Capten Crafford wes directed to accuse him before the preuy confaill of the lait Kingis mourther, and being accused of sa odious a crym, was committed to ward.

P. 116. Sir James Balfour wes also tane out of his awen house, when he lippenit for na les. Then my L. of Down wret vnto the Lard of Grange to be vpon his gardis ; for the Regent wald tak the Castell of Edenbrough fra him, and mak the Lard of Dromwhafell capten ; wherof he had aduertist the Lard of Grange of before, as also of the intention to tak the secretaire and Sir James Balfour. Bot he wald not geue credit, therto at the first ; bot now when he saw the aduertiffementis tak effect, he began to think that the Regent wes led strangly, and wald haue bene content to want the castell and leaue the court, wer not the defyre he had to saif the lyues of the secretaire and Sir James Balfour, whom he knew to be wrangeously persewed, only be the malice and envy of ther ennemys for ther offices. Sir James Balfour being tane, send vnto the Lard of Grang, remembring him how he junit with the lordis and Regent vpon the trust he had of his fidelite, mair nor till all ther seales and handwretis, quhilkis he had till produce. Wherupon the Lard of Grange send a gentilman to the Regent ; bot the Regent purgit him self, and allegit the confaill wer sa bandit together against the secretaire and Sir James, that it lay not in his power to get them vnwardit, feing they wer accusit for the Kingis mourthour against his will, bot Grange fuld ken his honest part therin at meting ; preing

him in the mean tym to suspend his judgement. Nevertheles the Regent and his counsell wer determinit to pass forward, and tak the lyues fra the tua prifoners, till Grange fend again and desyred the lyk justice to be done vpon the Erle of Mortoun and Mester Archebald Douglas ; for he offerit to feicht with Mester Archebald, and the Lord Heris offerit to feicht with the Erle of Mortoun, that he was vpon the counsell, and airt and part of the Kings mourther. This stayed ther execution at that tym, and the Regent still allegit that the lordis had tane them against his will, and that he fuld fend Sir James Balfour to the castell of Santandrowes, and fuld bring the secretaire Liddingtoun till Edenbrough, and delyuer him vnto the Lard of Grange to be keped. Sa the Regent cam till Edenbrough, and brocht the secretaire with him, intending as Grange was aduertist, to mak the said secretaire a steall guse to draw down Grange out of the castell to the town the nyxt mornyng, to receaue the secretaire to be convoyed vp to the castell ; and then to retean Grange also, vntill the castell fuld be delyuerit vntill the lard of Dromquhafell to be keper therof, and to fend Grange hame to his houe, and reward him with the pryourie of Pittinweme. Bot the Erle of Mortoun had appointed four men to sley Grange, at the entre of the Regentis loging, by the Regentis knowlege. Bot Grange wes laith yet to trow the worst of the Regent, and being of oppinion that the Regentis gentill natour was forcit be the lordis, as he had fend him word,

P. 117. and vnderstod that they wer myndit to cary the secretaire to Tamtalloun, he cam down out of the castell with a company, and rest the secretaire out of the handis of his keepers, and convoyed him vp to the castell. For he thocht, gif it be trew that the Regent said, wher he wes forcit be the lordis against his will to let the secretaire be reteanit efter

that he wes accused, now the Regent wald be glaid that he had reuengit his quarrell vpon the lordis, be taking the secretaire out of ther handis, quhilk he mycht justly allege that he knew not of; and that, gif the Regent wald be miscontent with his vptaking, it wald be a manifest token of his discembling and double dealing. In that caice, Grange thocht he did a guid deid, to saif his frendis lyf; and to beleue dyuers intelligences, quhilkis he wald not credit of before, and therefore to be vpon his gardis in tymes commyng.

The Regent and his confellours, when they vnderstod how that Grange had tane vp the secretaire to the castell, wer in a gret perplexitie, supponyng all ther conselis to be disclofit; and wist not how to help the matter, bot aduysed the Regent to couer his colair vntill a bettir occasion; causing him pass vp to the castell the nyxt mornyng, for he durst credit Grange. Bot Grange durst na mair credit him, albeit at meting he gaif him ma fair wordis then he was wont to do, quhilk Grange tok in ane euell part. Eftir this, ther wer many deuyces how to trap Grange sometym in his down commyng to the Regent; bot he wes ay aduertist and vpon his gardis. Sa as the Regent tint daly of his best frendis, the number of his ennemys increffit; for the Duc of Chattelleraut, wha wes agreed with him by the moyen of the Lord Heris, when the said Duc and the Lord Heris cam till Edenbrough, as was appointed at ther agrement, to concure with the Regent in confell and vtherwayes for the quytnes of the contre, they wer baith wardit in the castell againt promyse. Quhilk when the Lard of Grange fand falt with, Mester Jhon Wod said, "My lord, I maruell of yow; how fall we that ar my lordis dependers get rewardis bot be the wrak of sic men." "Yea," said Grange, "is that your halynes?"

I fe nathing bot ye, amang yow, for envy, gredines and ambiffion, ar lyk to wrak a gud Regent and contre." This was lang before the taking of the secretaire, and increffit the hattrent of a wickit societe againft Grange, wha mycht not abyd his honeftie, credit and reputation, thortering at all occafions ther parcialites ; quhilk wes the falt alfo that they had againft the fecretary, and becaufe his wit excellit fa far abone thers. The captiuite of the Duc and my L. Heris, maid many vnfrendis, wha tok the greter baldnes to confpyre againft the Regent, when they perfaut him to tyn and caft aff his aldeft and beft frendis.

It was a fair thing to fe that gud Regent, anes fa weill inclynit to do gud offices in religion and commown weall, fa wryed and drawn efter vther mens vain pretences and affections ; employeing therintill the haille tym of his regiment to his awen vtter wrak, to the wrak of many worthy perfonages, and to ther wrak at lenth that wer his leaders.

P. 118. The Regentis mifbehauour throw euell confellours, as geuing ear only vnto flatterers, and wald not fuffer his trew loving frendis any langer to tell him the verite, maid many to coniectour that his wrak was at hand ; and I amang vthers deuyfed a prefont remedy for his preferuation, whilk was this.

I knew that the taking vp of Liddingtoun to the caftell, fank deapeft in the Regentis hart. The falfe practyfes, and wrakful fetches of fic as had learnit the Regent to difcemble, moued Grange ; and the geloufies raifed therupon betwen them, moued and gaif place to his ennemys till confpyre.

Firft, I requested the Regent to remember vpon the falfe practyfes that fome about him had findre tymes vfed of before, to his gret dif-

plefour ; and to confidder how they wer yet the caufe of all thir ey-leftis and fufpitions that wer fallen fourth betwen him and his frendis ; quhilk mycht encourage his ennemys to tak some wicked enterpryfe in hand againft his perfone. For remedy wherof, it was meit that Liddingtoun fuld pafs in France, vnder caution of tenty thowfand pondis, and neuertheles to geue his fone in plege that he fuld not com in Scotland without fpecial leaue, nor practyfe in any maner againft the prefent eftait. Sir James Balfour to be fet at liberte, or baniffit on the fame maner ; for he had alredy won the Regentis famyliers with gret fomme of gold, quhilk had ftanchd ther wraith againft him ; quhilk Liddingtoun wald not, albeit Sir James had fend him his aduyfe to do as he had done. Thir twa being fred and out of the way, the Lard of Grange fuld delyuer vnto him the caftell of Edenbrough, to mak capten therof whom he pleafit ; that the hail contre mycht fe how that all wes in his power and at his command, and was the beft way and meanis to reduce again the oppinions of the people, and wald dafche and fkar his ennemys fra all ther desperat enterpryfes.

His anfwer was, that he bure na euell will to Liddingtoun, and wald not prefs him to pafs out of the contre. As for Sir James Balfour, he fuld put him to liberte ; and as for Grange, he wes ouer far oblift vnto him and had fa gret proif of his fidelite, that he was neuer myndit to tak the caftell from him ; and gif it wer out of his handis, he wald geue him the keping therof again before any vther. He denyed alfo that he was in any fufpition other of Grange or the fecretair ; and thervpon pafft vp to the caftell, and conferrit frendly with them of all his affaires, with a bl yeth volt, and caften in many mirry purpofes of auld ftraitis and dangers wherin they ha d bene togither. Sa he wes instructed to

P. 119. difcembel ; and yet it fat him nocht, for it wes against his nature, and wes easely perfaued be them wha had bene sa lang acquainted with him, and had bene his cheif aduancers vnder God, the secretary be his wifdome, and Grange be his manlynes and fidelite ; and had baith sic notable qualites, that they mirited to be enuyed of wicked and vnworthy bodyes, wha be ther continowell flatterie and false reportis pat them out of his fauour ; and then lyk a weak house wanting hir fusteaning pillaires, he fell in decadence.

Him self was at the first of a gentill nature, weall inclynit, gud with gud company, wyfe with wyfe company, stout with stout company, and contrary wayes with vthers of the contrary qualiteis ; sa that as company chancit to fall about him, his bufynes gaid rycht or wrang. In his first vpryng, his hap wes to leicht vpon the best fort ; for in his beginning, full of aduerfite, trew honest men stak be him, because he wes religioufly brocht vp. Again when he wes Regent, flatterers for ther proffit drew till him, and puft him vp in ouer gud oppinion of him self. His auld trew frendis again wald reprove him, wherby they tint his fauour. I wald fomtyes say to him, that he was lyk ane vnkilfull player in a keatchepoill, runnyng euer efter the ball ; wheras ane expert player wald se and dicerne wher the ball will leicht, wher it will stot, and with small trauell will let it leicht in his hand or racket. Thus I said, because he tok very gret panes in his awen persone to small effect ; efter he had gotten dyuers aduertiffementis of his ennemys conspyracies, in vain ; for he wald credit nathing bot it that cam fra his famyliers, wha tald him nathing bot of faire wether, and of the best gouernement that culd be, and sa pat him in a cairles securite ; quhilk encouraget the gud man of Bodowellhach, callit Hamil-

toun, to ly in his gait as he wes passing throw Lithco and fshot hym, wherof he died that same nycht. All his confellouris and famyliers wer afweill aduertift as he wes, baith of the man, the place and the tym ; and yet wer sa cairles of him, that they wald not tak the panes to searche the house wher the man lay to fshot him, bot sufferit him to eschaip vpon a spedy horse.

I haue wreten this far of him, because euery ane knawes not the verite how he was led out of the rycht way. And because St Augustin sayes that alkynd of yngnorance is nother worthy of pardone nor excuse, bot only sic as haue not the meanis to be instructed, nor to get knowlege, I was sometymes compellit to recit dyuers sentences of Salomon to this gud Regent, for sa he was and is yet callit ; how that ane havy gok is ordonit for the sonnes of Adam, from the day that they go out of ther mothers wamb, till the day that they return to the mother of all thingis ; from him that is clothed in blew filk, and weareth a crown, euen vnto him that weareth femple lynning ; wraith and enuy, trouble and vnquytnes, rygour and stryf, and fear of death in the tym of rest. 2. Be delygent to know the estait of thy flok ; for the prince that sees bot with other mens eyn, and heares with other mens eares, mon nedis be yngnorant ; and sic a prince is a gret oppreffour. Bot a wyfe king skattereth the wicked, and caufeth the whell to wholme ouer them. That prince quhilk wantis the fur and certain intelligence of the estait of his contre, is a very yngnorant in that caice, and is commonly maid a wicked instrument to fulfill the appetitis of enuyous vengeable and gredy confellours. And Salomon sayes, that for the transgression of sic wicked confellours, the land chenges many princis. And again, the prudent man seeth the plaig and escheweth it, bot fules

go on still and ar puniffit. Wisdome, knaulege and vnderstanding of the law, is of the Lord ; errour yngnorance and darkenes ar apponted vnto fynners, for punifmentis and plaiges. The foolifche will beleue euery thing, and the mouth of fules is fed with fulifhnes ; bot the prudent will confidder his paithes, and can perfaue how that some ar confellouris for them felues. Therefore, faves Salomon, I wifdome duell with prudence, and can find fourth the rycht knaulege of confelles. As
P. 120. gene he wald fay, I that haue wifdome purifeid with prudency, will not be fa easely caried away be flatterers, as ar a number of facill princes that promot them abone faithfull frendis and trew faruandis, that reprove them for ther vnfeamly proceedingis. Against the reull of Ifoocrates, wha admoniffit his King to loue and esteam as his trewifft frendis, sic as lovingly and modestly will correct his faltis. And as Plutark faves vnto Trayan, folow the confaill of them that loues the, rather then of them that thou loues. And as Theopompe, being demandit how a prince fuld best reull, anfwerit, in permitting his trew faruandis to tell him the verite of his estait. As the King of the people is, fo ar his officers ; gif the officers be wicked, fa is the reuler thocht to be. How ar flatterers flowen away with your wonted humilite ; and wha hes puft you vp, fa that ye will not suffer a frendly reprof ? Says not Salomon, gene thou feest a man wyfe in his awen conceat, ther is mair hop to be had of a fooll then of him. Exalt not thyself in the day of honour, for pryd goith before destruction, and ane hy mynd before the fall. Yet hear confaill and refaue instruction ; let raifoun go before euery enterpryse, and confaill before euery action. When ye folowed the confaill of your auld experimented frendis, your affaires prosperit. Sen ye left them, to folow the flattering fetches of your wonted faes,

that ar now becom your chieffest confellours, efter that ye wer maid Regent, your credit decayes and all your busynes gais abak. I schew you laity, commyng of Domfreis, in what danger was your estait and persone, wherunto ye haue tane ouer litle tent ; quhilk danger apperis to be ay the langer the greter, without spedy repentance, and the spedy embracing of sic remedies as I mentionit for the tym. Therfor tak this bettir to hart, and in a gud part of him of whom ye haue had sa gud prof in all your aduerfities. Salomon sayes mair, receaue instruction, that thou mayest be wyse in thy lattir end ; and abone all this, prey to the most hych that he will direct thy way in treuth ; quhilk I prey God grant you the grace to do.

The maist part of thir sentences, drawn out of the byble, I vfit to recit vnto him at all erroneous occasions ; and he tok bettir with them therefore, then gif they had proceadit from the learnit philosophers. Therefore I promysed to put them [in] wret, and gaue him to kepe in his poutche ; bot he was slain, as said is, before I culd meit with him.

Eftir the discese of this Regent, England send the Erle of Suffex to Berwick ; wher the Erle of Lenox cam also at that same tym, as being sent for be the lordis of the Kingis faction, to be maid Regent in steid of the Erle of Murray. The Erle of Suffex had with him the forces of the north, as gene he had some enterpryse to do, and tak some advantage, the tym that the contre wanted a Regent. About that same tym, sa mony of the lordis as wer bandit, and professit the Quenis autorite, caused proclame the same at Lithco. As yet, they of the castell of Edenbrough professit the Kingis autorite, albeit ther wer secreet jealousies between them, and sa many of the rest as had bene cause to draw the lait Regent vpon the taking of the secretary Liddingtoun and Sir

James Balfour, and wald also have wraked Grange, because he was a frend to them twa ; and also because his vertus wer envyed, and his capitannie defyred be vthers.

They that wer within the said castell for the tym, wer my L. Duc of Chattelleraut and my L. Heris, wardit wrangeoufly as I haue said ; therefore the lard of Grange obteanit a warrant fra the rest of the Kingis lordis, to fet them at liberte. The Lord Hum was ther, to affist with them of the castell with the lard of Grange, the secretary Liddingtoun, his brother the pryour of Cowdingame, S^r Robert Meluill, his twa brether, capten Daid and S^r Andro Meluille, the lard of Drylaw, Pit-tadrow, Sir James Balfour, the lardis of Ferniheft, Baclouch, Wilmeftoun, Parbroith, and dyuers vthers noblemen and barrons that cam ther at all occasions, and wer redy for them when they had ado.

This company directed me to Barwik, toward the Erle of Suffex, to know what he intendit to do with his forces ; whither to affist any of the twa factions, or to agre them. I was frendly refaut be him, weall logit and deffrayed, and wanted nathing, not femekle as his awen nycht gown furrir with rich fourringis, sa lang as I abaid ther. Albeit he was a gret ennemy till all Scottis men, he appearit to enter in gret familiarite with me, and femed to tell me of his maift secret mynd ; alleging his planes to me was upon the report he had hard be findre of his contre men. He said, that his commyng with sic forces was not till affist any faction, nor to descyd questions and titles that was amang us, bot to ferue the Quen his meftres commandement ; and that gif he did any enterpryse or harme at that tym till any Scottis man, it fuld be againft his hart ; and that of all Scottifmen, he lyked best of them that wer within the castell of Edenbrough and ther dependers ; specially be-

caufe he knew them to haue bene frendis to the Duc of Norfolk his neir cufing ; whais part he had planly tane, gif the faid Duc had be his awen mouth communicated his enterpryfe to him, as he had foolifchly done. be a gentilman of his ; to whais credit he durft not commit the fecrecy of that weichty matter, quhilk ftode him upon his lyf and heritage ; and that albeit he with his forcis cam not till fet out nor fortify any faction in Scotland, yet he durft be plane with me, as with a trew frend priuatly, to declaire that he eftymed the Quen of Scotland, and the Prince hir fone, rychtous hayres to the crown of England ; quhilk part of his mynd he had fchawen to few in England.

Sa I returnit with na direct anfwer, bot with a firm oppinion, that he wes fend to feam to fet fordwart the Erle of Lenox to be Regent, and to fend word to the lordis of the Kingis fyd that he wald affift them, and fend in Mefter Randolph heir with the Erle of Lenox ; and yet to deal with the lordis of the Quenis faction, to encourage them till hald fordwart ther factious courfes. Becaufe the faid M^r Randolphe had a gret dealing with the houfe of Hammiltoun, as he wha convoyed the Erle of Arran, now vefited with the hand of God, out of France throw England and hame in Scotland, to affift the congregation. He knew alfo what auld and lang hattrent wes between the houfes of Lenox and Hammiltoun, and was deliberately directed fecretly to kendle a fyre of difcord between the twa ftark factions in Scotland, quhilk culd not be eafely quenched ; and to confirm the Lord Hum, wha was not yet refoluit to tak part with the Quenis faction, quhilk England thocht not yet ftark enough, to fuftean lang ftryf againft the Kingis faction.

The Erle of Suffex entred in the Merfe with his forces, and tok the caftell of Hum and Falcaftell, full of richefe and precious mouables,

moving the Lord Hum that way to tak plane part with the Hamiltons
P. 122. and Quenis faction. Wherby it may be fean, how that the conclufion
to hald contrees in difcord, be the craft of the confaill of England for
the tym, as I haue fpecified of before, was now put in practyfe incon-
tinent efter the difcefe of the Erle of Murray. Albeit the Erle of Le-
nox had his wyf, his bairnis and landis yet in England, they wald not
credit him ; bot fupponit he wald be a trew Scottifman, as he proued
in deid efterwart. I being in Barwik, when the Erle of Lenox was fa
far agaitwart to com in Scotland, to be Regent as faid is, I thoctt it
my dewty to vefit him ; for at his firft incommyng before the mariage
of his fonne my L. Darley with the Quen, he fend this that is now
Crownel Stuart for my brother Sir Robert and me, and becaufe my
brother was abfent, I went allane to him. At what tym, he tald me
that his lang abfence out of the contre had maid him as a ftranger in the
knowlege of the eftait, and that my lady his wyf, at his commyng
from hir, had willit him to tak my brothers confaill and myn in all
his adois, as hir frendis and kinfmen. Sa that being familier anough
with him, I vefited him at this tym, and tald him the prefent eftait of
the contre ; bot I difuadit him to accept vpon him the regiment, fear-
ing that in fa doing it wald coift him his lyf, as matters wer lyk to be
handled, as I fuld inform him at mair lenth being at hame. As for my
felf, I promyfed to ferue and affift him, albeit I culd not fe the lyk in-
tention be them that wer in the caftell of Edenbrough. He promyfed
again to be my frend at his power, and gaif me his hand therupon.
Then he inquyred, what wes the caufe that they of the caftell wald be
in his contraire. I faid, for na particular they had at him felf, bot
becaufe the company of lordis that had fend for him to com hame,

and be Regent by them, wer ther vnfrendis, and suspected they wald also with tym moue hym also to be ther ennemy. He said that the lard of Grange had bene alwayes his gud frend, and had done him fomtymes gret plefour. I sayd, I hoped he suld be his frend yet, eftir that he had sattelit himself in the regiment, and mycht haue leaser to be richtly infourmed of euery mans part.

Retournyng bak fra Barwik, at the bond rod, I met the abbot of Domfermeling, sent be the Kingis lordis to England, to meit with the Erle of Lenox in his passing by. Sa far as I culd learn efterwart of his commiffion, was to defyre the Quene of England to delyuer the Quen of Scotland, to be keped be the Kingis lordis heir at hame; feing that sche wald not procead vtherwayes conform to ther accusation, geuen in the tym that my L. of Murray wes ther; wherunto the Quen of England maid answere, gif they wald send hir sufficient plegis for the surete of the Quenis lyf, sche suld delyuer hir to them to be keped. The abbot allegit that to be hard to do; for what incaice the Quen died in the mean tym. Sche said again, "My L. I beleued ye had bene a wyse man; ye wald presse me to speak that quhilk is not necessary. Ye suld know that for my honestie, I can not bot requyre plegis to that end. I think ye mycht juge also of your self, what mycht be my weall." Hir meaning in this may be easely jugit and vnderstand.

P. 123. The Erle of Lenox cam till Edenbrough schortly efter me, and efter he had accepted vpon him the gouvernement, his first enterpryse wes to tak Breichen, quhilk was keped be some companyes of futmen, tane vp be the Erle of Huntely to affist the Quenis faction. Thir soldiours aduertit of the new Regentis commyng to persew them, fled; except

a few that kept the kirk and steeple, wha wer all hanget. I had maid me redy to ryd with the Regent, bot Mester Randolphe the Englishe ambassadour, wha cam in with the Erle of Lenox, feamyng to fet him fordwart at his power, stayed me not to ryd with the Regent; for he feared that I fuld be ane instrument to agre the lard of Grange, and them of the castell of Edenbrough, to the Regentis obedience with tym, to the hendrance of the ciuill discention quhilk he intendit to establishe. For gene they of the castell of Edenbrough and ther dependers had assisted the Regent, the Quenis faction wer sa few and weak, that they wald not haue bene able to mak a party to the Kingis faction, wha wer yet manyest in number, and had the haill hartis of the subiectis vpon ther syd.

I was very laith to stay behind the Regent, baith because I had promysed to assist and tak part with him, and also because I had obtainit a teind of the bischoprik of S^t Andrewes, of the landis of Lethem besyd Monimell, geuen be the Erle of Murray to Mester Hendre Balnaves, wherof I had na takis bot possession, be raisoun that the bischop for the tym in Dombartan wes forfeited; sa the said teind wes in the Regentis power to dispone to any vther, yet he had maid me promyse that I fuld bruk it. I tald Mester Randolphe, that the said tendis mycht be in danger to be disponit, incaice I wer absent fra the Regent. "Tufch," he said, "I am tutour at this tym to the Regent; I fall not only warrant your teind, bot fall cause yow get a better gift;" and promysed in the mean tym to wret a letter vnto the Regent, wha wes alredy riden, to let him knaw that he had stayed me, to draw on agrement betwen my frendis of the castell and him; willing him not to dispon sic a teind fra me till any vther. Howbeit I knew him to be

a double dealer and a fawer of difcord ; yet I culd not beleue, that he wald abufe me or hurt me in any thing, being fa far addetted to me during his baniffement in France for religion, during the regue of Quen Mary. Nether wald I blob the paper with this mekle concernyng my perticulair, wer not to declair the ftrange practyfes of princes in matters of eftait.

Now I being ftayed at Randolpes defyre, his firft propofition to me was, to defyre the capten of the caftell till agre and affift the Regent. I tald him that I fupponit he fuld do it with tym, bot not fa haiftely ; and that fame anfwer I brocht to him bak again, with a requelt fra the Lard of Grange to be plane with him, for ther had bene alfo gret frendfchip betwen them in France. Efter fome ceremonies and proteftations of fecrefie, he laid, “ Tell your frend this far fra Mefter Randolphe, bot not fra the Englis ambaffadour, that ther is no lawfull autorite in Scotland bot the Quenis ; fche will prevaill at lenth, and therefore hir courfe is fureft, and beft for hym to jun him felf with them of hir faction.” This wes the help he maid to the Regent, wha lippenit that his only ambaffage and labours was to aduance his autorite and obedience vnder the King. I feamed to be very weill fatiffied with this healthfome advyfe, and pafst vp to the caftell, and tald the capten and his affociatis na mair nor I had affured them of at my commyng hame out of Berwik.

The Lard of Grange wes fill myndit to byd at the Kingis autoritie, feing that to be factious in hir name, during hir abfens and captiuite, mycht do hir mair euell then gud, and be occafion of gret bludfcheding amang the fubiectis, be the malice of the ringleaders of England, and parcialites of a few in Scotland ; and wes affecten bot a meit occafion how to mak agrement betwen the parties. In the mean tym, I pafst vp

and down between them of the castell and Mester Randolph, wha gaif me another commiffion, to wit, incaice the tua Quenis of England and Scotland agre betwen them felues, to appoint ane Englis man to be capten of the castell of Edenbrough, and fend vnto him a wreting subfcryuit with baith ther handis; gif he wald condiscend alfo, for gret commodite to him felf, to delyuer the faid castell vnto that perfone that fuld be apponted. This he refused vtterly, in ane gret anger. This was all the gud agrement that Mester Randolphe and I maid during the Regentis abfence; and in ftead to remember the Regent not to difpone my tendis, he had a dealing with the tutor of Pitcur be the paffing betwen of George Halybroutoun, that he caufed them fut my teindis of Lethem at the Regent, and tald that how I wanted fufficient securite. And when the Regent wes returnit to Edenbrough, and I infourmed Mester Randolph of ane outgait how to get my tendis again, and remembrit him of his promyfe, he faid, that the Regent wes fa ftubborn and of fa euell a natour, that he culd not deal with him. Then I burfted out and tald him, how that his practyfes wer weall enough perfault; and wheras it apperit that he wald caufe me not only abandon the Regent, bot alfo be ane inftrument to perfuad the Lard of Grange to be vpon the contrary faction, I wald not be that inftrument, nor leaue the Kingis courfe thoch he fuld caufe tak fra me the reft of my landis.

Seing that Grange culd not yet be moued to jun with the Quenis faction, as the court of England defyred, (for the reft of the contre of England wer fory to fe this kynd of dealing,) the Englifche ambaffadour perfuadit the Regent to caft him aff, be dyuers wrangis and leichtlies done to him felf and his dependares. In the mean tym my L. Duc, the Erles of Argyll and Huntly, addreffit them vnto hym, and

maid ther mean, how that they, being noblemen of the contre, wer refused to be in societe with the rest, wha socht ther wrak vnder pretext of the Kingis autorite, be the Regent, the Erle of Mortoun and some vthers ther vnfrendis ; requesting him to be ther protectour and help them during the Kingis minorite ; and how that they at the first wald fayn haue affisted the Kingis autorite, bot culd not get place nor be admitted. Sa he that wes vilipendit with the Kingis lordis, and futed be the Quenis lordis, was compellit to jun with that fyd at lenth ; having with him the Lord Hum malcontent, also the secretary Liddingtoun and Sir James Balfour, spurring him to tak that course. Being sa casten af, he was compellit, for his nyxt refuge, to jun planly with the Quenis fyd, efter that he amang the rest was fumondit to be forfalded, as ye fall heir.

P. 125. Now the twa furious factions being framed on this maner, the hatredt and rage against vther grew daily greter and greter. For Mester Randolphe knew the diuerfities that wer amang the noblemen and the nature of euery ane in particulaire, be his oft commyng and lang residence in Scotland. Amang the ladyes, he had a mother and a mestres, to whom he caused his Quen oft fend commendations and takens. He also vsed his craft with the ministres, and offerit gold to dyuers of them. Ane of tham that wes very honest, refused his gift ; bot he tald that his compaignion tok it, as be way of charite. I am not certane gif any of the rest tok presentis, bot vndoutedly he offerit to sic as wer in meateft rowmes, to cry out against factions heir or ther, and kendle the fercer fyre ; sa that the parties wer not content to feicht and scheid vthers bluid, bot wald flyet with injurious and blaffemus wordis, and at lenth fell to the doun casting of vtheris houffes ; wherunto England

lent ther help, be a number of men of wair, that cam in and cuft down Hamiltoun, becaufe of a mynt that wes maid be some gud minifters till agre the twa parties.

Then as Nero ftod vp vpon a hich part of Rome, to fe the toun burnyng quhilk he had caufed fet on fyre, fa Mefter Randolphe delyted to fe sic fyre kendlit in Scotland ; and be his wretingis to some in the court of England, glorified him felf to haue brocht it till pafs, in fic sort that it fuld not be gottin eafely flokenit again. Whilk when it cam to the knowlege of Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun, he wret in Scotland to my brother and me, and aduertift us how we wer handled ; detefting baith Mefter Cicill as director, and Mefter Randolphe as executour. As I haue faid, all the honeft men in England wer fory at it ; of the quhilk number ther ar as many within that contre, as in any vther fa mekle boundis in Europe.

My brother and I fchew vnto the Lard of Grange, and to famany within the caftell as wer fecret, of this wreting from Sir Nycholas ; quhilk they beleued eafely, as men that had gret intelligence, and that had marked Mefter Randolphes proceedingis of befoire. Wherupon ther was some fecret metingis drawn on, between the Lord Hum and the Lord Ruthven, as neir kinfmen. The L. Ruthven was in grettest fauour with the Regent for the tym, and treforer. He was defyred to com and fpeak with my L. Hum, during the hettest of the ciuill warres. At what tym, the secretary Liddington and my brother entrit with the Lord Ruthven, efter that he and the L. Hum had fpoken a fpaice together, and fchew him how that the Regent wes vfed be England, and how that the contre wes vfed ; and alfo how that the Erle of Morton had defyred fecretly to com at midnycht, accompanied with Mefter Archebald Douglas, to the caftell of Edenbrough, and had lang confer-

ence with them; desyryng ther assistance, and he fuld chaife the Erle of Lenox bak till England, sa that they wald accept and acknowlege him for Regent in sted of the other. Quhilk they of the castell wald not grant to do, bot lyked weill of the Erle of Lenox, as of a trew Scottifman; and that ther lying abak fra affisting him wes, he being fend for and brocht in by them. And therfore fearit at the first, that he wald be ouer far at the deuotion of England, as ane Englisman hauing yet his wyf, bairnis, and landis in that contre; and mairouer, that he fuld be sa led be the Erle of Morton, and vthers factious ennemys to the L. Hum [and] the secretaire, that he wald feak ther vtter wrak; baith because that capten Craffort, wha had accused the secretair, was seruant

P. 126. for the tym to the Erle of Lenox, and allegit that he had commiffion fra the said Erle to geue in the said accusation. And that quhilk geue matter enough to my L. Hum, was the inbringing of the Erle of Lenox be the Erle of Suffex, and the taking of his tua houses of Hum and Falcastell, all at a tym, quhilk he supponit not to be done by the Erle of Lenox consent. Bot sen they vnderstod how the Erle of Lenox, and the hail contre wes bot abusid and misvfid with England be Mester Randolphe, assisted with the Erle of Mortoun, they wer deliberat baith till agre them selues, and to cause all Scotland agre with the Regent, gene they can get a raifonable meeting.

My L. Ruthven was very glaid of this offer, and said he hopped to bring them a meting and a gud answer fra the Regent; and the rather because the Erle of Mortoun [was] absent, as a mall content for the refusing to him of the bischoprik of St Androwes, quhilk the Kingis house and the Regentis mycht ill spair. Sa he returnit to the Regent with this offer, wha tok it in a very gud part; and efter anis or tuyse passing

betwen, the Regent with the L. Ruthven had concludit a paice quyety in ther myndis, making nane preuy therto as yet. Bot as ambaffadouris ar gret spyes, and commonly fuspitious, Mefter Randolphe wha lay at Leith, delt ernesly with the Regent to geue the bifchoprick of S' Andrewes to the Erle of Morton ; and allegit that the Quen his meftres had wreten to him in chiffer for that effec, quhilk fche fuld recompense to him with a better commodite ; and that hir Maiefte wald be very angry incaice he did it not, as he fuld caufe hir handwret to com to him felf theranent.

Sa when the Regent had granted this to Mefter Randolphe, he aduertift incontynent the Erle Mortoun to com to the court, quhilk he did with diligence, and vfed all the contrary practyfes that he culd to hender any gud agreement ; for as he had fished that benifice in dromly watters, he hopped to fische mair be fic meanis. Ane of his deuyces was, to caufe the confaill vot and direct the Erle of Bouchan, to tak me prifoner out of my awen houfe ; bot I wes at a brydell in Forthell, wher the faid erle cam, and with whom I went willingly, albeit I had frendis anew ther for the tym, that offerit to chaife him bak again. Bot I wald not prejuge my juft caufe without purpos ; for the Erle Bouchen was of a difcret and gentill natur, and fchew me that they had nothing to ley to my charge, bot to fe gif I culd be ane gud instrument of concord ; and willit me when I wes in Leith, to fend vp word to the castell of Edenbrough, and allege that my lyf wes in parell, incaice they wald not render the houfe to the Regent. I faid, that it wes a bairnly tail, and maruelit of ther wifdome, that mycht knaw how my frendis of the castell wer angrier at me then they wer, for not taking part with them.

The lard of Grange wes not content when he hard that I wes tane ;

for he knew how oft I had preffit and perfwadit him to tak plan part with the Regent, and how far I had raifonnit againft the fecretary and Sir James Balfour, in ther proceadingis with the Quenis faction ; feing that fche was captywe, in fic fort as nother mycht fche mak them help, nor they hir, except that fche wald be the ftraitlyer gardit and kepit in England. Hearing a faction to be ryfen vp in hir name, wald fuppone that fche was in fome hope of haifty liberte, be fome practyfes with the fubiect in England. Sir James Balfour allegit, that hir Maiefte had frendis in France and vther partis, wha wald the rather do for hir, that they vnderftod a number of hir nobilite yet on fut profefing hir autorite. I faid that hir only frendis in vther partis, wer in

P. 127. England and France : they that wer in England durft not prefently, and wald be in the harder eftait, and in greter danger, for the fufpition that wald be had of them ; and hir French frendis wald do hir na gud ; the Quen mother, wha had the cheif reull of the contre, being hir gret ennemy ; and the houfe of Guife nather able to mak hir help, nor yet wer they fur frendis ; as I fall fchaw at mair lenth the proif of my argument, when I haue releauit my felf out ther handis that kepit me.

I was declairen, how that the lard of Grange was angry at my taking, I being fa frac for the Regent, and he fa willing to jun with him. That fame nycht, he fend down a woman out of the caftell to Leith, with a ticket to me, that he fuld com that fame nycht at midnycht, and releaue me out of ther handis ; and had fend that fame woman to knaw how I was keped, and wher I was logit. The Regentis camp lay between Leith and Edenbrough, and many of the noblemen and barrons logit in Leith, for euery ane had not pauillons. The lard of Grange had aponted a boit to ly at Granton, and thocht to com failen in to

Leith heuen, as gif it wer a boit com ouer the watter ; and thocht caldly without fraik to com to my loging, and tak me out of my kepers handis, and pafs vp the watter again, to a part wher he had horfmen in a redines to cary me vp to the caftell with him. Bot I wald in na wayes confent therto, affuring him that I was in na danger, and that my L. of Bouchan had promyfed me, ay when I pleft, to let me fteall away ; quhilk I wald not do, but defyred daily to be tryed. Many of the lordis meruelit wherfor I was tane, feing that I affifted ay with the Regent fen his entre in Scotland. Lykwais the Regent wes mifcontent ; fa at lenth it was found, that a very few confellouris knew of my taking. The Erle of Mar a trew nobleman faid, that the Erle of Bouchan, for fuffring himfelf to be fend, was dafter nor the formair erle his gudfather, wha wes not very wyfe ; bot the Erle of Morton fend me word, that nathing fuld ail me mair nor his awen hart. For the faffion, they defyred me to find caution, that I fuld ferue the Kingis Maiefte and his Regent. Sa I wes neuer brocht before the confaill, bot fet to liberte. Of a treuth, I culd not fe a raifoun to fet vp twa factions fa lang as the Quen wes captywe, nor yet culd fe any outgait for them that profellit hir autorite ; wha wald fayn haue affifted the Kingis lordis, bot wer not accepted, and therfor neceffite drawe them to deffend them felues vnder the fchadow of fome autorite.

The reft of my raifouns, why the Quen wald get na help out of France be hir awen frendis, nor yet be the Quen mother, ar thir. The Quen mother wes not weall vfed, fa lang as our Quenis firft husband K. Francis 2. lyued. The confaill and eftaitis of France defyres not the vnion of this yll. For proif, efter that my brother Sir Robert, when he retournit the firft tym of his ambaffage out of England, brocht

the hand wretis of xxv principall erles and lordis of England, to fet the crown of England vpon the Quen of Scotlandis head ; and that the captens in fchyres wer alre dy named be the faidis lordis, to be in a redines to marche fordwart when they fuld be chargit ; only they stay-ed vpon the Quenis opportunitie and aduertifment. The Quen incontinent wret in France, to hir oncle the Cardinall of Lorrain, willing him to fend heir ane of his maift secret faruandis ; to whom fche mycht communicat matters of fic wecht and importance, that fche wald nother hazard to fend them in wret nor chiffers. The faid Cardinall fend in heir ane of his famylier secretaires ; to whom the Quen caused my brother and me declair at lenth, the maner of the eftait of England, as is abone fpecified ; defyren hir faid oncle to fend his aduyfe anent the tym, and word what help he and all his frendis with ther moyen mycht mak, to land other few or many fchippis, bot with a contenance of men, at fic a part of England ; and gif he and they mycht mak na help, to kepe fetret ; it wald be eafely enough brocht till pafs. This secretair being retournit to his maifter, infourmed him of the hail matter. The cardinall again, to won thankis of the Quen mother, and to appear to be a trew Frenchman, fchew the Quen mother, how hurtfull to the crown of France wald the vnion of the yll of Bretan be ; and thocht met that fche fuld aduertife the Quen of England to tak ordour therintill, quhilk the Quen mother failed not to do. Bot the Quen of England gaif hir na credit, bot rather fupponit it to be ane Italien fetche, to put hir in fufpition of hir nobilite. This the Quenis Maieftie tald me hir felf, complenen of the cardinallis vnkyndly dealing. Therfor I faid, that ther wes na help to be loket for out of France ; and the Duc of Alb, wha was in Flanders, had planly refused

to mak any help, till the K. his mester wald command him ; and that he had enough ado, to sattle his maisters awen subiectis in Flanders.

Thir wer the argumentis that I vfed to moue my frendis to agre with the Regent ; and they wer at a neir point, be the dealing of the tua lordis Hum and Ruthven, affistid be the secretary Lidingtoun ; for the Lord Hum wald then do nathing without his aduyse.

Bot efter that the Erle of Morton wes returnit to the court, and had obteanit the bishopry of St Androwes, be Mester Randolphes moyen, they tua suspecting the apperant agrement, quhilk wes kepit secret from them, deuyfed incontinent how to hender the same, be the holding of a parlement, wherin to forfalt all ther ennemys ; wherby the Regent fuld wrak vtterly his ancient ennemys the Hammiltons, and euery ane of the Kingis lordis fuld get landis and geir enough ; and Mester Randolph promysed sic fecfull assistance of England, that ther culd be na resistance maid be ther ennemys. The Erle of Mortoun again had gret gyding of the maist part of the confaill, to perswad them consent to a parlement, to be halden in Stirling for the foirfaid effect.

The Quenis lordis again, to be equall with them, held another parlement at Edenbrough, baith at a tym, ilk ane till forfalt vther. The Lard of Grange in the mean tym had gret displeasour to see Scottis men sa furiously bent against vther, be the practyses of England, and extream gredines of some Scottis lordis, that intendit till augment ther rentis, be the wrak of some of ther nybours whom they enuyed. Therefore fend for the lard of Ferniheft his gud sone, and the lard of Ba-
P. 129. clouch, father to this present lard, wha louit the lard of Grange better then any of his awen kin ; quhilk lard of Baclouch was a man of rare qualites, wyse, trew, stout and modest. Thir twa lardis wer desyred to

com weall accompanied, and arryuit at Edenbrough in ane euenyng lait. The lard of Grange had alreedy deuyfed ane enterpryfe, to wit, that fame nycht efter they had soupped them felues and baitted ther horfe, to ryd all nycht fordwart with them to Stirling, to be ther early in the mornyng or any of the lordis that held the parlement wer out of ther beddis ; hopping be his intelligence affuredly to furpryfe them before they culd be aduertift. All the lordis and confaill fand his deuyce exceding gud, bot they wald in na wayes grant that he fuld ryd with them, alleging that ther only confort vnder God confisted in the preferuation of his perfone. He again allegit that his prefens with them wald be nedfull, for he wes experimented with difficill enterpryfes, and fearit that they fuld not folow richtly nor cairfully his direction ; bot they promyfed to folow it reſtrictly, and wald not fuffer him to ryd with them. Bot the Erle of Huntly, my L .Arbroith, and my Lord of Paiceley and dyuers others, raid fordwart with the forces of the twa lardis, and wer at Stirling before four houres in the mornyng, and entered in the toun of Stirling at a little paſſage, led be a townis man callit George Bell ; quhilk entre wes immediatly efter that the nycht watches wer retiret to ther reſt. Sa being the firſt aduertifers, they deuydit ther men, and appointed fic as wer thocht meateſt to await vpon eury lordis loging, and a company with Capten Hackerftoun to ſtand at the market croiſe, to cauſe gud ordour be kepit, and to ſaif the town houſes from being ſpoilzed ; only the ſtables to be cleangit be Ba-clough and Farniheftis men, not to leaue a horſe in the town oncaried away with them ; quhilk the ſouthland childer forget not to do for ther part. Bot becauſe Capten Hackerftoun cam not in dew tym with his company to ſtand wher he was appointed, a number of vnrewly ſaruandis

brak vp the marchandis boithes, and ran heir and ther in difordour efter the fpoilge, and left ther maifters ther alain, efter they had tane out the haill lordis out of ther logingis, and wer leading them captiues doun the ftay caffay of Stirling vpon fut, intending to loup vpon ther horfe at the nether port, and ryd till Edenbrough with ther prifoners. Bot when they that wer within the caftell of Stirling perfault the gret rouffill and fchame they wald refaue, gene they fchew not them felues lyk men, and feing the difordour of ther ennemys, they cam down fercely vpon them and refcowed them all, faving the Regent that ane cam and fchot behind his bak, directed fra my L. of Pacelay as was allegit. The Lard of Wilmeftoun wes the taker of the Regent, and wes appointed be the lard of Grange to await vpon him, and to faif him from his particuleir ennemys ; for they all promyfed him at ther parting fra Edenbrough not to fla a man, or elis he wald not grant to byd behind them. Wilmeftoun wes alfo flain, againft the Regentis will, wha cryed continowaly to faif Wilmeftoun, wha did what he culd for his preferuation. The Regent died not fodayly, bot some dayes efter, and maid a very godly end. They that had tint this fair enterpryfe for falt of Granges prefens, had enough a do to faif them felues, and had bene all tane, wer not they of Stirling wantit horfe to perfew efter them ; for they that had tane the horfe, raid ther gaitis with all poffible fpeid, and left ther maifters behind them in danger.

P. 130. When they wer retournit bak till Edenbrough, they wer very vnwelcom geftis to the lard of Grange ; wha lamented hauely for the Regentis flachter, and faid, gene he knew wha did that foull deid, or wha directed it to be done, he fuld tak reuenge therof with his awen hand. And wheras of before he vfed to be meak and gentill, he now bourfted

out with hard langage against the diforder and gredines of them, and callit them snafflers and beaftis ; for he knew the Regent inclynit to the paice, and wes not yngnorant how he wes dryuen be Mefter Randolphe and the Erle of Mortouns practyfes, to hald the faid parlement, to the hendrance of concord and agrement. Therefore his intention was to bring all the Kingis lordis to the caftell of Edenbrough, and fet down a gud agrement before they fuld get fourth ; bot God wald not haue it till our vickednes mycht be better puniffed ; for the parlementis held fordwart, and ilk ane of the tua parties forfalted vthers.

The Kingis lordis cam and lay at Leithe, and the Quenis within the town and caftell of Edenbrough. Mefter Randolphe wald haue had the Erle of Mortoun maid Regent, in plaice of the Erle of Lenox ; bot the lordis lyked better of the Erle of Mar, and cheifed him. For a whyll ther wes het skirmyffching betwen Leith and Enbrough, and extrem hattrent betwen the twa factions, and gret creweltie wher they mycht be maifter of vther ; and oft tymes the marſchall of Berwik cam to Leith, to affift Mefter Randolphe inwartly, and to find fault with his proceedingis outwardly, when he mycht get opportunitie to ſpeak or ſend word to them of the toun of Edenbrough and caftell therof. Quhilk my L. of Mars frendis perfault, and him ſelf at lenth ; wherthrow he began to be caulder in the quarell, and drew him ſelf to Stirling, and aduyfed with his frendis what was meteft to be done ; alleging that he culd ſe nathing bot the wrak of the contre, vnder pretext of King and Quenis faction or authorite ; and that nother King nor Quen was in any of ther myndis, bot only pouffit be ther awen parcialites of ambition, gredines, and vengeance ; England kendlen vp baith parties, and then lauchen them all to ſcorne.

Efter this conference, Capten James Kuningame feruant to my L. of Mar, a difcreit gentilman, defyred a fecret meting with my brother Sir Robert. In the mean tyme, the maift part of the Kingis lordis paff to Stirling wher the Regent wes, leauing my L. of Mortoun in Dalkeith, and my L. Lindfay in Leith. When the warres grew caulder, and word thairof cam to ther knowlege in England, a new ambaffadour wes haifted to com in Scotland, to wit Mefter Hary Killigrew, ane auld frend and acquantance of myn ; for Mefter Randolphe wes retournit hame, becaufe he had not fic credit with the Erle of Mar, and had loft the fauour of baith the factions, except only with the Erle of Mortoun ; for his double dealing was difcouert.

This new ambaffadour being arryuit at Leith, vpon his way toward Stirling wher the Regent remanit for the tyme, he fend vp to the caftell of Edenbrough to fe gif I wes ther, for they had tald him in Leith, that I wes new com ouer the watter. He defyred that I wald
 P. 131. com and fpeak with him ; quhilk I did, and convoyed him vnto Cra-
 mont, raifonyng together all the way vpon fic matters as he faid he had in commiffion, cheify how he mycht be a gud instrument to agre the differentis that was betwen the twa parties ; albeit ther was na-
 thing les in his mynd, at leaft in his commiffion. He faid he had com-
 miffion from the Quen his meftres, to deall with baith the parties for
 ther concord ; bot mair cairfully, and with the aduyfe of manyer loving
 frendis, vnto them of the caftell then with ther contrair party. And
 albeit that outwardly he behoued firft to pafs wher the Regent was, to
 geue him that prerogatywe, yet in effect my frendis of the caftell fuld
 be preferrit, baith be his firft falutation to them be me, and be twa
 famylier wretingis, the ane from my L. of Leycifter to the lard of

Grange, and the vther from the secretary Cicill to the secretary Liddingtoun ; willing me to prey them to follow and credit the aduyse geuen therin be the saidis lordis, to them whom they louit entierly for ther vertus and auld acquaintance ; and willit me to tell them, that efter he had declaired his commiffion to the Regent, he fuld com bak again to them, and declair at lenth his commiffion from hir Maiefte.

It appearit that he had intelligence, how that Mester Randolpbes double dealing was discouert, and seamed to find some faltis with him ; bot he excused him sa far as he culd, vntill I adjurit him sa, vpon the lang and great famyliarite that had bene betwen us, to deall planlier with me ; and tald him that he mycht serue his mestres trewly anough, on casten me and my frendis vpon a wrang fynd, quhilk mycht be efterwart our wrak ; wha had deserued better at his hand then till put us in sic danger, be the commown practyses of contrees, as thocht we wer vntowart and vnhonest and on confellable ; as Mester Randolphe had done, forgetting the fraternite in religion, sa weall groundit among us during ther baniffement in France for religion. Then he wes compellit to grant vnto me, that his commiffion and his mynd went not a way ; and that he wes imployed against his will, and as a faruand durft not difobey his princefs, and said he wald geue me his loving confaill and warnyng.

He said, that the Quen and Confaill of England nother buildit ther course heir vpon the lait Regent, nor yet vpon this Regent, bot entierly vpon the Erle of Morton ; afweill of ther awen plat layed long fence, as be the information of Mester Randolph, wha has confirmed them in that oppinion, sa that they will not alter for na contrary persuation ; willing my frendis and me jun our course, and band with the Erle of

Mortoun, or elis to look for na frendfchip out of the court of England, bot hurt and wrak fa far as they mycht. For albeit he wes not Regent, they knew that he had a gret frendfchip in the contre, quhilck they wald increase fa far as they culd ; that whofoever wer Regent, fuld get litle or nathing done by his consent. In this I thocht he delt planly, and fa did my frendis of the castell ; yet they culd not find in ther hartis to jun with him, albeit he futed them and offerit to hald vp the Quenis autorite ; for they thocht his courfe vnfsure for the King and fateling of the estait, and ouer far addicted to England.

Efter that this ambaffadour nad bene with the Regent in Stirling, and com bak again to Edenbrough, he tald the rest of his commiffion to them of the castell ; to whom he vfed him felf bot lyk ane ambaffadour, as he was directed. Generally he fayd, that he fand them mair raifonable than the Regentis party. Then he pafst to Dakeith, to meit with the Erle of Mortoun ; and then ftayed at Edenbrough, to await vpon meit occafions and informations, how to proceed conform to the tenour of his instructions.

This new ambaffadour had commandement to tary in Scotland for
 P. 132. a tym, to fe gif he mycht conquys afmekle credit as to ferue ther turn that fent him. And becaufe I wes of his greateft acquaintance, he cam with me to my houfe, and taried a few dayes to refresche his fpirit. And efter that I had convoyed him bak again to Edenbrough, he fchew me fome articles of his instructions, ane of the quhilkis wes : “ Item, gif the capten of the castell will condifcend, that all the differentis that ar now in queftion amang the Scotis, be referrit to be difcydit before us and our confaill, as the rest of the Kingis lordis haue granted alredy, we falbe his gud frendis, and mentean him in his office,

and geue him ane honorable penſion." To do the quhilk he gaue a plain refuſe, and ſayd it wald preiuge his prince and contre. Bot that and his vther refuſes of before, coift him his lyf efterwart.

About this time, my L. Regent ſend a wretting for me to be at him with deligence. At my commyng to him, he maid a hauy mean for the ciuill troubles that wer kendled in the contre, be the craft and malice of ſome in England, and ſome in Scotland ; taking the coulour of this or that autorite, and yet wer only moued be ther awen particularites, to the hurt baith of King, Quen and contre ; defyryng me that I wald paſs to the caſtell of Edenbrough, and ſchew them as of my awen head, " and not as fra me, that ye vnderſtand that I perſaue, albeit ouer lait, how that we ar all led vpon the yce, and that all gud Scottifmen wald fayn agre and ſatle the eſtair ; and they in ſpeciall, gif they culd get a meting, quhilk ye ar affured they may get of me, gif they wald ſut the ſame ; and offer your ſelf to be the inſtrument to bring on a gud agrement betwen them and me, quhilk fall with Godis grace tak gud effect, at your retournyng with ther raifonable offers and anſwer."—Wherupon I paſt till Edenbrough, and fand them all inclynit to paice and quyetnes with litle perſuaſions ; for they wer at a neir point of before with my L. of Lenox ; and ſome conference had bene betwen Capten James Kuningame and my brother of before. At my retournyng to the Regent, he wes very glaid, and ſaid he knew that the honeſt men, feing the Quen wes captiue, to whom ther profeſſing of hir autorite culd do na gud bot euell, wes euer willing to ceſe fra ciuill diſcord, bot wer be practyſes caſſen againſt ther willis vpon a contrary courſe.

Then he inquyred, vpon what condiffions the capten and his frendis

wald agre. I said that the lard of Grange wald not fell his dewty to his prince and contre, for na commodite, bot wald ferue the King and his Regent to fetle the estait, sa lang as the Quen wes detenit in England; and gene God pleased to grant hir libertie, they douted not bot that sche and the King hir sone fuld agre betwen them selues, wherunto all honest and gud subiectis on baith fydis wald hald hand. And presently, they for ther partis desyred na mans land nor geir, but only to bruik peiceably ther awen lyuyngis; only that the Regent wald cause pay certain dettis, contracted for repairing of the castell and arteillerie. Quhilk conditions the Regent promysed to fulfill, and to be ane assured frend to Grange, and them of the castell in particulaire; and without any

P. 133. farther cerimonies, callit the lard of Tullibarden his gud brother before, and efter that he had declaired vnto hym how far we had procedit, he choppit his hand in myn, and swore the paice in presence of the said lard; wha had also bene a gud instrument to the said agreement, together with his man of law, Mester Clement Litle, a very honest man, brother to Willyem Litle, efterwart prouest of Edenbrough. Na ma wer maid preuy therto, bot my Lady Mar and Capten James Kuningame.

Efter this the Regent past till Edenbrough, to conuene the lordis and consaill, to schew them the calamites that the ciuill warres producit, and let them se how neccessaire agrement and ane sattelit estait wald be to the haill contre. And in the mean tym, vntill the apponted consaill day, he past to Dalkeith, wher he wes weill traited and banketed with my Lord of Mortoun. And schortly efter, he tok a vehement seaknes, quhilk caused him ryd to Stirling fodanly, wher he departed this lyf, and wes regreted of many. Some of his frendis and the vul-

gair people, spak and suspected that he had gottin wrang, and others, that it wes for displeasfour.

The Erle of Mortoun, efter the discese of the Erle of Mar, was maid Regent, England helping therto at ther power. Sa fchone as he was chofen, he sent for me ; declairen how that against his mynd and will, the lordis had bourdenit him with that feschious office ; quhilk feing he behoued till accept, he wald wifs that he mycht stand the contre and commown weall in some steid. Firft, he wald desyre the help of all gud and honest men, to draw on peace and concord, to the quyeting of the estait ; preing me, as ane of whom he had euer a gud lyking, to trauell with my frendis of the castell for that effect, and to persuad them to ga forduart with him, as they wer myndit to do with the Erle of Mar ; assuring me, that nane of the formair Regentis had at any tym bene mair willing then he was presently, to put ane end to the ciuill troubles, nor that fuld remember les vpon the parcialites past ; and that the Regent fuld not reuenge the Erle of Mortouns quarelis, bot wha euer wald ferue the King and be his frend, he wald embrace them and debait them, vpon what fyd or faction foeuer they had bene of before ; and luk vpon what conditions they delt with the Erle of Mar, they fuld haue the same or better of him. I fuld haue the pryourie of Pittenweme for my labour ; the lard of Grange, the bischoprik of Santandrowes, and castell of Blaknes ; and euery ane that wer within the castell, restored to ther landis and posseffions as of before.

It was very hard to bring on this agreement with the Erle of Mortoun, for the euell oppinion quhilk was conceaued of him, and for the foull and hurtfull markis that they supponit, be some proifis and aperances, that he wald schut at ; being ouer greedy of nature, ouer gret

with England, and ouer fearfull that the K. wald be his wrak ; wherof a lady that was his leman, had schawen him the anfweres of the oracles. Yet the lard of Grange, wha was euer willing to se concord in the contre, was easely perswadit. The L. Hum and Liddington maid some resifrance at the first, bot wer also content at lenth. Sa that efter I had past tuye or thryse betwen, they apperit to be agreed in ther hartis ; and for supperabondance, the lard of Grange said, that he fuld cause all the rest of the Quenis faction to agre with the Regent ; bot to tak the bischoprie of S^t Androwes and the castell of Blaknes he refused, and wald haue nathing bot his awen landis.

P. 134. When I returnit to the Regent, with ther answere conform to his desyre, he was maruelous glaid ; bot when I declaired, that the lard of Grange wald be a gud instrument, to cause all the rest of the Quenis faction agre also with him, he said that it was not meit. And when I raifonit aganft him, and schew him how that I had spoken in his name, that he was myndit to agre all Scotland, and that Grange had na quarrell of his awen, bot to help a number of noblemen that requyred his protection during the Kingis minorite ; and requested the Regent till agre anes with them altogether, for Grange honour, and efterwart he and all they of the castell fuld band with him, and lay a fyd all vther bandis. The Regent answerit and said, " James, I will be plane with you. It is not my weill to agre with them all ; then ther faction wil-be as stark as it is, wherby they may some day circomvene me gif they lyked. Therefore it is my weill to devyde them ; and mair ouer, ther hes bene gret combres in this contre this whyll bygain, and during them, gret wrangis and extortions committed, for the quhilk some fassion of puniffement mon be maid ; and I wald rather that the crymes

fuld be layed and liecht vpon the Hamiltouns, the Erle of Huntely and ther adherentis, then vpon your frendis ; and by that, I will get mair profit be ther wrak, nor be the wrak of them of the castell, that haue nother sa gret landis nor efcheitis for us to wonne, and for to be the reward of our laboures. Therefore schaw Grange and your frendis, that other mon they agre by the Hammiltouns, therles of Huntly and Argyll, or the saidis lordis will agre without him and them of the castell." To this I anwerit, that I vnderftod him ; that his speach wes very plain.

With this I past again to the castell, and reherfit our hail reafonyng. Bot Grange said, that it wes na godly nor iust dealing, to lay the wyet vpon them that was richeft, for ther landis and geir, and not vpon them that wer giltiest ; for the noblemen wer ay willing till agre, efter that the Quen wes kepit in England, bot culd not be admitted. And yet, gene now they wald abandoun him, and agre by him and them that wer with him, he had deserued better at ther handis ; yet he had rather that they fuld leawe and difceawe him, then that he fuld do it vnto them.

When the Erle of Mortoun perfauit that Grange stode stif vpon his honestie and reputation, he apperit to lyk him the better, and seamed that he wald ga fordward with them of the castell ; and fend vp Carmichell, at my defyre, to heir out of ther awen mouthes sa far as I had spoken in ther name. They of the castell lykways fend Pittadrow to the Regent, to heir out of his awen mouth sa far anent the agrement as I had said to them in his name. This I did for my discharge, whatfoeuer mycht chance efterwart.

Then the Regent asked, at what tym the castell of Edenbrough fuld

be delyuerit vnto him. I said, within half year. "What securete," said he, "fall I haue for that." I said, I fuld be a plege, gif he wald accept me. Then he inqyred, wherfore I tok sa lang delay. I said, for the first, till all articles and promyses mycht be perfourmed; and lykwayes, because he said that he euer estemed the lard of Grange to be ane honest man, yet be wrang reportis and practyfes, the ministers wer sterit vp to cry out and preach against him; therfor to mak him the mair able, and geue him the greter curage to serue in tym comyng, P. 135. it wald be a contentement to his mynd to let the warld se that, awfeill efter the agrement as before, he fuld be estymed alyk honest and worthy to kepe the house; and then at the tym apponted, the Regent fuld be requested to refaue the castell out of his handis. He apperit to be very weill content with this maner of dealing, and gaif me gret thankis for the trauell that I had tane; willing me to pas hame, and he in the mean tym fuld conuene the rest of the noblemen of his fyd, and schew them of his proceadingis, and tak ther aduys and consent to this gud purpos, quhilk he douted not to get; and therafter fuld fend for me again, and put the form of the agrement in wret.

Bot he tok incontinent another course, and fend a meit man to the Hammiltouns, the Erles of Huntly, Argyll, and ther dependers and affistors, and offerit them the pacification, by the lard of Grange and them of the castell; quhilk they glaidly agreed vnto without many ceremonies, and fend ther wrettingis instantly to the lard of Grange out of S^t Jhonstoun, lamenting that the necessite of ther hard and strait estait fuld compell them to accept the appontement quhilk the Regent had offred vnto them; preing him not to tak it in ane euell part, seing they had na house nor strenth to reteir them into; and gaif him gret

thankis for the help and assistance that he had maid vnto them, quhilk they fuld never forget, sa lang as God wald lend them ther lyues.

This was the recompence that this gud gentilman obteanit, for the gret help, hazard and charges done and maid for thir lordis ; not be- leuing that the Regent wald be sa malicious as to cast him aff, and not accept his frendship, quhilk he offerit incontinent efter that the rest wer agreed by him. Bot the Regent fra that tym fourth wald heir of na offer, and perswadit the rest of his faction, that they of the castell wer sa proud and sa wilfull, that they wald not grant to serue the King, nor acknowlege him as Regent. And this was publifit and prechit, and yet the contrary was trew ; for they wald haue tane any raifonable appontement. What rage wes in the Regentis mynd, for gredines of ther landis and geir, or what vther thing fuld haue moued him to bring in England with ane armye, to besege the castell of Edenbrough, to the dishonour of his prince and contre. Quhilk castell wes offerit a litle of before, to the Erle of Rothes, to be instantly delyuerit into his handis, to be keped to the Regentis behoue, quhilk wes refused ; sa that apperantly he had some vther fetch in his head, then a man esteemed sa wyse fuld haue had, feing that he mycht haue obtenit his intent without the help of England, having all Scotland at his deuotion, saving that few number within the castell, that wald haue agreed till any mediocre conditions.

The castell of Edenbrough then wes straitly besegit, with ane Englis armye vnder the conduit of the marchall of Barwik, assisted be all Scotland. They within, feing they culd not be resaut till any composition, debated sa lang as they had any vitales and watter ; for ther draw well dried be the drouthy sommer, and they had na vther watter bot sic as

they fetched, letting men with cordes down ouer the wallis and craig of the castell, to a well on the west syd, quhilk wes efterwart poisonit ; wherthrow sa many as eschaped the schot, died, and the rest fell deadly
 P. 136. feak. Yet the lard of Grange tok in hand, with aucht perfonen, to kepe the castell on tane be force ; of the quhilk number the Lord Hum wes ane, my twa brether Sir Robert and Androw, the lard of Pittadrow, and his brother Patrik Echlin.

This resolution being tane, the lard of Cleishe and Mathow Coluill his brother wer sent to the castell, femyng to mak them offers of apontement. Bot ther intent was, to get intelligence of the estait of the houe, and to seduce the foldiours that wer yet alyve ; quhilk they did, sa that some fled out ouer the wallis, and vthers wer schot fourth ; for the capten thocht the houe in a surer estait, baith for vitalles and vtherwayes, when they wer fourth. The marchall of Barwik seing na apperance to com sped, entrit in contention with the ambassadour, alleging that the Quen his mestres wald get a dishonour, and said he wald tary na langer. Wherupon they without entrit in a new commonyng, and send vp again the lard of Cleishe, to offer them to com fourth with ther armour, bag and baggage ; quhilk was agreed vpon, and that they fuld be restored to ther landis. And because ther landis wer for the tym in vther mens possession, it wes put in ther awen will, whither they wald pass in England with the marchall of Barwik, or remain in Scotland among ther frendis, vntill sic promyses as wer maid them mycht be fulfillit.

The Englis men desyred that the castell sould be put in ther handis ; bot Grange sent secretly to capten Hum and capten Craffort, and desyred them to com and ly within the bulwark between the houe and

the Englis men. Sa he pat the castell in handis of Scotis men, and his perfone to pafs in England with the marchall, wha was his frend, vntill all promyses mycht be keped to him and the rest, be the meanis of the Quen of England.

On this maner they cam fourth, efter that George Douglas, naturall brother to the Regent, had refautit the houe. They had all ther weapons and swordis about them, and wer thre dayes at liberte. Sir Robert lay with me at his awen loging. The lard of Grange and the secretery Liddingtoun remanit yet with the marchall of Barwik in his loging, for ther greter securete, becaufe that the people of the town of Edenbrough wer ther gret ennemys. For except a few that taried within the town, during the ciuill troubles betwen the parties that lay in Edenbrough and Leith, the maist part of the richeft men and marchandis left the town, and pafst till Leith to tak part with the Regent; therefore ther houfes wer spoilzed, and they bure gret hattrent to them of the castell.

Bot at the end of thre dayes, they wer all layed handis vpon and keped as prifoners. For some of ther maist malicious ennemys pat easely in the Regentis head, and in the ambassadours, that it wer weall done to request the Quen of England to cause delyuer the hail company in the Regentis handis, to be difponed vpon at his pleafour; alleging that they had na securete bot a bair promyse, quhilk they nedit not till keip. And becaufe they of the castell reposed maist vpon the promyse of the marchall of Barwik, the marchallis wreting wes sa
 P. 137. preuenit be the ambassadour, that the Quen of Englandis schairp lettre cam to the marchall, to delyuer them of the castell to the Regent; quhilk he durst not difobey, bot delyuerit them with gret regret, be

raifoun of his promyfe, and returnit malcontent to Barwik. And they of the caftell wer put in ftrait keping, and efterwart new lettres wer purcheffit be the Regent from the Quen, that he mycht execut them ; quhilk fche permitted willingly, for fche wald haue bene quyt of the Lord Hum and Grange, as of tua trew Scottis men wha wer vnwonnable till England to do any thing againft ther prince or con tre and the fecretary Liddingtoun, wer not that he died in Leith before that the reft wer delyuerit to the fcamles ; fome fupponyng he tok a drink, and died as the auld Romanes wer wont to do.

As for the Lord Hum,—Alexander of Manderftoun, Codownknowes, the gudman of North Barwik with the reft of the Humes, fpak fa proud langage and boifted, that the Regent ftod aw of them and fpaired the Lord Humes lyf, wha died fchortly efter, being wardit in the caftell of Edenbrough. Mefter Killigrew defyredn a mair for his reward bot the faffetie of my brother Sir Robertis lyf, he was fa far oblift of auld to him and me. The compofition wes kepit to all the reft of the mean gentilmen. The pryour of Kowdingame and lard of Drylaw wer efterwart fet to libertie. Sindre of the captens of Barwik pafit vp to the caftell, be the brefcche wher the foir wall wes dung down be the canons, that they mycht fay that they had won the maiden caftell ; bot this wes efter that the houfe was delyuered ouer to the Regentis brother, wha wald not haue fufferit them to enter ther with any number.

On this maner, baith England and the Regent wer reuengit vpon that worthy champion, whom they had fomtymes in gret eftymation ; wha had done fic notable feruice in France, being capten of ane hundredreth leicht horfmen, that he wes extollit be the Duc of Vendome,

Prince of Conde and Duc of Aumall, gouuernours and collomners [coronnells ?] then in Picardie, that I hard the King Hendre 2. point vnto him and said, "Yonder is ane of the maift vailyeant men of our tym." Also the K. vsed him sa familiarly, as to chuse him commonly vpon his fynd; and because he schot faire with a gret schaft at the buttis, the K. wald haue him to schut tua arrowes, ane for his pleafour; and the Gret Constable of France wald not speak with him on couerit; and that K. gaif him ane honorable pension, wherof he neuer socht payment; and England had proif of his qualites, baith against them vpon the borders, wher he did them dyuers ruffles, and be singlar combat vincust the L. Yuers brother, betuen the tua armyes of England and Scotland; and efterwart had sa manfully debaited the libertie of his contre against the Frenschemen, when they pretendit to erect the reaulm in ane prouince: and wha laity had refused the demandis of Mester Randolphe and Mester Killigrew, as is before mentionit, and had reprochit baith the saidis ambassadouris of false and disceatfull deling; and last of all, had refused to put the castell in the handis of Englifmen. Therefore because he wes trew and eafald to his prince and contre, it coist him his lyf; for they baith boisted planly to bring down that proud gyantis pryde, wha presumed to be a nother Wallace, as they allegit. Albeit contrary wayes, he wes humble, gentill and meak lyk a lamb in the house, bot lyk a lyon in the feildis; a lusty, stark and weill proportionit personnage, hardy and of a magnanym curage; secret and prudent in all his enterpryses, sa that never ane that he maid or deuyfed misluckit

P. 138. wher he was present him self; and wher he was victorious, he was very mercifull, and naturally liberall, and ennemy till gredines and ambition, and frend till all men in aduersitie, and fell oft in trouble to debait

innocent men fra sic as wald opprefs them. Sa that thir his worthy qualites, wer also partly caufes and instrumentis of his wrak ; for they promoued him fa in the oppinions of many, that some loued him for his religion, vprychtnes, manlines ; vthers again dependit vpon him for his gud fortoun, and apperant promotion, wherby dyuers of them hoped to be aduancit and rewardit, fupponing that honours and offices could not fail till fall to him ; quhilkis all he wanted in his awen default, for he fled fra auarice, and abhorrit ambition, and refufed findre gret offices, euen the office of Regent, and benefices and gret penfions. Sa, wanting place and fubftance till reward, he was incontinent abandonit be his gredy and ambitious dependers, fa fchone as they faw him at a ftrait, and drew them to fic vthers as they perfauit to fchut at mair profitable markis. Then, he was afmekle enuyed be them that wer of a vill and vnworthy nature, as he was belouit of all honeft men. Then, as many haue maid tragicall endis for ther ouer gret gredines and ambition, as did the Erle of Mortoun fchortly efter, this gud gentillman periffit for being ouer litle ambitious and gredy. Bot fa fchone as the Kingis Maiefte cam till perfyt aige, and had knowlege how the eftait of the gouernement and contre was handled during his minorite, he caufed reftore the aires of the faid lard of Grange, whom he faid was wracked againft the appontement with the Regent and the marchell of Barwick ; and also ordonit his beanes to be tane vp, and to be buried honorably in the ancient buriall place of his predeceffours in Kingorn.

Efter this, the marchall of Barwick tok fic hauy difpleafour, becaufe of his promyfe, and that the appontement quhilk he had maid with the caftell of Edenbrough was not kept, that he wald tary na langer in his

office at Barwik, feing that he had tint his credit and reputation. For he was a plain man of warre, and loved fa Grange with his hart, that he spaired to cast down the houfes of Ceatoun and Nidre at his request, the tym that he cam in to cast down the houfe of Hammiltoun; lykwais all the captens of Barwik lamented the los of sic a worthy capten.

The Regent tryumphed for a whyll, because of the gret affiance that England had maid to him, quhilk they had not done to any of the formair Regentis, bot rather sterit vp parties and factions against them, to hald the contre in discord. The causes that moued them sa till affist him wer, that they beleued the auld jeloufies betuen the Stuartis and Douglassis fuld tak ane end be him; the yong King being in his handis to be disponit vpon at his pleafour; the Quen his mother being alredy captuwe in ther handis; quhilk tua only mycht jun England and Scotland in a monarchie. Therefore abone all vthers, the gyders of the court of England for the tym, wiffit them tua to be out of the way, afweill for the gret offences done be them to baith King and Quen, as for the desyre they had in destroying that race and lyn, to place some of ther frendis to succead vnto the crown of England. Sa thinking that the Regentis mark in Scotland and thers in England wer conformable, they set him vp, they fortified him, and establiffit his regiment.

P. 139. Bot God of his gudnes sufferit not ther pretences to tak effect; for the Regent wanting aires of his awen body, and having na compeditours to stay him fra doing any thing that he pleafit, when he thocht the tym meit, he drew matters at lenth; and in the mean tym set his haill study how till gather geir, and how till fouk out substance baith fra England and Scotland; mouyng therby England to repent ouer lait

for the want of the lard of Grange, and for that they had not kept him in England, to haue bene ane auband ouer the Regent head, as he kept the King to be ane auband to them. And as he was crafty, he was fearfull and flaw of nature ; and he thocht the Erle of Angus his brother sone yet ouer yong, and not capable to comprehend his hid intention, and therfor was lang in refolving. Seruyng his turn in the mean tym with England, as they did with all the warld ; when they wer lyk to haue any trouble amang them selues, or with ther nybours, then he compellit them to fend him filuer ; quhilk they did fair againft ther hart, with a hid despyt and secret hattrent at his flawnes on the ane part, and gredynes on the other.

This Regent held the contre vnder gret obedience in ane establisht estait, better than was many yeares of before nor yet sen syn ; for ther was not another Erle of Mortoun to steir vp the subiectis in factions, as he vsed to do againft the rest of the Regentis. Quhilk maid him fa proud and disdanfull, that he dispyfed the rest of the nobilite, and vsed na mans counsaill bot his awen, and becam ingrat to all his auld freindis and saruandis ; and vnder pretext of justice, vsed to commit dyuers wrangis and extorcions ; againft the lard of Fentre, for a theif that had eschaiped out of his handis many yeares of before ; againft the lard of Seefeild, for a piece land ; and againft Mester James Thorne-toun, for his benefice. Sa as that he had tint the fauour of England, sa did he the hartis of all Scotland, bot only of George Afflek and Sanders Jardan. As for the lard of Carmychell, he lamented to me greuously of his ingratitude towardis him, and was myndit to leaw him, vntill I gaue him a counsaill, to help him self be the hurtfull experience of the lard of Grange, and my brother Walter Meluille, wha wes an

gentilman of the Erle of Murrays chamber. Quhilk twa tint him sa schone as he becam Regent, and lykwais my self; for we had bene lang famylier with him, and had affited him in all his troubles; bot when he was Regent, wald reprove, admonish and tell him his faltis, wherby we tint his fauour. And vthers that had ay bene in his contrair before, cam in and flatterit him in all his proceedingis, and bekkit wery laich to him, callen him “your grace” at ilk word. “Thir men,” I said, “wan him, and we tint him; and apperantly,” said I to Carmichell, “ye folow the lyk fulifche behauour as we did; therefore ye mon tak vp another kynd of doing, now sen your frend is becom Regent. Ymagen that ye wes never acquainted with him of before, bot entrit to serue a new maister. Cast never vp your auld and lang seruice; bek laich, “grace” him at euery word, find na falt with his proceedingis, bot serue all his affections with gret deligence and continowell onwating, and ye salbe sure of a reward. Vther wayes all the formair tym spendit in his seruice salbe tint, and he fall hat yow and tak a dispyt at yow, quhilk may bring on efterwart a greter wreck.” Carmychell gaif me gret thankis, and his hand that he fuld folow this confaill; quhilk he did restrictly, and becam a gretear courteour then euer he was, and was baith employed and rewardit, and had credit to do pleasour to his frendis; bot I fand him not thankfull efterwart to me for my confaill.

P. 140. Now the yong King was brocht vp in Stirling, be Allexander Askin and my Lady Mar; and had for principall preceptouris, Mester George of Buchwhennen and Mester Peter Yong, the abbotis of Cambuskyneth and Drybrough, branches of the house of Askin, and the lard of Dromwhaffell his Maiesteis maister houfhald. Allexander Askin wes a nobleman of a trew, gentill nature, weill loued and lyked of euery

man for his gud qualites and gret discretion, in na wayes factious nor enuyous, a louer of all honest men, and defyred euer to haue sic as wer of gud conuerfation to be about the prince, rather then his awen nerer frendis gif he thocht them not sa meit.

The Lard of Dromwhaffell, again, was ambitious and gredy, and had greteft cair how till aduance him self and his frendis. The tua abbotis wer wyfe and modeft ; my Lady Mar was wyfe and schairp, and held the King in gret aw ; and sa did Mester George Buchwhennen. Mester Peter Yong was gentiller, and was laith till offend the King at any tym, and vfed him self wairly, as a man that had mynd of his awen weill, be keping of his Maiesteis fauour. Bot Mester George was a stoik philosopher, and loked not far before the hand ; a man of notable qualites for his learnyng and knowlege in Latin poefie, mekle maid accompt of in other contrees, plaifant in company, reherfing at all occasions moralites fhort and fecfull, wherof he had abundance, and inuented wher he wanted. He was also of gud religion for a poet, bot he was easely abusyd, and sa facill that he wes led with any company that he hanted for the tym, quhilk maid him factious in his auld dayes ; for he spak and wret as they that wer about him for the tym infourmed him. For he was becom fleperie and cairles, and folowed in many thingis the vulgair oppinion ; for he was naturally populaire, and extrem vengeable against any man that had offendit him, quhilk was his greteft falt. For he wret dispytfull inuectywes against the Erle of Monteith, for some particulaires that wes betwen him and the lard of Buchwhennen ; and becam the Erle of Mortons gret ennemy, for ane hackeney of his that chancit to be tane fra his saruand during the ciuill troubles, and was bocht be the Regent ; wha had na will to part

with the said horse, he was so fur of fut and so easy, that albeit Mester George had oft tymes requyred him again, he could not get him, and wher he had bene the Regentis gret frend of before, he became his deadly enemy, and spak euell of him fra that tym fourth in all places and at all occasions. Dromwhaffell also, because the Regent kepit all casualtes to him self, and wald let nathing fall till vthers that wer about the K., became also his enemy, and so did they all that wer about his Maieste.

The Regent again, reuling all at his pleafour, maid na accompt of any of them that wer about the King, vntill a discret gentilman callit Mester Nycholl Elphinstoun aduertift him, how that he was invyed of many and hatted of euery man, specially be them that wer in Stirling with the King; aduyfing him, (albeit ouer lait) to bestow part of his gold vnto samany of them as he beleued wer wonnable. Wha, till ane that was in mean rank, he gaif twenty pieces of gold, at xx lb. the piece. What he gaif till vthers I can not tell; bot sic as had spoken ill of him before, durst not alter ther langage, because of the Kingis wit and gud memorie, wha could chek vp any that he persauit had first spoken euell, and then began to speak gud again; as his Maieste had done till ane of the company, alleging that he had chengit his coit, as I was informed

P. 141. for the tym. Sa that the Regent was ouer lang in dealing of part of his gold to them that wer about his Maieste; wha increffing in yeares and knowlege, findre gentilmen began to fut seruice and wer onwaters. Amang others, James Stuart sone to the lord Ogiltre, a yong man of a bufy brain, a quyct tanter, with mirry conceatis, and had ane aspyring spirit, and with tym wan gret fauour and credit with his Maieste, and not so weill lyked be them of the castell of Stirling. Yet he was

the mair ouer fean, because he gaue continuell euell information to his Maieſte of the Erle of Mortoun ; and ſa did alſo my L. Robert Erle of Orkeney, wha had bene wardit and hardly handled be the Regent, for ſome ſkilent dealing with Denmark as was allegit.

The Regent being on this maner brocht in diſſauour with his Maieſte, euen when he was vpon the heicht of the wheill, the Erles of Argyll and Atholl wer ſecretly practyſed, and drawen in to Stirling be Dromwhaffell, with the conſent of Alexander Afkin meſter of Mar and Meſter George Buchwhennen ; be whais aduylſe and conſaill his Maieſte was eaſely mouit to depoife the Regent out of his office. Wha yeldit and granted eaſelyer therto then any man wald haue beleued, and againſt the oppinion of dyuers of his frendis ; and reterit him ſelf to the houſe of Lochleuen within the loch, for the ſurete of his perſonne, vntill he mycht vnderſtand what wes lyk to be folowed fourth thervpon, and what mycht be the nyxt beſt for him to do.

The Kingis Maieſte hauyng atteanit vnto the age [of twelve] yeares, ordonit a conſaill to ſit in Edenbrough, for the affaires of the realm ; the Erle of Atholl to be chanceler, because the Lord Glames wes a litle of before ſlain in Stirling, be the Erle of Crafford as wes ſuſpected ; wha denyed the deid, and purgit him ſelf ſa far as he culd. The Erle of Argyll, with the meſter of Mar, taried in Stirling with the Kingis Maieſte.

During the tym that this new conſaill ſat in Edenbrough, the Erle of Mortoun, wha wes quyet in Lochleuen making the allees of the garding euen, his mynd was occupied in the mean tym vpon cruked paithes, with a complot how to be brocht in again to be maifter of the court. Quhilk was accompliſſit vpon a nycht at midnycht, when he

cam to the gettis of the castell of Stirling. They wer oppenit vnto him be the tua abbotis, and a faction that they had drawn in ther with them, albeit, the Maister of Mar and the Erle of Argyll maid the resistance they culd, wher the Mesters eldest sone died in the thrang. Yet the party enterprysers preuailit, wha brocht in again the Erle of Mortoun, and pat out the Erle of Argyll, the Maister of Mar, Drom-whaffell, and sic vthers as they mislyked, and sa maid a new change in court; wher the Erle of Mortoun handled the matter sa discretly and moderatly as he culd, that the alteration fuld not seam to be our schairp or violent. Bot the new chofen consaill skatterit incontinent; some of them retiring hame, and some junit with the Erle of Morton, trowing never to se a tourn again.

About this tym, cam heir out of France my Lord of Obeny, wha was efterwart maid Duc of Lenox; wha was brother sone to the Erle of Lenox, and obteanit efterwart gret credit and faour. And James Stuart of Ogiltre, of whom I haue maid mention, affistid him with proces of tym, to perswad the Kingis Maieste to desyre to ryd out of Stirling, and mak a progress amang the rest of his subiectis; quhilk the Erle of Mortoun wald not resist, supponyng that it lay in his power to fram the court at his plesour; be his gret substance, to won sa many as he thocht necessary; and be the multitude of his frendis, to bear out his busynes, howeuer the court was rewled, efter that he

P. 142. had obteanit ane discharge and allowance of his handling during the tym that he was Regent, abyding alwayes starkest about the King. Bot my L. Obeny and James Stuart wer starkest in faour; wha be ther continowell rounding in his Maiesteis ear against the Erle of Mortoun, engendreth at lenth a mair mislyking in the King of him, then

he had before ; James Stuart being the sterer vp of the other. And efterwart, when he thocht the tym convenient, he tuk occasion till accuse the said erle, before the confaill, of the lait King his mourther ; wherupon the Erle of Mortoun was confitut prifoner, and fend first to the castell of Edenbrough, and efterwart to the castell of Dombartan. Quhilk was thocht strange, in respect of his many freindis that wer in court for the tym, wha wer then found to be bot frendis of his fortun ; for he was louit be nane, and envyed and hatted be many, sa that they all loked throw ther fingers to se his fall.

England wer also angry at him for the tym, because of his slawnes till outred sic turnis as they hopped for at his hand, having put the King and contre in his power. Yet they maid some contenance to help him, quhilk was rather the cause to haift his wrak ; for they fend down to the borders some companyes, to the number of xvij^e, boisting to fend in a greter number, and to declair open warres incaice that the Erle of Mortoun wer not set at liberte, and the Lord Obeny put fourth of Scotland. Mester Randolphe wes fend in with this ambasad.

His Maieste again, having thir tua yong men about him, wha knew of na parelis, raifed a taxation to pay wageours, and caufed mak a proclamation euery man to be in a redines ; quhilk moued the Englis to reiteir, and leaue aff fra any farther procuring or making of affistance ; encuraging therby sa many as wer deadly ennemys to the Erle of Morton, to ryd to Dombartan with the forces of a thousand wagit hacbuters, by ther awen frendis, and brocht the Erle of Morton bak again to Edenbrough, to thoill aysse and to be justified. Then some of his frendis convenit, bot wer not stark enough to raue him out of ther handis ; quhilk they mycht haue done, wer not the forces of hacbuters

that wer newly tane vp, for the countenance and boift that England had maid.

Being brocht till Edenbrough, he fand few frendis to do for him. His gould and filuer was transported lang of before, be his sone naturall James Douglas, and ane of his feruandis callit Jhon Makmoran. It was first caried in barrelis, and efterwart hid in some secret partis; and part therof was geuen in keping to some that wer supponit to be frendis, wha maid ill compt of it again; sa that the maift part therof leichted in frembd handis, and him self was sa destitud of filuer, when he past throw the cassie to the towbuith to thoill ane asyfe, that he wes compellit to borow xx l. to diftribut to the pure that askit for Gods saik. The asyfe condemnit him to the death, as for being airt and part of the Kingis mourthour, and as being of confaill with the Erle Bodowell, wha brocht him out of baniffement when he was absent for the slauchter of feigneur Dauy. He granted that he was maid preuy therto, bot was not a deuyfer therof. And as concernyng the yong King, he purposed to put him in England for his weall, and that he mycht the rather obtean his ryght to the crown of England, being within the contre and brocht vp amang them. He died resolutly, and had endit mair parfytly, gif he had declaired and confeffit his warldly practyfes, and fetches to enterteny the ciuill troubles, partly at the deuotion of England, and partly for his awen particulier proffit, during the gouernement of the first thre Regentis; quhilk was cause of gret bludfchedding, that cryes vp commounly vnto the heauen.

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P. 143. During the Kingis yong yeares, the parcialites wer fa gret, and the hail contrey fa parturbit be the twa parties, that allegit them felues to feicht and flyt and ftryue for the King and the Quen, hir Maieſte being captywe in England, and the King yet very yong, that many parfaued them to be bot factious, faſſchious, ambitious, gredy, vengeable, warldly, wretchit creatours ; and baith parties craftyly ſterit vp, and halden tu be a only faction in England, wha had that Quenis ear ; intending the wrak aſweill of our yong K. as of our Quen, to ſet vp ſome of ther frendis to bruk the crown of England ; quhilk moued [*dyuers vthers to cry out againſt the folly of our nation and the malice of our nybours ; thir few verſes wer ſet out amang many vthers be ane that had na will his name ſuld be knawen.*] many to cry out againſt our fuliſche contentions, ſome in proiſe and ſome in meter, as this that follows for ane.

Last when our lordis lay parkit in ane camp,
 My tent wes ſtent beſyd them in the park,
 Phebus be day, Lucyne the nichtis lamp,
 The ſtarris hail gaue leicht when it wes dark ;
 All creatures avating on ther wark,
 Saif only man, declynand in his kynd ;
 I ſaw and ſiched, and ſaid thus in my mynd.

All maner thing for mannis vse is maid,
 Man till serue God, his nybour for to lowe ;
 All keipis dew course, bot man his lyf dois leid
 In woffull wrang, his vice dois him sa moue,
 Wha till Goddis gloir, and not his awen behoue,
 God did him schaip vnto his similitude.
 Wher is Godis lyknes, what dois man that is gude?

They hald na reull, they schew na sound exemple,
 Na societe they set them till sustean ;
 Ther bailfull bodys, quhilk suld be Godis temple,
 Ar full of pryd, of hattrent, and vnclean.
 They say na suith, I maruell what they mean ;
 All vther thingis persistis in ther degrees,
 The earth geues corn, we get fruit af the trees,

The feildis ther floirs, of birdis thair plaisant sang,
 The fowlis gifis fuid, the sea gifis fiche anough,
 On hors we ryd our journes oft and lang,
 The ox is ydand euer in the plouche,
 Of scheip our claith, our fyre fourth of the heuch.
 All thy warkis, Lord, delytis to geue the gloir,
 Bot only man declynes ay more and moir.

In this, as my nychtis watche cam me about,
 I spaiced a part fra all the rest allain ;
 That wilsome nycht, when gret cauld wes thairout,
 Ane voice I hard making ane drery mean.
 Then I drew neir, and sat down on ane stain ;
 My body grewed, my hair start vp for fear ;
 The voice spak lowd, and I gaue deligent ear.

" Till God I mon deploir my grevous smairt ;
 Soir I am hurt, and of help hes gret neid ;
 My wound is inwart, my harme is in my hart,
 Hard to be heild ; my bowelis all dois bleid ;
 Wha can me cure, wha may me mend or feid ?
 Myn awen, whom I haue nurist from ther youth,
 Has done me till this strang thing and vnkouth."

As I this hard, I had na further fear ;
 Kair was schone chengit intill compassion,
 Thinking schroid sonnes, or souldarts, for hir geir,
 Had sa opprest some honest mattroun,
 Eyther of Leith or of Edenbrough town.
 Then pertly said I, " Schew me I prey yow, dame,
 Wha has this done, and eik what is your name ?"

Sadly said sche, " Scotland, your kyndly mother ;
 On all degrees gret cause haue I to plean ;
 Ye hait, ye hurt, and hereis ilk ane other,
 And paice in me ye will not let remain.
 Ye loith religion, justice ye haue slain ;
 Will is your gyd, to raisoun ye gif na plaice ;
 I mourn, I weip, I cry alalice, alalice."

" I call to God, wha man mak me redress ;
 Ye can do herme, bot nane of you can hail ;
 Me to releawe, and reward your madnes,
 Restoir me myn, punis you for your fail,
 Onles ye repent and your sins bevaill,
 Rendring to your prince obediens and plaice
 To reull me as they aucht, in justice and paice.

" All princely powers ar plantit in be God,
 To mentean richt, till punis wrang and vice ;
 Whether they represent Godis loue or his rod,
 Subiectis suld displaice nane fra ther office ;
 As God dois command, do them dew seruice ;
 Till Ceasar Ceasars, till God only belangis
 To tak accompt of princes for ther wrangis.

P.144. " God reules be mercy more then be his mycht ;
 The warldis rasche reull is bot vexation ;
 Guid princes reull is just, gentle and liecht ;
 Lordis reules with gret oppression ;
 Ministers mon reull without discretion ;
 Barrons wan reull makis lordis on them till ryd,
 Bot burges bene reull may learn the leaue to gyd.

" God not allowes the lewd lyf of ill princes ;
 The Lord dislykis the warldly foul infection ;
 He abhores thir lordis proud pretences,
 Nor pastours that juns with frendis for faction,
 Not content with conselis corruption ;
 And als that barrons ar becom sic beastis ;
 All vnricht reull God vtterly detestis.

" God knawes abuse to be in all estaitis,
 He knawes what prelatis commit symonye,
 He knawes wha causes steir vp thir debaitis,
 In dromely watters to fische commoditie ;
 Of such professours the hypocresie
 He seis, of Juges the deffyled handis,
 And how some lawers conkis cleantis landis.

" Think ye that honnour consistis in vain weidis,
 Or noblenes in outward braggis and bruitis ?
 Gentilnes is kythed be noble deidis,
 As kyndly trees ar knawen be ther fruitis ;
 Vertu wirkis alway, and executis
 Hir worthy warkis, vphalding ay the gud
 Against the warldis vyll ingraturid.

" The warld I call ane monstrous sort of men,
 Led with passions and cled with yngnorance ;
 They loue, they hait, they fauour, they misken,
 Folowing ay false fortouns inconstance ;
 Wraking the gud, the wicked they aduance,
 A hydeous heap compoisd of hyders headis ;
 Ye hait him maist that offers meit remeadis.

" Honour is tint, athoritie is reft,
 The Quene retenit in captiuitie ;
 Promys is broken, obedience is left,
 Rebellion dryues away dewtie ;
 Loue is ouerlaid with hypocresie,
 Treuth is fled, and I tyn patience,"
 (The wyf said weping) " to se sic variance.

" Of subiectis against ther superiours,
 Of saruandis that dois ther maisters betray ;
 Then gret fische feidis on ther inferiours,
 The mother and sone dayly into pley,
 The husband his wyf, the wyf her man wald sley ;
 The dochter in law haldis her gud mother in sturt ;
 All ar inclynit to do till vther hurt.

" O serpentis seed, why lay ye not a syd
 Your poison, when ye get posterite ?
 That ther complexion mycht be clean and void
 Of your corruption and perversitie ;
 As dois some serpentis with fisches in the see ;
 At ther metingis nane will ther maik defyll ;
 Bot ye pass not how many ye begyll.

" I mean the serpent amorous of a fische
 Callit Murena, or euer he com neir,
 First spoutis fourth his venome, syn si flis hisch ;
 At whais whisling, Murena with mery cheir
 To meit hir maik with speid sche dois compeir ;
 Bot ye ar lyker to vipers generation,
 Vndoing other without compassion.

" When vipers gendres togither in ther kynd,
 The maill in femelis mouth putis in his head ;
 Then sche again, maist crewell and vnkynd,
 Bytis aff the same, wherthrow he getis his dead ;
 Syn an slap throw the mothers syd is maid
 Be her awen cankred kitlins sche is keild,
 And they euen sa ar used in ther eild.

" The gretest wrak that may com in ane land,
 Is in it self to haue diuision ;
 Ane end a rod, the other is an wand,
 To plaig them selfis with my perdition.
 The just reward of ther defection,
 They drink the dregis of Godis wrath and yre ;
 Com hunger and pest, ye haue elis sword and fyre."

As I beheld methocht ane sorowful sicht
 To see the wyf mak dull sa dolorous,
 To me allane schawing baith wrang and richt,
 That I inquiryed of this stait parellous,
 The cause that makis them to be quarellous,
 What succes mycht ensew vpon ther dedis ;
 Sche bad me wret what thow heirafter redis.

Yet I asked at hir to knaw be name,
 Whom sche thocht cheifest cause of hir distress ;
 Sche said, " My sone, I wer worthy of blame
 Gif I suld not some of ther names express,
 Thoch dyuers vthers heirin dois transgress ;
 Thir few mens factis maist fercely wholmes the whell
 On me, them selfis, and on ther commoun weil."

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P. 145. Efter that the Erle of Mortoun, the laft of the four Regentis, was depofed, the Kingis Maieftie being yet yong, of yeares, tok the gouvernement in his awen handis. My Lord of Obeny, being maid Lord of Dakeith and efterwart Duc of Lenox, was cheiffeft about his Maieftie ; and James Stuart of Ogiltre, wha efterwart tok vnto him felf firft the ftyll, and fyn the erldome of Arran to him felf ; thinking that he had deferued weall for the accufing and wraking of the Erle of Mortoun ; and alfo tok vnto him the Erle of Marche wyf, baith without any gret richt or raifoun. The Duc was of nature vpright, juft and gentill ; laking the experience of the eftait of the contre ; at the firft maift gydit be James Stuart and his wyf ; wha baith began fecretly to enuy him, and fe how they mycht caft him, that they mycht haue the gyding ther allane. And for that effect they gaue him wrang aduyfes, and finefter informations againft findre of his beft frendis, moving him to fodain wraith, without trew tryall, to ftart at them. Quhilk being perfault be fome that lovit him for the Kingis caufe, it was oft tymes remedied, and vther tymes preuenit ; bot it was fa oft renewed again, that at lenth it tok the defyred effect ; not without the practyfes alfo of England, wha be ther ambaffadour fterit vp findre againft him, alleging him to be a papift, altogether at the Duc of Guife deuotion, and therfor a dangerous man to be about his Maieftie. Bot his cheiffeft falt was, that he being trew to the King, he was thocht vnwonnable to ther behoue, as he wes indede. Mefter David Magill, and Mefter Hendre Keir wer his cheif confellours ; baith wyfe enough

for ther awen proffit, bot cairles of his standing, therefore vnmeit to reull him wha wes in greteft fauour with his Maieſte. He firſt was alterit vpon his loving frend the Meſter of Mar, capten of the caſtell of Edenbrough, lykwayes vpon Sir Willyem Stuart, capten of Dombartan, vpon Allexander Clark, proueft of Edenbrough, and vpon the Erle of Gowry treforere, at the inſtigation and wrang information of the Erle of Arran and his wyf.

Then the reſt of the nobilite wer miſcontent, to ſe thir twa yong lordis cheif doers in court, ſupponing them baith to ſchut at noble mens lyues, for ther landis; and albeit ſome of them miſlyked the Erle of Mortons proceedingis, they thocht the wey taking of his lyff ane hard preparatywe. Therefore a number of them conſulted together, before they had ſufficient proif of the Duc of Lenox gud qualites, to diſplace baith him and the Erle of Arran; and at leaſt to ſend them baith hame, the ane to France, and the other farther aff, incaice he eſchapit with his lyf; in the mean tyme, to thring them ſelues in about the yong King, and keip him, vnder pretext of a neceſſary reformation; and his Maieſte being environit with ther forces, to preſent vnto him ane humble ſupplication, ſa ſchone as he fuld com to Domfermeling, wher he had apointed to com at his retournyng out of Atholl, wher he wes for the tyme at the hunting.

P. 146. At this hyland hunting his Maieſte was very quyet, only accompanied with his domiſtykis. The Duc of Lenox taried for the tyme in Dakeith, the new Erle of Arran at Kynneill. Many of the conſaill wer appointed to hald juſtice aires in dyuers ſchyres of the contre. I wes appointed, with my L. of Newbottill, Meſter Dauid Magill and

Mester Jhon Schairp, to hald the justice aires of West Lowdien in Edenbrough ; wher ther cam to my bedfyd tymely in a morning a gentilman, alleging that I had done him plefour sometymes, quhilk he culd never recompense till that tym, that he suld mak me the instrument to saif the Kingis Maieste my maister, out of ther handis that wer vpon ane enterpryse to tak him and kepe him. I said, I culd not beleue that ; bot fearit that the Duc of Lenox, wha wes to pass till Glasco to hald justice aires, suld be in danger for the hattrent born against him, specially for menteanyng of the twa bishoppis of S^t Andrewes and Glasco. He said again, “ They will lay handis vpon the Kingis Maieste, and then the Duc and the Erle of Arran dar na mair be fean ; for ther infolency and misbehauour is cause of the present disorder, and enterpryse to present ane supplication against them vnto his Maieste.” And efter that he had tald me the names of the noble men, he willit me not to declair his name, bot the matter, to his Maieste, and that the turn wald be done within ten dayes. Now as I start vp to put on my clais, he slippit fourth with a schort fairweill.

Because the Duc wes at Dakeith, I raid ther and schew him the hail matter ; aduysing him to ryd him self vnto his Maieste with this aduertissement, and for his awin securete. Bot he thocht metest to direct ane gentilman with all possible deligence vnto his Maieste, willing me also to wret vnto the Erle of Gowrye ; for the gentilman named him not with the rest, other of forgetfulnes, or elis because he wes bot laitly won to that purpos be the Lard of Dromwhassell ; wha assured him that the Duc of Lenox wes determinit to fley him at the first meating, persuading the said erle to jun with the rest of the noblemen, that wer determinit to reform the estait. Vnto the quhilk invented aduertif-

ment ouer fiercely he gaue credit, and sa wes junit with the rest of the noblemen ; that wer myndit to present this supplication folowing vnto his Maieste, at his comyng to Domfermeling.

“ It may seem strange vnto your hynes, that we your maist humble and faithfull subiectis are heir conuenit, by your expectation ; bot efter your grace has hard the vrgent occasion that hes preffit vs heirunto, your Maieste will not meruell of this our honest, lafull, and neccessaire enterpryse.

“ Sir, for the dewtifull reuerence that we aw vnto your hyenes, and for that we abhor to attempt any thing that may seem displefant to your excellency, we haue sufferit now about the sspace of tua yeares, sic false accusations, calunnies, oppressions and persecutions, be moyen of the Duc of Lenox, and him wha is callit Erle of Arran, that the lyk of ther infolency and enormities was never heirtofore borne with in
P. 147. Scotland. Quhilk wrangis, albeit they wer maist intollerable, yet wher they only tuechit ws in particulaire, we comported them patiently ; euer attending when it suld please your Maieste put remedy heirvnto.

“ Bot feing the persons foirfaidis hes enterit planly to trouble the hail body of this commownweill, asweill the ministers of the bliffit euangill, as the trew professours therof ; bot in speciall that number of noblemen, barrons, burgeses and commonaltie, that did maist worthylie in your hyenes seruice induring your youth ; quhome principally and only they molest, and against whom they use maist extremitie and rygour of laues and practickis, and oft tymes maist sinisterly perverting the famyn for the greter vendication. Sa that ane part of theise your best subiectis ar exylit ; ane vther part tormented and put to

questions, and with parcialite execut ; and gif any eschaip ther barbarous fury, git can haue na acces to your Maieste, bot ar falsly calumniat, invafet, and debarrit from your grace prefence, and halden out of your fauour.

“ Papiftis and maift notable mourtherers daily callit hame, restored to ther formair honours and heritages, and oft tymes hyechly rewaridit with the offices, rowmes and possessions of your maift faithfull saruandis. “ Fynally, your estait royall is not gouernit be the consaill of your grace nobilite, as your maift worthy progenitouris vsed to do ; bot at the plesour of the foirsaidis personnes, wha enterpryses nathing bot as they receaue directions from the bishoppis of Glasco and Rosse, your denuncit rebelles, having with them adjunit in ther ordinary confellis the Paipis nuncio, with the ambassadour of Spaine, and sic vther of the catholik papiftis of France, as they euer labour to subuert the trew religion, and to spoilge your grace of the crown. With theise forfealt-ed personnes, and with your mother, by the aduyse of your estaitis, they trauellit to cause yow negociat and traffic ; persuading your hyenes to be reconciliat with hir, and to affociat hir with yow conjunctly in your autoritie royall ; meanyng nathing vther therby bot to convict vs of vsurpation and tresoun.

“ And sua having these your best subiectis out of the way, wha with the deffence of your minorite maintenit the part of the trew religion, as tua actions vnited and vnseperable, what elis culd haue ensewed and folowed bot the wrak and distruction of baith.

“ For conclusion of ther practickis, your haill natywe contre, for the quihilk, Sir, ye mon geue ane accompt to the eternell God, lyk as we

mon be anſwerable to your excellency, is ſa perturbit, alterit and put out of fram, that the trew religion, the commoun weall, your eſtair and perſonne, is in na les danger, then when ye wer delyuerit out of the handis of the crewell mourderers of your father. What they ar, we will not infiſt at this preſent.

“ Sir, behalding theſe gret dangers to be eminent and at hand, without ſpeidy help, and ſeing your maiſt noble perſone in ſic hazard, the preſeruation wherof is mair precious vnto us then our awen lyues ; finding alſo na apperance that your Maieſte wes foirwairnit heirof, bot lyk to perifch before ye culd perſaue the parell ; we thoct that we culd not be anſwerable to our eternell God, nether faithfull ſubiectis to your hyenes, gif efter our abilite we preuenit not this preſent diſtreſs, and preſeruit your Maieſte from the ſamyn.

“ For this effect, with dewtifull humilite and obedience, we your Maieſteis trew ſubiectis ar heir convenit, deſyrand your Maieſte, in the name of God, and for the loue ye bear to his trew religion, to your contre and commoun weill, and as ye wald the tranquillite of your awen eſtair, to reſteir your ſelf to ſome part of the contre wher your Maieſteis perſone may be maiſt ſurely preferuit, and your nobilite, wha ar vnder parell of landis, lyf and heritages ; and wher your Maieſte fall ſe the diſloyalties, falſetis and treſons of the perſones foirſaidis with ther complices, evidently prouen and declaired in ther faces, to the glory of God, aduancement of his trew religion, your Maieſteis preſeruation, honour and delyuerance of your perturbit commoun weall and contre, and to ther perpetuall ygnominie and ſchame.”

P. 148.

It is certane that the Duc of Lenox wes led be euell confellours and wrang informations, wherby he wes moued to medle in sic hurtfull and dangerous courfes, that the rest of the nobilite tok fufpition, and wer in fear of ther eftait be ane hard alteration. As for the Erle of Arran, they detefted his proceadingis, and efteamed him the worft and maift insolent instrument that culd be found out, to wrak King, kirk and contre. Bot the Duc had bene tollerable, gif he had happenit vpon as honeft confellouris, as he wes weill inclynit him felf. He louit baith the King and commown weall ; bot he wantit experience, and wes not verfit in the affaires of eftait, nor brocht vp in our religion, quhilk aperantly he wes lyk till embrace be tym. The Erle of Arran, again, wes a fcorner of religion, prefompteous, ambitious, nedy and cairles of the commown weall, and a difpyfer of the nobilite and of all honeft men ; fa that euery man loked for a fodane chenge, quhilk fuld haue bene maid in Domfermeling, in presenting this abone fpecified fupplication. What moued the lordis to furpryfe his Maiefte within the houfe of Huntintour,—fome allegit it was to imbark the Erle of Gowry mair deiply in ther band ; vthers faves that the lordis, fearing ther enterpryfe to be difcouert, maid the greater haift, and stayed his Maiefte in that place ; quhilk wes efterwart callit the Raid of Ruthven.

Efter that the Duc of Lenox wes aduertift of this enterpryfe, he fend for the Erle of Arran, wha wes peiceably paffing his tym in Kinneill ; and tok in hand to ryd and faif the K., and boifted that he fuld chaife all the lordis in moufe hollis. Bot he wes chaffit, and faiffed him felf within the houfe of Ruthven, wher they had fchortly maid ane end of him, wer not the Erle of Gowry, whais defteny wes to keip him alyue to be his wrak efterwart. Then the Duc of Lenox being aduertift that

his Maieſte wes in handis, reterit him ſelf to Dombarton. His Maieſte wes convoyed to Stirling, and retenit ther.

The King of France and the Quen of England, being infourmed that the King wes tane and kept, ſend baith ther ambaffadours in this contre, to confort his Maieſte, to ſe the maner, and to offer him ther help incaice he wald requyre the ſame, and declaire that he wes tane and kept againſt his will. Bot his Maieſte, eſter gret thankis geuen vnto the ſaidis ambaffadouris, willit them to declair vnto ther princes, how that he wes very weill content of the lordis that wer about him, and that they wer all his awen ſubiectis willing till obey him ; bot that they had conceaued ſome hard apprehenſions of the Duc of Lenox, and ſome vthers that had bene about him of before. Albeit, his hart wes full of ſorow and diſpleſour, as he tald me him ſelf eſterwart ; and euen then lykways to Meſter Cairo, cuſing to the Quen of England, wha roundit in his Maieſteis ear requeſting him to tell the plan verite, quhilk he ſuld kepe ſecret from Meſter Bowes his marrow, and alſo from the lordis, but only ſuld ſchaw his inwart mynd priuely to the Quen his meſtres. Albeit, it nether apperit be the ſucces to haue bene kept ſecret, nor yet maid that Quen any farther inſtance for his libertie.

The lordis in the mean tym thocht meit to hald ane conſaill, and raiſonit vpon ther beſt, and reſoluit that ther enterpryſe wes gud ſeruice to his Maieſte, the kirk and commoun weall ; quhilk his Maieſte granted alſo to be trew. Wherupon ane act of conſaill wes fourmed and tane. And at that ſame time, the generall aſſemble of the kirk wes haldin at Edenbrough, to the quhilk his Maieſte wes moued to ſend tua commiſſioners, to teſtifie that his Maieſte had allowed for gud ſeruice the ſaidis lordis enterpryſe ; willing the kirk lykways to find it

gud for ther partis, and ordour the commiffioners and minifters of ilk fchyre to publif the fame to ther paroifchoners, and to get the principal gentilmens fubfcriptions to mentean the fame. Neuertheles his Maiefte tok the matter farther till hart then any man wald haue beleuit, and lamentit his mifhandling to findre noblemen and vthers ; and at lenth maid fome of them preuy that he intendit to releaue him felf with tym out of ther handis that held him as captiue, and defyred dyuers of them that he lippenit in, to affift him with ther confaill and help.

The lordis again that wer junit together for the reformation of the eftait, being quyt of the Duc of Lenox, wha wes paft throw England to France, wher he died fchortly efter of a feaknes contracted for difpleafour, and of the Erle of Arran, whom they kepit captiue, in the custody of the Erle of Gowry,—they reterit them felues from the court to ther houfes, that his Maiefte fuld not think him felf in any wayis keped be them ; for they had gottin fome inteligence of his Maiefteis inwart greif for his taking and retenyng. Wherupon his Maiefte tok occaſion to appoint ane convention to be halden in Santandrowes, for ſome Engliſ affaires, efter the retournyng of the crownell Stuart and Meſter Jhon Coluill, wha baith had bene fend ther, and had not agreed weill concernyng ther commiffion, and brocht bak again dyuers answers. To the quhilk convention his Maiefte directyd miſſyues to ſome of the nobilite, bot to nane of the lordis that had laity left him ; fupponyng that they wald not com vnwreten for, and that way to flip him felf out of ther handis, and hald about him fic lordis as he had wreten for ; to wit, the Erles of Argyll, Huntly, Montroiſe, Craffort, Rothes, and the Erle of Marche, wha wes ane indueller in St Androwes for the

tym, and the Erle of Gowry, of whom he thocht him self assured of, bot for some respectis wald not employ him till efterwart, left the rest of his affociatis mycht allege that he had left them vnhonestly. For the said erle had repented him fair, that he had sufferit him self to haue bene drawen be Dromwhaffell to jun with the rest, efter he had sure infourmation how that the Duc of Lenox wes not layed for his schlachter, as wes allegit. Therfor he repented his foly, and offerit at all occasions to his Maieste to help to set him to his liberte.

Sa his Maieste thinking him self assured of all thir noblemen, the day apponted for the convention draweing neir, it pleasit him to send the crownell Stuart to my house, schawing that his Maieste having ane of the greteft turnis ado that euer he had, directed him vnto me as vnto ane of his maist faithfull faruandis, and of whom he had gud proif be the trew warnyng that I had maid him before the alteration; as a sworn gentilman of his chamber, that I wald now help him to his liberte, quhilk he wes determinit to get at his being in Santandrowes, wher he wes till pafs schortly to ane convention; and desyred my assistance and aduyse, and whais confail his Maieste wes myndit to follow sa lang as he lyued; willing me be resoluit not to refuse any seruice that his Maieste will propone to me at meting, and efter I had resoluit to be at his Maieste in Facland, with all possible diligence. This commiffion wes to me very vnplaisant, for I had tane my leawe from the court, as being tyred and weries with the many alterations that I had sean, baith at hame and in vther contrees, and had gottin gret trouble and dommage be them for vther mens cause; therefore wes determinit and inclynit to lead a quyete contemplatywe lyf the rest of my dayes; quhilk this purpos of my prince and maister wes lyk to put

me fra. In this perplexitie, I had recourfe be humble prayer vnto God, fa to direct my doingis as that they mycht tend to his glory, and to the weall of my prince and contre ; and then according to my deutifull obedience, pafte vnto his Maiefte.

P. 150. When I cam to his Maiefte in Facland, he tald me of his intention and deliberation ; lamenting his hard eftait and mishandling be his awen fubiectis, and what difpleafour he had tane ; and how that he wes thocht bot a beaft, be other princes nybours, for fuffring fa many indignities ; with fic vther fpeaches as the crownell had declaired amply to me in his hynes name. I again discourfit vnto his Maiefte, the commown eftait of all contrees during ther princes minorite, ftryuing for ftait and for the cheif handling, wherby to aduance them felues and ther frendis ; as did the houfe of Guife, during the yong age of K. Francis 2. ; the Prince of Conde, during the ring of K. Charles the ix. of France, and the King of Navar ; lykwais the Duckis of Somerfyd and Northumberland, during the youth of K. Edwart the vj. in England ; and asweill in the Quen his mothers tym as now in his awen tym ; fome till aduance ther awen affaires, fome to deffend and meantean ther awen eftait and furete, enterpryfes and ftryffes ; nane of the parties bearing any euell will to his Maiefte, euery ane being in loue with him, and wald be nereft vnto his perfone, albeit fome of them be oftymes tranfported, other be ambition gredines or vengeance, till ouerfchut them felues and forget ther dewty. Princes again that ar wyfe, when they com to parfyt age, haue euer found it ther beft to pardone and ouerfee all fic faltis as ar don at fic hard tymes, be cure gret number of fubiectis. As when K. Charles 9. agreed with the Prince of Conde, all his formair offences wer reckonit for gud feruice ; “ and as

your Maieſte has done, in agreeing with ſamany of your nobilite as wer in fear, that the Duc of Lenox and the Erle of Arran wald hurt baith them and the eſtait of the contre, as they allegit.

“ Now, fir, gif your Maieſte fall ſlip fra them, they will think ther eſtatis in greter danger, not be your ſelf, bot be ſome of ther vnfrendis that may fall in again about yow ; and albeit they be preſently abſent, they haue baith a gard and ſome of ther frendis preſently about your Maieſte ; and then they will not fail to kepe the convention, and be aſchone at Santandroues as the other lordis to whom your Maieſte hes ſend your wretingis ; for it ſtandis them upon ther lyues, ther landis and honnour, to be ſtill maiſters beſyd your Maieſte. Therfor ſaving your Maieſteis awen contentement of mynd, ye ar now in a better and furer eſtait nor ye wilbe, abandonyng them, incaice ye get it not weall done and brocht till paſs ; wherin ther wilbe found greter difficulte then apperantly is als deaply confidderit as the cauſe requyres.”

All thir diffuaſions had na force to ſtay his Maieſte from his formair deliberation ; as having ſufferit ſome diſpleaſour, tok vp a princely courage eyther to put him ſelf to fre liberte or to dy be the way. Bot for to folow the exemples of vther wyſe princes, as he had begun him ſelf to allow for gud ſeruice the enterpryſe callit the Raid of Ruthven, ſa that being anes at fre liberte, he fuld mak a generall law of obliuion, for all bygain faultis and errours committed be his nobilite and ſubiectis during his minorite ; and fra that tym fourth to be as a father to the contre, and ane equall prince to all his ſubiectis ; na mans bluid, na mans land, geir nor office to be tane fra them, and to ſatiſſie the kirk ; to agre parties to ſatle the eſtait, and to be ſeruit with the diſcretetſt perſonnes that fuld be ſocht and found out in all the contre.

P. 131. His Maieſte promyſed alſo to be ſecret, conſtant, and conſellable ; for the firſt, it wes thocht expedient that his Maieſte ſuld be in Santandrowes ſome few dayes before the convention ; that being fre ther, ane proclamation mycht be maid to forbid any nobleman or vther to com to the convention without ane expreſs wreting. For that effect, it wes deuſed that the Erle of Marche ſuld requyre his Maieſte to be in St Androues, tua or thre dayes before the ſaid convention, be raiſoun of his preparation of wyeld meat and vther freſche fleſches, that wald ſpill incaice his Maieſte cam not to mak gud cheir with him ſome dayes before. Whervpon his Maieſte paſt fordwart, contraire to the oppinion of ſome that wer about him, wha durft not tak the baldnes to ſtay him ; bot part of them ſpak and ſaid, that it was not meit that his Maieſte ſuld ryd, before that the lordis wha wer abſent mycht be aduertift. Nevertheles his Maieſte paſt fordwart, and had apponted the Erle of Marche, the proueſt of Santandrowes, with ſome vther barrons to meit him at Darze. At quhilk meting his Maieſte thocht him ſelf at liberte, with gret joy and exclamation, lyk a burd flowen out of a kaige, paſſing his tym in hacking be the way, efter the ſaid meting, thinking him ſelf then fur enough. Albeit I thocht his eſtair far ſurer when he was in Facland ; for he was logit in the auld Ins, a part very open, the yard dykes being his greteſt ſtrength ; and few of his lordis, that he had wreten for the ſecond tym, to be at Santandrowes affchone as he, wer not yet com, except only the Erle of Crafford, wha was neir hand for the tym in Contes-karney.

In the mean tym, I parſauit the folly, and paſt to the proueſt of the town to knaw what forces he had within the town at his deuotion. He ſaid, very few, and that the commonte wer not to be lippenit vnto.

Then I askit, wha wes in the castell. He said, the bischop; wha was delt with incontinent, to haue the castell in a redines to refaue his Maieste; quhilk he promyfed to do. Bot when I returnit to his Maieste, and beleued that the proclamation had bene maid, na man to com to the convention bot samany as wer wreten for, I fand that the abbot of Domfermeling was arriuit out of Lochleuen, and the Erle Marchall out of Dundee. The Erle of Mar wes still with his Maieste, bot all the lordis wer aduertit with deligence from Faeland, how that his Maieste wes riden sa sodanly to Santandrowes; willing them to mak haift to be ther, or else they wald com ouer lait. The said abbot for his part wes schone enough ther, and behaued him self sa extolling his Maiesteis enterpryse, that he retenit sufficient credit to cast down all ther deuyces that wer vpon the Kingis course; for he wes a speciall doer vpon the contrair fyd, and said that it wes not meit be proclamation to stay the nobilite, bot rather to wret misfyues to them, not to come accompanied with ma than ten perfonnes with euery nobleman.

When his Maieste tald me this, I wes very angry, and schew how that it wes the hie way to put him again, be craft and without thankis, in ther handis whom he had laitly left; and that without purpos, proceeding sa cairlesly as to folow ther awen confaill against them selues; affuring his Maieste that they wer comyng fordwart very stark and in armes, and wer lyk to be schoner ther then the lordis that he had wreten for; and mycht com in quyetly them selues, and cause ther companyes com in twais and thres to the town; wheras it had bene better to let them com altogether, that ther haill forces mycht be fean.

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And yet his Maieste wes laith to enter within the castell that same nycht, for his greter secrete, vntill it wes very lait after supper; geuyng

them that wer ther alre dy, leafer till aduylse them, and till enterpryse that same nycht to tak him again, incaice he had past to the Abbey gard to walk, as they had perswadit him, vntill the castell wer prepared. And some wer alre dy entrit within the said gard in armour for that effect; wherof some suspition wes tane, and therefore his Maieste being aduertised, chengit purpos in passing by the gard get to the castell.

The nyxt day, the haill lordis asweill fend for as on fend for, arryued at Santandrowes. The Kingis lordis quyete without armour, the other lordis very stark in armour. The Erle Marchall, the Erle of Mar and the abbot of Domfermeling, logit within the castell with his Maieste; wher the wyly abbot gaif the King consaill, to let nane of the lordis com within the castell, accompanied with ma than xij persones; he feamyng euer to be vpon the Kingis oppinion. This crafty consaill being folowed, the nyxt mornyng the castell was full of men for them of the contrair party, weall armed, and wha had tane the stair headis and galleries alre dy, mynding again to be maisters of K. and all the rest. Quhilk being ouer lait foirfean, diligence wes vsed to bring within the castell incontinent all the Erle of Marches gentilmen, with the yong lard of Darze, the lardis of Balcomy, Segy, Forret, Barnis, the gudman of Fengis, and samany of the town as wer at the proueftis deuotion; quhilk remedied that enterpryse for that nycht. The Erle of Gowry was also a gret stay in that matter. Albeit he cam ther alse stark and alse angry as any of the lordis, yet he wes aduertift of the Kingis gud will towardis him, and wes won and drawen fra the rest. Sa that dangerous day being ouerpast without any harm done, the nyxt day sic gud ordour was tane, that his Maieste was maister of the castell; and folowed na mair the said abbotis consaill, bot declaired his

moderat mynd to all the lordis, and to the Fyf barrons, and townis of the coift fyd, wha had bene sent for ; and lykwayes to the minifters and maifters of the college.—“ That albeit he had bene detenit a whyll againft his pleefour, yet his intent wes not to imput it as a crym, nor na vther thing done in his minorite ; bot wald put in obliuion all byganes, fatiffie the kirk, agre parties, and be equall to all his fubiectis ; knawing nane of them to bear him any euell will, and that they wer dryuen to do any thing that they had enterpryfed, be the force of ther awen fafchious partialites ;”—with many vther wordis of his clemency and difcretion, to all ther contentementis. And thereafter he ordonit four lordis, tua of euery faction, to reteir them for a whyll, to wit the Erles of Angus and [Mar] Bodowell, and the Erles of Huntly and Crafford ; reteanyng all the reft about him as indifferent, for his ordinary confaill, by whais aduylfe to fattill his eftait, and thereafter to bring again to court the haill lordis abone named. Then his Maiefte callit for me before a number of the faidis lordis, and gaif me greter commendation and thankis than I had merited, as the only instrument vnder God of his libertie. His Maiefte caufed alfo mak a proclamation, conform to his formair fpeeches and moderat intention. Bot I tok na pleafour to be prayfed, in the prefence of fa many ; anfwering to his Maiefte, that I had the ill will alredy of famany as wer vpon the purpos of his detenti on

P. 153. Now matters being fatteled as apperit, and lyk to tak gud succes, fome of the Kingis lordis that had bene flaw in commyng, and when they wer com, finding the lordis of the contrary faction at Santandrowes ftark and in armour, had denyed that they knew any thing of his Maieftis enterpryfe, bot layed the haill bourden vpon the crownell

Stuart and me. Now again when they saw appearance of a prosperous success, they took the matter stoutly upon them, and began in plain confession to tell, how long they had bene upon the confession of that enterpryse with his Maiestie, and were long attending upon his aduertissement.

Of a truth his Maiestie was of a mercifull mynd, and gently inclynit towardis all the nobilitie, intending to win all their hartis by his awen discreet behaour. And to that effect he past first to the house of Ruthven, to let the countess see that he was entierly reconcylit with the Erle of Gowry; wha after he had maid his Maiestie a gret banquet, sat down upon his knees, lamenting that his Maiestie shuld haue bene retent in that unhappy house at his last being ther; quhilk he said chancit rather by accident then deliberation, only for the sake of the Erle of Arranslyf. Alleging that he knew na vther thing bot, at his Maiesteis being in Domfermeling, they were all myndit to present vnto him ane humble supplication, abone specified; asking pardon for that accidentall falt, quhilk his Maiestie graciously promysed never till imput vnto him, knowing how blindlingis he was brocht vpon it, by the practyses of vthers.

In this mean tyme, James Stuart Erle of Arran, had obteneit a mekle fauour as to be wardit in Kynneill, his awen house for the tyme, send and congratulat his Maiesteis libertie, desyring that he mycht haue access to com and kiss his Maiesteis hand; quhilk was planly refused. Then he send daily his oppinion and aduise vnto his Maiestie, how till proceed against dyuers of the nobilitie and vthers; thinking also meit to send and bring again vnto the court the Erles of Huntly and Craffort; quhilk was ouer easely granted vnto, by the Erles of Argyll and Montrose; only the Erle of Gowry refused, alleging that the Erles of

Bodowell [Mar] and Angus wer put in hope to be also brocht in again, afweill and affchone as they. Bot equalite that was looked for was forget ; moving the Erles Marchall and vthers to draw them hame to ther houfes. The abbot of Domfermeling remanit ftill at court ; and to won fauour of the crownell Stuart, then capten of the gard, he gaif him a purfe and xxx pieces of gold at four pond the pice ; quhilk pieces the crownell diftributit to famany of the gard, wha borit them, and fet them lyk targetis vpon ther knappikais, and the purfe wes born vpon a fpair point lyk an enfeingge. The abbot fchortly efter wes wardit in Lochleuen ; Mefter Jhon Coluill, the lard of Cleifch and Dromwhaffell wer also wardit, be the aduyce of the Erle of Arran and his wyf, wha folifted continoually his Maiefte that they mycht com to the court ; and at lenth I wes requested be his agent James Stuart, now Sir James of _____, to be ane inftrument to deal with his Maiefte to permit the faid erle to com again to the court ; for he faid that his Maiefte was fauourable anough, and that the Erles of Argyll, Huntly, Craffort, and Montroiſe had not only geven ther confent, bot that the Erles of Argyll and Montroiſe had faid vnto his Maiefte, that they fuld ryd them felues and fetche him ; only the Erle of Gowry refifted ; and that the K. had fchawen him that he wald do nathing therin without my confent and aduyfe. I faid again, that his Maiefte nedit not to feak my confent, gif him felf and famany noblemen wer content. He replied again, that his Maiefte reposed vpon me at that tym, mair nor vpon all his confaill, as his Maiefte had fchawen him, and that he wald not bring him in by my confent.

P. 154. Wherupon I paſt vnto his Maiefte, and fchew him what langage James Stuart, feruant to the Erle of Arran, had halden to me, anent his maifters commyng to court ; and how that his Maiefte,

layed ouer gret a bourthen vpon me, as to fay that he wald do na-thing by my consent. Then his Maieſte tok me to the gallerie of Fac-land, and lamented, as he had bene infourmed, the loſs of many of his beſt frendis ; as the Erles of Lenox, Atholl, Duc of Lenox ; “ and now,” ſaid he, “ the Erle of Arran, wha hazard his lyf to com and re-leaue me, they will not geue him leaue to com and ſe me.” Therefore his Maieſte deſyred me to tell him, what mycht be ther occaſion to hat him as they did. My anſuer wes, that to hyd the verite parellit his Maieſte, and the telling of the treuth parellit myſelf. His Maieſte wald nedis wit my meanyng therin. I ſaid, becauſe he is ane of the worſt inſtrumentis that culd cum about his Maieſte ; wherof he had ouer hard a proif, being all the lait enterpryſe, only maid for his miſ-behauour ; and gene euer he gat place again, the lyk or war fall follow therupon ; “ and my parell for telling your Maieſte the verite is, that he wilbe my deadly ennemy, incaice it be ſchawen vnto him again.” Then his Maieſte deſyred to let him com and kifs his hand, and that he fuld tary na langer ; willing me to deall with my L. of Gowry, that he wald alſo grant that he mycht com bot anes to the court, and fuld retourn incontinent to his houſe without any tary. I ſaid, I fuld cauſe him yeld to his Maieſteis pleaſour.

In the mean tyme, I tok occaſion to declair vnto his Maieſte, how that many princes ar wraked be ther ambitious confellours, that will reull all ther allane, taking vpon them a greter bourthen then they may bear ; for remedy wherof, his Maieſte fuld ſpend euery day bot ane hour, to hear a choſen number of honeſt confellouris raifoun vpon his affaires ; then him ſelf to ſet fordwart his oppinion, that he can weall enough juge and vnderſtand to be the beſt and meteſt to be

folowed fourth, as the K. of France vsed to do. Quhilk his Maieste granted very willingly, and sa lang as he keped that ordour, by the ordinary confaill dayes, his turnis went richtly fordwart. Of thir nomber wer the hail lordis that had affited his Maieste, Sir Robert my brother, the crownell Stuart, the lard of Segy and my self.

Bot sa schone as the Erle of Arran gat prefens of his Maieste, he not only staved at court, aganeft promyse, bot also alterit within a schort tym all this kynd of preuy conference, to do all his allain. Albeit, at his first entre he vsed him self humbly. Efter he had kiffit his Maiesteis hand, he embracit me and kiffit my cheik ; geving me many thankis in his Maiesteis presence ; alleging that all the name of the Stuartis wer obligit to me, for the notable seruice he allegit I had done vnto his Maieste. And as for him, he said he fuld neuer tak any thing in hand, bôt be directed be my brother and me and the lard of Segy. Bot the crownell and he spak not together, vntill his Maieste willit me to agre them ; quhilk I did at lenth. At the first the crownell swoir a gret aith, that gif his Maieste sufferrit that villain to remain in court, that he wald yet again vndo all. For a whyll he held him quyet, bot na apperance of his hame ganging.

P. 155. Somtymes he wald reprove my gentill kynd of proceeding in his Maiesteis effaires, and culd not abyd to se them handled be a nomber ; and pat in his Maiesteis head, that he wald find it a faschious bufynes to be encombrit with many contrary oppinions ; bot willit him to tak his pastym at hunting, and he fuld tary in and heir us, and report again at his Maiesteis retournyng, all our oppinions and conclufions. This he obserued tua or thre tymes ; and in schort spaice chengit that ordour, and tok na mans aduyse bot his awen ; yet said vnto his Maieste, that

he had all our conſaill and conſent to cauſe his Maieſte folow a violent courſe, directly againſt his Maieſteis firſt deliberation, intention and proclamation of clemency and forgetfulnes of all thingis that fell out in his Maieſteis minorite: and cauſed mak contrary proclamations againſt them of the raid of Ruthven, ordonyng them all to tak remiſſions, for that quhilk of before wes allowed for gud ſeruice; moving dyuers noblemen and vthers to draw them far from the court for fear, till ſome places of ſecurite. And when he cauſed red before the conſaill his new invented proclamation, I opponit my ſelf to it, ſaying that it wes directly againſt his Maieſteis mynd and promyſe. He lap out of the conſell houſe in ane rage, and ſaid I wald wrak the King be my maner of doing. I ſaid again, "Other ye or I;" with ſome ſchairp pricking langage, ſa that it wes ſtayed for that tym; till eſterwart he awated a meit occaſion to get it paſt, be a flattering faction that aſſiſted him, tournyng all vpsyd down, putting a gret nomber of noblemen and vthers in fear of their eſtair. And when any of ws that wer deuot to his Maieſteis proſperous and quyet eſtair, wald ſchaw the dangerous and vnpartinent proceedingis of the ſaid erle, his Maieſte wald be very fory, and ſaid he maid him beleue that he did nathing bot be com-mown conſent of the conſaill; and when his Maieſte vnderſtod the contrary, was very ernest and willing to amend the diſorder; bot was ſtill circonuenit be the ſaid erle, and ſic as for fear, flattery, or proffit ſet fordwart all his pretences, caſting for na parell.

About this tym ther cam ane ſchairp wreting from the Quen of England vnto his Maieſte; wha thoct the noblemen that wer put at, and wer abſent from court, meteft instrumentis to be about his Maieſte, for the enterthenement of the amytie betuen ther Maieſteis and contrees,

and wes not content to fe them fa hardly handled. The cople of the said lettre I haue inferrit heir in vnder, wreten with hir Maieftes awen hand.

“ Amongest your many studies, my dear brother and cusing, I wald Ifocrates noble leffoun wer not forgottin, that willis themperour his fouerain to mak his wordis of more accompt then other men ther aithes, as meiteist enfeignies to schaw the trewest bagie of a prince armes.

“ It moueth me muche to mon you, when I behald how diuersely findre wickit spritis distract your mynd, and bendis your course to cruckit paithes, and lyk all euell illusions, wrappit vnder the cloik of your best good. How can it be, that you can suppoise ane honncrable answer may be maid vnto me, when all your doings gainfay your former woves. You deall not with one whais experience can tak drofs for gud payement, nor one that easely wilbe begyllit. No, no. I mynd to fet to scuell your craftyest confellours.

“ I am fory to fe you bent to wrong your self, in thinking to wrong vthers; yea thoisé, who gif they had euen then taken opportunitie to let a ruyne that wes newly begun, that plat wald haue parellit you more than a thousand of such mens lyues be worth, that perswad you to awow such dedes, to desyre a faultles pardone. Why do you forget what you wret to my self with your awen hand, schawing how dangerous a course the Duc wes entrit in; thoch you excused him self, to think no euell therin; and yet they that wer your saiffetie, conferued you from it, you most now seem to geue them reproche of giltie folkis. I hope you moir esteam your honour, then to geue it such a stayne;

fence you haue proteſted ſo often to haue taken theſe lordis for your moift effectiōnit ſubiectis, and to haue done all for your beſt. To conclud, I beſeech you paſs no farther in this courſe, till you receaue expreſs meſſenger, a truſty ſaruaud of myn, be whom I mean to deall lyk ane effectiōnit ſiſter with you ; as of whom you ſhall ſee plainly you may receaue honnour and contentement, with more ſuretie to your ſelf and ſtate then all thoſe diſcembling counſellers will, or can bring vnto you ; as knowes the Lord, to whoſe moift ſaif keeping I do commit you, with my many commendations to your perſone.

“ Your maift affured and faithfulleſt ſiſter and couſin,

“ ELIZABETH.”

Vnto this lettre, his Maieſte commandit me to minut ane anſwer in his hyenes name, that he mycht wret it ouer again with his awen hand, ſamekle of it as he ſuld find meit ; for the abbot of Domfermling, ſecretary for the tym, was in ſuſpitiō to haue bene vpon the contrary courſe.

THE COPIE OF THE ANSWER.

“ Madame, for congratulation of my libertie, I haue receaued a lang lettre of yours, accommodit at the entre with that ſentence of Yſocrates, which willeth princes wordis to be more entierly obſerued than other mens aithes ; as thoch ſineſter report were maid vnto you, of ſome forgetfulnes in me ; or that ye fear, in tymes commyng, that I fail in keeping of ſic promyſes vnto my frendis, as may be maid vpon juſt and convenient occaſions.

“ For answer vnto that head, I remember asweill that saying of Yfocrates, as I do another, wher he wald not haue them halden for frendis, that allow or prayse whatsoeuer we say or do, bot rather sic as modestly reprove our faltis. So that I tak your schairp admonition at this tym, as proceeding of a sifterly loue, albeit vpon wrang information ; hopping that sa schone as ye fall trewly vnderstand of my hard handling and patient behauour, ye salbe sa weill satisfied, as to discerne me to haue done nathing bot that which ye wald haue done your self in the lyk estait.

“ First when I wes detenit captywe with a faire coulour, it pleseth you to send your ambassadours, lyk as did the K. of France, frendly to vedit me, offering me gret kyndnes and help, incaice I nedit any for the tym ; wherof I render you yet hartly thankis, alleging that I was weall content, and had gud frendis about me, quhilk wes very trew. For ane part of the same lordis that wer then about me, persauyng my greif and miscontentement, offerit euen then to releaue me, whensoeuer I wald desyre to be at greter liberte. Wherupon I maid you then that answer, quhilk ye mak mention of in your lettre, as I maid the lyk
 P. 157. answer vnto the Frenche ambassadour. Neuertheles I was euer myndit at a meit tym to releawe my self, for my honnour, as I haue done presently ; folowing another saying of Yfocrates, willing princes to hazard rather to die honestly, than to rengne schamfully. How I did regne for the tym, ye mycht know be your cusing Mester Cairo ; in whoise ear I roundit familiarly my inwart greif, because he said ye willit him to requyre it at me a part, promysen that it fuld be secretly kepit from all vthers. Albeit, I vsed not sic planes with Mester Bowes. Indeid I subscryuit sic wretis and lettres as the saidis lordis presented them vnto

me ; for the tym wes vnmeit to difput ouer precifely vpon circumftances, that wer futed and determinit be them that wer maifters of me and of the eftait.

“ This anfwer, I fuppoife, fall fatiffie your awen raifonable and equitable iugement, difcreitly difcourfing the fame with your felf a part. I dout gene it will be fa interpret be vthers of your confaill, that haue any particulair courfes of ther awen ; to whom becaufe I imput the haill hard langage contenit in your angry lettre, and not vnto your felf and gentill inclination, I think it not neidfull now to wret anfwer vnto euery point of the fame. Sa attending patiently vpon your better intelligence and information in thir matters, I will rather hald in memory your formair frutfull frendfchip, then now to ftart at any wrang fet fillabe, or four fentence, plaicit in your paiper at the partiall instance of vthers.

“ As concernyng that which tuechis the Duc of Lenox, his godly end has declared his honeft meanyng ; whais death I mycht iuftly lay vpon fuch as forceably remoued him from my prefens. Neuertheles I purpos to put all bygains in obliuion, and to compel na man to tak a faltles pardon.

“ Wher ye defyre that I procead na farther, vtill a trusty meffenger may com from you ; I intend to ftay from doing any thing till then, that may iuftly offend you ; albeit Yfocrates aduyfes princes fpedely to execut fic turnis as gud confaill thinkis neceffary to be done ; wiffing that he wha falbe fent, may be afwilling to work the effectis of trew loue and frendfchip betwen ws, as I am affured it is baith our awen hartis defyre and intentione. Wherunto I prey the Lord to rant increafe, continowance and happy fucces, to his glory, weall and quyetnes of ws, and baith our realmes.”

The secretary Walsingame was he of whom mention is maid in hir Maiesteis lettre, to be sent in heir ; bot he wes lang be the way, be raifoun that he wes sickly. In the mean tym, Mr Bowes wha wes ambassadour resident in Edenbrough, had refaut this lettre be the ordinary poist, and sent abak the answer. He declaired many commendations from my L. Burly and many of ther counsaill, to my brother and me ; alleging that they wer glaid that sic men wer about his Maieste, that wer of ther religion, and with whom they wer lang acquainted ; wiffing many sic to be in court.

About this tym, the Erle of Arran obteanit the keping of the castell of Stirling, and ingyred him self sa far fordwart, that he tok vpon him the haill handling of the effaires, and caused findre noblemen to be baniffit ; as the Erles of Mar, Angus, mester of Glamis, and dyuers vthers ; and be his insolency drawe the Erle of Gowry from court, against his Maiesteis intencion for the tym ; wha send me for him to his house, to bring him again to court, quhilk was for the tym in Couper in Fyf. Wher his Maieste agreed him and the Erle of Arran ; bot nathing wes kepit to Gowry ; for he wes sa vexit and put at, that he tok purpos to leaue the contre.

P. 158. I haue alredy declaired, how laith I was that other his Maieste fuld leaue the lordis that wer about him, or that I fuld in any wyse be a medler again in court, be raifoun of the many dangerous alterations that I had sean, be lang frequentation and hurtfull experience. Yet the gret oppinion I had of his Maiesteis gud inclynation, religion, conscience, and constancy, I thocht of conscience and dewty I culd not refuse his requesting commandement, being my natywe prince and maister, and I his humble subiect and sworn seruant, as his domestik,

first in the office of gentilman of his chamber, and fyn of his consall. Bot efter his hyenes taking to be kepit for a whyll, I was na mair admitted be his keepers, wha thocht meit for ther surete, to place about his Maieste men to be hailely for them, and at ther deuotion. As for my awen part, as I wes forie that his Maieste suld be vsed bot at his awen plesour, sa I was content to be sufferit to lyue quyetyly at hame the rest of my dayes. Now again, persauyng his Maiestes projet, and acceptable proclamations slely and cunningly chengit, by his Maiesteis awen clement intention, in contrary proclamations, and violent persutis and procedingis againt them of the Raid of Ruthven, rendring therby ouer gret a number of noblemen and vthers dispaired of ther surete and lyves ; in a lamenting maner I remembrit his Maieste, how he was handlit, and what gret inconvenientis wer lyk till ensue therby. His Maieste was very forowfull, and myndit till amend the disfordour ; bot aduysed alwayes with them that wer the cheif instrumentis therof ; beleuyng that they loued him and the weall of his effaires, because he loued them ; they again making an outwart schaw to satiffye his expectation, indirectly be the meanes of ouer many that dependit vpon the Erle of Arrans extraordinair credit and fauour, the contrary of his Maiesteis princely and vprycht manyng was parfourmed, and folowed fourth, that many noblemen left the contre, and honest men left the court, to the gret contentement of the Erle of Arran and his wyf, to gyd all ther allane. And that they mycht the easelyer set fordward ther course, they persuadit his Maieste to pass to Stirling, wher few or nane durst repaire, because the said erle was for the tym capten of the castell of Stirling, and prouest of the town. I was also reterit

from court, efter I had oft warnit his Maieſte of ſic dangerous proceedingis.

His Maieſte being in Stirling, aſkit oftymes for me, and regreted that I wes not continowally befyd him. Wherupon the Erle of Arran deuſed, that I ſuld be ſend ambaffadour to the Quen of England ; aſweill to hald me abſent from his Maieſteis ear, as to tak occaſion at my retournyng to put me in ſome diſgrace ; becauſe he was aſſured that I culd do na gud at that tym. And commounly, when mens commiſſions takis na gud effect, they ar callomnyat be ther vnfrendis and envyers, as vnmeit instrumentis, vnſkilfull and indiſcret ; quhilk calomnies gettis oftymes ouer gret credit, when matters ſucceedis not confourm to the deſyre of the maifter. Before that his Maieſteis wretting cam to my handis for the ſaid voyage, I had dyted a lang lettre to haue ſend vnto his Maieſte, as a remembrance of his formair promyſes and proclamations ; and what inconvenientis wer lyk till enſew, in the ſetting fordwart of a contrary cours ; together with ſic ſalutary and ſodain remedy as I culd think meteft for the tym.

P. 159. The tenour of his Maieſteis lettre vnto me,—That he had ſome matters to communicat vnto me, wherin he intendit to employe baith my adwyſe and panes, and therefore that I ſuld addreſs my ſelf to be at him in Stirling with all convenient expedition, efter the ſicht of the ſaid wretting ; wher I ſuld vnderſtand mair amply the occaſion of my ſending for, as I wald do him acceptable plefour and gud ſeruiſe. Wreten from the caſtell of Stirling, the 22 of October 1583.

Efter the receipt of this wretting, I raid vnto his Maieſte, and tok with me the lettre quhilk I had pennit of before, as I haue ſaid ; wherof the coppie folowes.

“ Sir, As it has pleased your Maieſte heirtfoire accept my gud will for agreeable ſeruiſe, euen ſa I hope that your Hyenes conſtant fauour ſhall continow towardis me, now and in tymes commyng, neuertheles of my preſent abſens and diſeaſe. For albeit that during your Grace yong aige, I wes ſufferit to lyue happely at hame, from the faſſchious handling of public effaires, yet I knew my ſelf obligit to bear my portionable bourthen in your ſeruiſe, ſa ſchone as it wald pleaſe your hyenes command and charge me therwith. Being then maiſt aſſured to walk in ane juſt and lawfull vocation, wherintill to geue continuall teſtimony of my dewtifull obedience, not preſumyng to geue your Hynes conſaill, haue only tane the baldnes to preſent vnto your Hynes in thir few lynes, my ſemple oppinion of thingis that ar apperantly to fall out vpon your Maieſteis lait proceedingis.

“ For when it pleaſeth your Maieſte, at your firſt paſſing till Santandrowes, to tak vpon your ſelf the fre gouernement of your effaires, your Hynes gracious intention and propoſition then was not only maiſt agreeable to the hail lordis, miniſters and barrons ther preſent for the tym, bot alſo to the reſt of your gud ſubiectis, when as they vnderſtode of your reaſonable pretence. Quhilk being now vtherwayes fallen out and interpret, then wes eyther firſt intendit or determinit, is able to breid commer and diſordour, onles your Maieſte, be wiſdome and dexteritie, preuent the apperant inconvenientis. For it pleaſeth your Maieſte then openly to declare, how that ye only ſocht, with your awen reputation and ſurete, the weall and ſaiffete of your hail ſubiectis, as maiſt willing to ſatiſſie the kirk, to agree parties, to put out of memorie the name of factions, and in perpetuell obliuion all crymes committed in your Maieſteis minoritie; acknowleging all ſic as

chancit to be done during the fame, bot to haue fallen out betwen fubiect and fubiect, for fic particulair respectis as your Maieſte neuer purpoſed till impuſt ; bot to reuge ouer them all in tymes comming as ane gracious father, and that be aduylſe of the leaſt factious, beſt affected of the nobilite, barrons and vther ſufficient fubiectis ; and na man to be placit nor preferrit about your Maieſte, be fauour of furname, kin, frend or allia, bot for ſufficieny, vertu, and loyalte. As alſo, gene any wer to be abſented or fend hame for a ſeaſoun, it ſuld not be done at the inſtance of any inuious ſutter of his office, or particulair party, bot for your Maieſteis honnour and ſurete, during your pleaſour ; leaving them ſtill in hope, throw gud behauour, till obtean again famylier acces about your Maieſte as of before.

“ Gif this calm cours had bene folowed fourth, there was apperance of ane quyet eſtair. Bot altering and chenging this gentill kind of doing, in ane ſchairp and violent perſut of findre, be ſeaking out of ouer many faltis in the perſonnes of ſa many gret and actyue men, it has bred fic miſcontement, and ſa furious a faction, that gene ſodane remedy be not prouydit, ciuill diſcention and deſpaired enterpryſes acht to be loked for, be all fic as haue ſufficient experience of the nature of Scottis men, and ſeamly intelligence of the deparmentis of dyuers, quhilk the neceſſite of ther vnſure eſtair may weill dryue them haiftely till tak in hand.

P. 160. “ It is true, that the ſtanding of commoun wealis conſiſtis mekle in rewarding of the gud, and puniſſement of the wickit. Na dout bot faltis anew haue bene done during your nonaige ; bot to ſeak them out narrowly, and to puniſch them ſtraitly, in fic caices, and at fic tymes, in maters wher many haue dippit, is not beſt. And yet gif your

Maieſte wer willing, as I knaw perfytly ye ar not, I can ſe na outgait how to get it done againſt ſa gret a nomber, having ſa ſmall ſubſtance and forcis, and ſa mychty and aduantageous nybours, lying ſtill at the wait vpon all ſic contraverſies and occaſions, wherby to ſerue ther awen turn. This alſo acht to be preſently reſpected, that the wonted reuerence borne be the ſubiectis vnto the princely authorite of ther ſoueranis, is mekle decayed in this contre, be raiſoun of the Quenis youth and lang abſens; and euen ſa in your Maieſteis tym, for ſome of the lyk cauſes; cheifly becauſe that your Maieſte being yet yong, has bene accompanied this whyll paſt with the yongeſt and meaneſt fort of your nobilite, wha, albeit they be faithfull and affectionit to ſet fordwart your ſeruice, yet the reſt of your ſubiectis alleging them to be factious, yngnorant and nedy, doubtis of ther diſcret behauour, ſeing them pretend to eſtabliſch the eſtate be forces.

“ Hardly may a prince aſſure him ſelf, at all occaſions, to chuſe a ſure courſe wherin ther ſalbe na parell. For commownly men thinking to eſchape out of ane inconuenient, fall oftymes into another. Therefore prudency conſiſtis till vnderſtand the qualites of dangers, and to tak the leaſt euell for the beſt. Some kingdomes and countrees ar gouernit be force, and ſome be fairnes. On the other part, ſubiectis obey eyther for aw or loue. Then the prince is reputed eyther fecles or fearfull, wha can not won the hartis of his ſubiectis be ane of thir twa. For eyther mon the meanis be tane at anes fra men that deſerue to be ſuſpected, wherby they mycht do harm; or elis to ſatiſfie them in ſic fort, as with raiſoun they aucht to be ſa content, that they nether neid to deſyre, nor think it conuenient for them to ſeak any

changement or alteration. Na man will deny bot that contre is maift happy and ftable, wherintill the fubiectis reioife and ar content, and ferue for loue and not for fear. Sa that it is eafy to juge, quhilk of thir twa kyndis of gouvernementis may be meteft for your Maiefte.

“ The emperor Trajan being demandit, wherfore his fubiectis loued and honored him abone his predeceffours, anfwerit, ‘ becaufe I forgeue tham that offend me, and neuer forgettis any that has done me gud feruice.’ Jull Pollux, preceptour to Ceafar, paintis out a vray prince to be of a devyn countenance, godly, mercyfull, juft, equitable, cairfull of his effaires, constant in his dedis, trew in his promyfes, fubiect vnto raifoun, maifter ouer his affections, fecfull and fatherly towardis his fubiectis, of eafy access, gentill to be fspoken vnto, redy to forgeue, flaw to punifs, princely, liberall, fubtill, fecret and fcharpe of engyn, &c.

“ Now becaufe it apperis your Maiefte in youth, has bene fufficiently verfit in many of thir verteous preceptis, I wifs from my hart that fic impreffion mycht be afweill tane of them that ar prefently about you ; feing that princes ar comownly demed to be lyk vnto them whom they mak ther maift famyliers.

P. 161. “ Therefore, fir, for efchewing of all thir euelis, and for to put nereft remedy vnto all the apperant inconvenientis, it is meit, fa fchone as it may pleafe your Maiefte, pafs till Edenbrough, to conuene the maift ancien of your nobilete, and barrons of beft reputation ; be whais aduyfe, together with thir that ar already in court, your contre may be quyeted, and your fubiectis fatified. For now, as matters ar handled, to fpeak of clemency, be caufing them tak remiffions, it will want credit and be euell interpret, as not conform to your hynes firft declairation.

“ The emperor Adrian sperit out all men of gret age and experience, and helpit him self be ther many parelis.

“ Alexander Seuerus wald parform na matter of importance, bot with aduyce of the maift ancientis, and best experimented. He never went out of Rome, vn being accompanied, with four or fyve of the maift honorable, ancient and graue personages, that nane fuld neid to fear that he wald commit any errour or racles turn. He never sufferit the fenat to conclud any weichty purpos, onles fyfty of them had bene present. He caused all his consellouris to put ther oppinions in wret, to se gene any wer posselt with passions or particularites. He chengit oft his cheif familiarite with findre of the fenat, incaice he wha had ay and only the prence ear, mycht be ouercom with importunat presentis, budis and parcialite.

“ The vrgent necessite of the tym, maift noble and excellent prince, causes me to be sa langsome and tedious. Humbly craving pardon, and hartly kissing your Maieftis hand, I prey the eternell, Sir, to grant your hyenes ane lang and happy lyf. From Halhill, this 15 of October, 1583.

“ Your Maieftis maift humble and obedient seruitour,

“ JAMES MELVILLE.”

When I cam to Stirling, and schew his Maiefte this lettre, he not only lyked weill of it, bot also promysed to folow the same aduyse contentit therin, and lamented for the parcial dealing of many that wer about him. Only he said, that my brother Sir Robert wes vpon a found course for the quyeting of the estait; and that some noblemen

againſt whais parcialites he had oponit him ſelf, had diſcordit with him in his Maieſteis prefens.

It pleaſed his Maieſte alſo to tell me the cauſe why I was wreten for, was to be ſent in England, and trauell with the Quen ther, for enterthenement of the mutuell amytie, and increafe of hir fauour and gud will concernyng the title and ſucceſſion to the crown, and aſſiſtance to help till eſtabliſh his parturbit eſtait, be the infolence and particularites of his ſubiectis, bred and ingendred amang them during his minorite.

I anſwerit, that the tym wes vnmeit, and that England wald mak na accompt preſently of him, nor nane that mycht be ſent fra him, vntill firſt, he wald let it be ſean and hard that he culd ſattill his awen eſtait, and be wiſdome render his awen ſubiectis redy till obey him. That being done, they wald redout him, and eſteam him ; and that the beſt and redieſt way till obtean alſo ſome day the crown of England, was to gyd Scotland fa weall, as that they mycht grean and wiſe to be vnder the gouernement of ſic a prince.

Be this langage, his Maieſte was content that my voyage ſuld be ſtayed vntill a mair convenient tym. Sa I returnit fra court to my awen houſe.

P. 162. It is mentionit heir aboue, in the Quen of Englandis lettre, how that ſche was myndit to ſend a truſty ſaruant vnto his Maieſte, willing him to ſtay fra any ſtrait proceeding againſt the lordis that wer put at for the Raid of Ruthven, vntill the arryuing of the ſaid ambaffadour; quhilk was the ſecretary Walingame, a confellour of worthy qualites, and wha had gret credit with the Quen of England. Bot he wes of a feakly complexion, and mycht not indure the poiſt ; therefore wes lang be

the way, caried in a cofche or chariot ; fa that during his langfome voyage, the Erle of Arran paff ay forward, and forget the tenour of the Quen of Englandis lettre.

Sa fchone as his Maiefte was aduertift of the arryuing of Sir Francis Walfingame, I was fent for to com to court, and was directed to ryd and welcom him in his hynes name ; and to bear him company, and convoy him about be Stirling to Sant Jhonftoun, wher his Maiefte thocht meteft part to geue him prefens. Willing me alfo to fay vnto him, that his Maiefte wes richt glaid of the commyng of fic a notable perfonage, wha was knawen to be endewed with religion and wifdome, and whom he eftemed to be his gud frend ; being affured that his tedious trawell in his lang voyage, being difeafed as he was, tendit to fome mair fubftanciall pointis, for the confirmation of the amytie betwen the Quen his fifter and him, then had bene perfourmed at any tym before.

The fecretary Walfingame gaif me anfwer again, that the gret defyre he had to eftablif ane affured amytie betwen the twa princes and contrees, moued him to tak the embaffage in hand him felf ; his Maiefte being the prince in this world that he louit, nyxt vnto the Quen his meftres, and wiffit ratheft to fee and be acquainted with ; and hoped alfo that his commiffion fuld fucceed the better, becaufe he met firft with me, his auld frend and only acquaintance in Scotland. For we had bene compaignons in other contrees ; and dyuers tymes, when I was fend or paffing throw England, he wald haue me to loge and ly with him felf at Londoun, quhilk was caufe that we had the mair famylier conference. Wherupon I wret tua feuerall lettres, that his Maiefte mycht be the better prouydit to mak anfwer vnto fic headis as he

wald propone. Then we tok our journey throw Lithco to Stirling, and from that to Perth. He had hard that my Lordis Ceatoun and Li-uiftoun wer wreten vnto to convoy him ; bot he requested me to stay them, that he mycht haue the mair conferrence be the way with me ; vtherwyfe he wald be compellit to enterteny the noblemen. It may be, that it wes also to let se his awen gret company ; for he had viii score horse in train. Being neir vnto the court, his Maieste send out twa of the confaill to meit him, to wit my L. of Down, and my brother Sir Robert.

The nyxt day, his Maieste gaif him audience, accompanied with mester Bowes ambassadour resident in Scotland. Ther first raifonyng was vpon his Maiesteis liberte, and wherfore he had left the company that wer about him, being the best and maift religious fort of his nobilite, and of her Maiesteis best acquaintance ; and by whom sche wald deall in his affaires mor frendly then sche culd do with others, whom P. 163. sche culd not sa weill credit ; with hard and schairp speaches confourm to his formair wreting. Wherunto his Maieste maid answer aff hand, sa grauely and directly that Walfingame wonderit. The nyxt day, his Maieste appointed four of the confaill and my self to be with him, to raifoun with him, and to se wherat he wald be. Bot he refused to deall with any bot with his Maieste, wha hard him again his allane, without mester Bowes ; wher he discourfit lang with his Maieste. And when he cam fourth from his Maieste, he tok me be the hand, and said he was the best content man that culd be ; for he had spoken with a notable yong prince, yngnorant of nothing, and of sa gret expectation, that he thocht his trauell weill bestowed.

The Erle of Arran desyred to enter in famylier conferrence with

him ; bot he refused to ſpeak with him, and maid na langer tary, bot tok his leaue at his Maieſte, wha commandit me till accompany him to the ferry. And at our departing from vther, he promyſed at all occaſions to wret vnto me, and lamented that the Erle of Arran was again in court, and in ſic credit with his Maieſte ; quhilk gene he had vnderſtand before he tok his journey, he wald haue ſtayed and ſufferit another to bene ſend. For he culd ſe na ſure courſe to be tane betwen ther Maieſteis, ſa lang as ſic instrumentis had greteſt credit about him. For he eſteamed the ſaid Erle a ſcorner of religion, a ſawer of diſcord, and a diſpyſer of trew and honeſt men ; and therefore he wald not ſpeak with him, nor enter in acquaintance ; for he was of a contrary naturell, religious, trew, and a louer of all honeſt men. Therefore Arran to be reuengit vpon him, ſpaired not to do a gret diſhonnour vnto his Maieſte. Firſt for diſpyt that he refused to ſpeak with him, he cauſed reſuſe to let the captens of Berwik, and dyuers honeſt gentilmen that cam to convoy the ſecretary Walingame, the entre of his Maieſtes chamber dur ; and then cauſed prepar ane ſcornfull preſent for him at his leaue taking, to wit a ring with a ſtain of criſtillin, in ſtead of a rich dyamont, quhilk his Maieſte had appointed for him, valuyng vij^c crownis ; quhilk he was oftymes myndit to ſend bak again vnto his Maieſte, rather to let him ſe how he was abuſed, then how he was vſed. Some promyſe was alſo maid vnto him, anent the repairing of ſome wrangis done be Scottis men vpon the borders ; quhilk he allegit wes not kept ; for Arran did what he culd to diſpleaſe him, and to mak his commiſſion in all pointis vnprofitable, and his trauell to be in vain. Nevertheles he maid ſa gud report of his Maieſteis vertus and qualities, that it put him in ſome ſuſpition at his retournyng to the court of England ; wher ſchortly efter he tok ſeaknes and died.

My oppinion is, that gene God had granted him langer lyf, he wald haue bene fond a gret frend vnto his Maieſte ; wha maruelit that the cheif ſecretary of England, bourdinit with ſa many gret affaires, ſeakly and agit, ſuld haue enterpryfed ſa painfull a voyage without any purpos. For he culd not yet perſaue what was his errand, ſaif only that he gaif his Maieſte a gud conſaill. Bot he being religious and of gud conſcience, was ſa deſyrous to ſe, and vnderſtand affuredly the lyk qualities to be in his Maieſte, as he hard oftymes

P. 164. be report, that he retournit with gret contentement in his mynd for that part, bot very ſorowfull for the company that he fand in greteſt fauour and credit about his Maieſte ; vnloked for, be raiſoun of a wretting that his Maieſte had ſend vnto the Quen his meſtres, promyſing not to bring in again to the court the ſaid Erle of Arran without hir aduylſe and conſent. For my part, I never ſaw ſic apperance of a prosperous eſtait, for his Maieſteis honour, furete, loue and obedience of his awen ſubiectis, increaſe of the number of his frendis in England, to the aduancement of his title, nether befor that tym nor ſen ſyn, gif the ſaid Arran had not bene brocht again to the court ; quhilk I left not on declaired to his Maieſte dyuers times, not without ſome parell.

Indeid his Maieſteis intention was, not that he ſuld remain at court, bot only to com and kiſs his hand, and to retourn bak again to his houſe. He again being anes enterit, wan ſome of the lordis, whais particulaires he promyſed to ſet fordwart, ſa that they wald concur with him, and ſchaw his Maieſte how neceſſaire his preſens and abyding about him wald be ; and how that my gentill proceding wald wrak the K. and them all. Handling the matter ſa, that he remanit at court, and myndit to mak him ſelf and his aſſiſters riche, be the wrak and

spoilge of vthers, wha had tane his Maieſte at the Raid of Ruthven, and then he and they to gyd all at ther plefour. Sa many of them as ſhot at particulair markis, ran a ſtrait courſe with him, becauſe they thocht to mend them ſelues be his credit, and fearit to tyn his Maieſteis fauour, incaice that Arran wer not ther frend. And ſome of them did what they culd to perſuad me to do the lyk, alleging that vtherwayes I wald be ſchut out. Quhilk cam till paſs ſchortly eſter, becauſe I wald not geld, nor concure to caſt all lowſe, to the parell of his Maieſteis eſtair and reputation ; remembring what was intendit, promyſed and proclamed, at his Maieſteis paſſing to his liberte.

It is certane, that the lordis that maid that enterpryſe had gret occaſion geuen them to be miſcontent, bot na ſufficient cauſe to enuyroun or compell ther ſouerain prince, to remoue fra him them that he lyked ſa weall of. Quhilk rebellious proceding compellit them alſo, for ther ſurete, to retean and withhald ther King as captiue. His Maieſte again being aduertit and admoniſſit, that the dangerous and ſuſpicious form of doing of the Duc of Lenox and Erle of Arran was able to breid diſordour, tok ouer litle cair to preven the apperant inconveniſtis, and ouer litle deligence to get ſure intelligence and information therof, quhilk brocht him to that ſtrait of taking and keping. For it had bene leſs panes to haue tane gud tent in dew tyme, how his contre was gouernit, then to put ordour or remedy therto eſterwart. For it is na litle errour, to rendre the maift part of the nobilitie and ſubiectis malcontentis, nor na gret wiſdome, eſter that his Maieſte was in ther handis, to ſlip fra them without ther conſentis. The enterpryſers, aſſiſters and allowers of the dede, being ſa gret a number as culd not be ouertane bot be patience, nor puniſſit bot be ſubuerſion of the eſtair,

P. 165. and parelling of the prince his awen perfone. Yet it pleased God to gyd his Maieſte vnto his libertie, albeit with ſome parell ; with gret honour at the firſt, and with the vniuerfall contentement of all his ſubiectis, ſa ſchone as they vnderſtod his honeſt meanyng and gratioux deliberation, aſweill be promyſe as be proclamation, as is alredy ſpecified.

I forget not at all occaſions, for my part, to remember his Maieſte, and reſufed the office of ſecretary, becauſe it was ſaid that na man ſuld want his office, benifice, landis, nor eſchait. And as is els mentionit, I opponit my ſelf againſt the Erle of Arran in plane conſaill, becauſe he had fourmed a proclamation againſt the lordis of the Raid of Ruthven, contraire to his Maieſteis formair new maid proclamation of grace and obliuion of all byganes. Therefore he lap out of the conſaill houſe, in a rage at me ; [*alleging the loue that I bure to the lordis wald wrak the K. and them all. I ſaid, the loue that he bure to ther landis wald do it*] and for diſpyt he maid a row of the names of ſa many as ſuld abyd and be vpon the preuy conſaill, and pat out my name. Lykwais he named ſa many of his dependers as ſuld ſerue in euery office, quhilk his Maieſte was myndit not to do without my aduylſe. This he cauſed his Maieſte ſubſcryue, aſſiſted be thre of the foirſaid lordis that tok plane part with him ; ſa I was ſchot to the dur, and had na mair place to do gud. His Maieſte gratiouſly excuſed the matter, and ſaid that the lordis had na will of twa brether, baith [*bot mean gentlemen*] to be vpon the conſaill ; bot when he ſuld get a wyf, I ſuld be hir confellour, and cheif about hir. Sa that gene they wer glaid to be quyt of my comber, I was as glaid to be fre fra ther miſreull, not to be a partener with them, to the parelling of ther prince and wrak of his contre.

Yet his Maieſte affured me, that he ſuld paſs to Edenbrough, and convene ſic noblemen, barrons and vthers as I had named vnto his Maieſte, to the ſatteling of his eſtate and agreeing with his nobilitie, conform to my wretting abovementioned. And that in the mean tym he tald me, that the Erle of Arran thocht meit to ſend in England the biſhop of St Androwes, alleging that he was paſſing to the well of the Spa, for recouery of his health ; wha paſſing throw England, ſuld haue commiſſion to deal with the Quen of England in his hynes affaires ; and incaice he fand her willing to entre frendly and frely with his Maieſte, he ſuld ſchaw hir that his Maieſte wald ſend me ther, to ſatisfie hir mair ſufficiently in ſic thingis as ſche wald requyre ; and to that effect the ſaid biſhop ſuld ſend bak word be a gentilman, Capten Robert Meluill, wha paſt ther expreſſely for to be ſend bak with the ſaid anſwer. I was commandit to wret in the biſchops fauour ; bot he was ouer weall knawen in England. For Meſter Bowes, wha remanit lang in this contre, had informed them ſufficiently of the ſaid biſchopis qualites ; wha was diſdanit in England, and diſhonored his contre be borrowing of gold and pretioux fourringis fra the biſchop of Londoun and dyuers vthers, quhilk was never reſtored nor payed again.

His Maieſte nevertheles wald haue me to grant to gang in England, and to be in a redines ; and willit me to mak my awen inſtructions, alleging that I knew what was meateſt for him to requyre at that tym.

P. 166. I wald not tak vpon me to mak my awen inſtructions ; bot I ſaid that I ſuld pen the ſpeeches that I ſuld hald unto hir Maieſte, incaice that I paſt ther ; quhilk kynd of langage, in my oppinion, wald be meateſt for the tym to be vſed, and haldin be any man that ſuld be ſent to that

Quen. Quhilk his Maieſte, eſter that he had ſean it, thocht very meit, and conform to his awen meanyng.

HARRANGUE TO BE MAID VNTO THE QUEN OF ENGLAND.

“ Madame, albeit that your Maieſte be elis ſufficiently certified of the King my ſoueranis conformable mynd to ſatiſſie your hyenes, aſweill be Sir Frances Walingame your ſecretary, as be the biſchop of Sant-androwes his ambaffadour, granting to the ane his haill defyres be mouth, and declaired be the other how ſtraitly he has obſerued and parfoured the ſame in effect ; mair to maife and content your motherly mynd, in ſchawing the takenes of a thankfull and obedient ſonne, then for any gret weall he ſeis ye ſeak therby to your ſelf. Sa that it is his Maieſteis intention yet ſtill, cheify ſen he hes tane the ſteir and rudder in his awen hand, to ſchaw you ay the langer the mair, the parfyt fruitis of his hartly affection.

“ For now hauyng atteinit vnto ſome yeares of knowlege and dear bocht experience, (by that quhilk has bene oft beaten in his eares,) he is not ygnorant how that your hynes fauour and aſſiſtance mon be mair happy and helply for his aduancement, then can be any aid he may obtean at all the other princes of Europe. Your Maieſte being to him ſa dear a mother, and ſa neir a nybour ; baith your ſubiectis ſeamyng to be bot a people ; ſpecially ſen your prudent gouernement began, quhilk has not only bene vtterit towardis your awen, bot alſo has extendit vnto the vtilite of vther gret kyngdomes ; cheify ouerſchadowing this haill yland, to your hynes euerlaſting honour.

“ For never in na princes dayes, hes bene fean sic rest, riches, and felicitie in England ; and mycht lykwais haue bene in Scotland, gif the particularites of some of the subiectis had sufferit them till enfew your saige, charitable, and loving admonitions, as they ar presently sufficient motions to moue his Maiestie, whom the matter maist tuiched, to direct me towardis your hynes, efter rype deliberation, and vpon the sure grond of the gud information of sic as ar best inclynit, and haue maist experience, to seek the assistance quhilk he has sa oft fean sent vnto him, help and healthsome aduyse, wher he has sa oft found it, and salutary plaisters to be laid vnto the sores that yet daily breidis and aryfes in his realm, as restis of the canker and difordour engendred during his minorite.

“ Seing then the thing that he craues, is your accustomed kyndnes and confaill, quhilk because the strenth of your constancy will compell yow to continow towardis him, he is the mair hamely to sut the same, as maist seemly for his fibnes, aige and estait sa to do ; persuading himself that sic frendly offices mycht be vsed betwen yow, as mycht tend to baith your contentementis, and weall of your kingdomes ; quhilk for laik of sure intelligence of others inward myndis, be the secret and mutuell conferrence of deuotions and discret instrumentis, mycht vtherways turn to the contraire.

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“ The King my maister knawes that amytie cannot stand vpon a fyd, bot mon be mutuell ; and grantis that he has now greter neid of your help then ye of his in many thingis. Bot he thinkis him self as able, and is as willing to deserue fauour at your hand, as any that can contend with him for the same, or wald presume to found the faschious bell of succeffion in your eares. For his part, he requyres na instant

four of God, to the perpetuall prayse of your memory, and to the vni-
versell weill and felicitie of this haill ylland."

Gif the Quen of England culd haue credit his Maiesteis toward and
modeft inclination, as it was and is indede, sche mycht haue had ane
affured frendfchip and concurrence of him for hir tym. Certainly his
Maiefte was euer myndit to haue kepit this kynd of frendly and discret
correspondence with hir ; for he was informed, how litle speid the Quen
his mother cam, for futting continowally to be declaired second perfone
of England ; as may be fean in that quhilk I haue wreten of before,
tuiching hir procedingis with the Quen of England, wha will never
grant to declaire a second perfone bot be force and compulsion, quhilk
has not lyen in the power of Scotland to do, during the riche and paif-
able regne of this Quen. Yet faire and discret langage and behauour,
gaif plaice and acces to his Maiesteis ambaffadouris, to pafs to and fra,
to won frendis and get intelligence. [*This my oppinion was wreten
and fet down yeres before hir Maiesteis discease.*]

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Now the Erle of Arran, perfauyng that be na perfuasion he culd get
his Maiefte stayed on passing till Edenbrough, ther to conuene sic noble-
men, barons, bourgesles and ministers, meateft to satle his trouplet es-
tate, be taking vp again and folowing fourth his formair gratioux in-
tention and promyse, baith be proclamation and speaches vnto dyuers
noblemen, barrons, and ministers ;—the said erle feing that he mycht
not directly stay that gud purpos, sa contraire to his pretences, he first
maid his moyen to be maid chanceler, and then capten of the castell of
Edenbrough ; that be his gret offices, attour his credit with his Maiefte,
he mycht terrifie all sic as durft upon them selues to his courfes or pro-
positions. Then he vfed his craft, to peruert and draw the effect of the

convention clean contrary to his hynes intent ; for he delt and fpak with euery lord and barron apart at ther commyng ; and fchew them how gratiously his Maieſte was myndit, towardis ſic as had tane him at the Raid of Ruthven, as to grant euery ane of them particulair remiffions ; ſome of them to be a whyll abſent out of the contre, and others to remain at hame in ther awen houſes, abſent from court ; alleging that wha euer wald ſay that this form of puniſſement was not gret clemency, they wald tyn his Maieſteis fauour, as men that had na reſpect to his honnour and furetie ; being ane odious crym to haue layed handis forceably vpon ther natywe prince.

This matter being ſa ſet out and delated be him that apperit to knaw maiſt of his Maieſteis mynd, and had the greteſt offices in his hand, it was found and voted be them all to be gret clemency vſed be his Maieſte, towardis them that had committed ſa odious a crym. His Maieſte was very glaid to heir them all conclud in ane oppinion, not knowing nor apprehending how they wer all perſuadit and turnit, as preoccupyed be the Erle of Arran ; part of them for fear, part for ygnorance, and others for flattery, till obtean fauour of him whom they eſteamed to gyd baith King and contre. Few or nane of them for the tym did confidder the apperant danger of a plane diſpaire, be them that wer ordonit to tak remiffions, in ſtead of that quhilk was of before allowed for gud ſeruice, in reſpect of ther gret number ; quhilk culd not haue bene otherwyſe ouertane nor puniſſit, without the hazart of his hynes awen princely eſtate and credit, quhilk all diſcret and worthy princes are laith to bring in doubt. This allowance of gud ſeruice has bene oft practyſed in France during the tym of ther ciuill waires, when ther lait princes wer bot yet yong, and wher the malcontentis,

or pretenders to reform the estait, wer sa many and mychty as to mak a party vnto ther king.

Because I was not yet com to the first day of the said convention, his Maieste tald me, that same nycht at my commyng, what was proceedit and voted at ther first meting, quhilk he beleued wald be to my gret contentement; willing me the nyxt day to be present. Bot I said, that I was fory from my hart for it that was ther concludit, sen it was in effect clean contraire to his intention, wher he thocht to haue sattelit his estait, to se it casten loufe; and that the dyce was casten, and the discention sa increffit, to the kendling vp of new dispayred enterpryses, that the chance wald bear away the maistry and victory. For they that wer compellit to tak remissions, wald think it to be ther ditay; and that ther formair securites being alterit, ther was na mair plaice left for any sort of agreement.

P. 169. His Maieste tok this vnfaury sayinge of myn, sa contrair to the opinions of many, in ane euell part, and askit at me, gene I thocht not the Raid of Ruthven trefoun. I answerit, that I thocht it sa indede; [*ay vntill*] bot sen his Maieste, wysely and circumspectly, had not only him self and his hail counsaill allowed it for gud service, bot also had wreten it to the Quen of England, and had send his commiffioners to the generall assemble, halden for the tym in Edenbrough, willing the hail ministers, at ther retournyng to ther ordinary paroishes, to cause the principall gentilmen of ilk schyre to subscryue a signatour, or tne copy, wherin the Raid of Ruthven was allowed for gud service, and to be redy to deffend the same.

I declaired also vnto his Maieste, how that ther was a commoun clause contenit in all remissions, to wit, " Except the laying handis vpon the

Kingis persone ;” then what vnfeurete they mycht haue be ther remiffions, his Maieſte culd eaſely juge. His Maieſte anſwerit again, that fendle or never has any remiffion bene ſean broken ; and maruelit, what moued me to ſpeak and think vtherwayes then the reſt of the conſaill. I ſaid, gene I had alwayes ſpoken lyk the reſt, I had not bene put anes aff the conſaill be the Erle of Arran ; whais qualites I had of before deſcryued vnto his Maieſte, and what inconvenientis he was able to bring in with him, at his new entring again in court ; and requested his Maieſte, for his awen weall, to ſend him hame for a whyll to his awen houſe. For be his dealing, as I was infourmed, the concluſion of the convention was ſa drawen, quhilk mycht ſchortly bring on new diſpaired enterpryſes. His Maieſte ſaid, that I was in the wrang to the Erle of Arran, and that ther wald neuer be any ma enterpryſes. I affirmed that ther wald be continowally, ay and whill the lordis that wer put in diſpaire, mycht mend them ſelues, or find them ſelues in a bettir ſecurete. And ſaid mair ouer vnto his Maieſte, that the Erle of Arran wald yet again put his perſone and crown in parell. Sa that his Maieſte left me in ane anger ; and yet turnit about and ſperit, “ wha fall then remain about me, gif I put away the Erle of Arran ?” I ſaid, the Erles of Marche, Argyll, Eglington, Montroiſe, Marchall, Rothes, Huntly, and Crafford, with ſome miniſters and barrons that wer knawen not to be factious.

Bot ſa many of the noblemen and of ther frendis, as wer yet remaining within the contre, eſter that they had hard of thir remiffions, they layd ther headis together, and wan dyuers lordis that wer about his Maieſte to mak a new enterpryſe, and wer myndit to ſley the Erle of Arran, the crownell Stuart, and ſome vthers that wer about his Maieſte,

ther greteft ennemys, albeit it wer in his Maieftes prefens ; and that way to becom maifters again of the court. Wherof I not only was aduertift, be fome that I had fchawen plefour vnto ; bot also they aduyfed me to abfent my felf from court, for thre or four dayes, to efchew the firft fury of the alteration ; for the Erle of Arrans hattrent maid me to be weill lyked of be dyuers honeft men. I again, to faif his Maiefte from parell and difhonnour, thocht it my dewty till aduertis him ; willing him yet to fend hame the faid erle. I can not tell what moued the Erle of Arran, bot he defyred me to fupper with him that fame nycht, quhilk I refused. The nyxt day again, he tok me be the hand before his Maiefte, faying that I fuld dyn with him and fchew me a frendly contenance in his Maieftes prefens ; for his Maiefte had forbiddin him till offend me in any fort, as he wald retean his fauour. Gif he had gottin any word of my contrary oppinion to his, I can not tell, or that I had defyred him to be fent hame ; bot ther was fome apperance, be his behauour and paffionat fpeeches vnto me fchone efter, that I had fchawen my oppinion vnto his Maiefte ; as men may juge, for leading me be the hand to dyn with him in his Maieftes prefens, quhilk I culd not refufe to do.

P. 170. Bot before we fat down to denner, he afkit at me how all wald be. I again thocht meit to tell him all that I had fayd vnto his Maiefte. "Then," faid he, "ye wald place about him the Erle of Marche, wha is a fule, gydit be the lard of Cambo and Robert Seuez." I faid, he behoued to be ane with the reft of the noblemen alre dy named. He faid, it fuld pafs my power, or any mans, to caufe him leaue his Maiefte, fa lang as he was in fic danger. I anfwerit, that the K. was in danger for na vther caufe, bot becaufe he was befyd him. I parfauit that he

had a gret mislyking of me in his hart, quhilk he bursted fourth efterwart, boisting to put me to the get, gif I fished any mair in his waters. I answerit, that it wald pas his power, gif I pleist to tary; for I wald get ma honnest men to tak my part, then he wald get throtcutters to assist him. Sa schone as his Maieste hard of this langage, he send his oncle the lard of Caprintown, to reprove him schairply; wherupon he retired him to the castell of Edenbrough, wherof he wes laityly maid capten; bot cam not neir his Maieste, vntill I behoued to pass hame and gaif him place. Quhilk I thocht his Maieste was content that I suld do, to please him; for his wyf cam daily to his Maieste, and said that her husband had tane displeasour, thinking that his Maieste tok my part against him. When I tok my leaue, his Maieste said that he douted not bot I wald com again when I was send for; quhilk I tok for asmekle as not till com again till I was sent for; not being myndit to haue taried any langer, efter that the foirsaid convention was endit.

Now the Erle of Arran tryumphed, being Chanceler, and capten of the castellis of Edenbrough and Stirling. He maid the hail subiectis to trimble vnder him, and euery man dependit vpon him; daily inventing and seaking out of new faltis against dyuers, for ther escheitis, landis, benefices, or to get budis; vexing the hail wreters and lawers to mak fur his giftis and conkiffis. And samany of the nobilite as wer in fear of ther estaitis fled, and vthers wer baniffit. He schot directly at the lyf and landis of the Erle of Gowry; for the oracles of the hyland had schawen unto his wyf that Gowry wald wrak, as sche allegit to some of her famyliers. Bot sche helpit fordwart that prophesie the best sche culd; for Gowry had bene his first maister, and dispyted

his insolent pryde, oppreffion and misbehauour, plainly in confaill, quhilk few vthers durft do. Therefore he hatted his persone, and louit his landis, quhilkis he obtenit at lenth. For Gowry had tane purpos, being compellit, to pas out of the contre with his Maiesteis fauour and liscence; bot as he was making his preparations ouer langfomly and flawly in Dundee, (as he was ouer flaw of natour,) wher his schip was to refaue him, he was aduertift be some factioners, that the Erles of Angus, Mar and maister of Glames, had ane enterpryse to com out of Yreland hame, and tak the town and castell of Stirling; having intelligence with dyvers noblemen, and vthers ther frendis that war in the contre malcontentis; sa that they wer in hope to mak a party sufficient against the Erle of Arran. Quhilk moued the Erle of Gowry to stay, with intention to tak part with them, for the gret disdain and dispyt that he had against the Erle of Arran.

Then ther was ane vniuersell miscontentement in the contre for the tym, and ane gret bruit of an alteration. Wherupon the crownell Stuart wret a lettre vnto me, alleging be his Maiesteis commandement, othe to repair to court with deligence, or elis to fend my oppinion in wret vnto his Maieste, what was lyk to fall out concernyng the gret rumour and bruitis of ane apperant alteration. At quhilk tym I was feak of a fever tercian or access, that maid me vnable for trauell; the

P. 171. diseafe apperantly proceding of displeasour. Therefore I fend my answer in wret, to schaw his Maieste, that ther was indede ane vniversell miscontentement, with a gret bruit, not without apperance of a foudain changement, for the misbehauour of sic as wer in court, and gret strait and dispared estait of them that wer put at, being men of qualite actyue and experimented, and that in greter number then mycht

be ouertane ; as I had schawen his Maieſte of before, without reſpect of feid or fauour, bot ſemply for his hynes ſeruice ; preing his Maieſte yet again, to ſet fordwart his formair acceptable pretence, intendit at his firſt paſſing to Santandrowes, ſeing na vther affured courſe to ſatle his troubled eſtait. This kynd of langage was the better lyked of for the tym, becauſe of ſa many aduertifmentis that cam daly to his Maieſteis eares.

Thir bruitis and aduertifementis maid his Maieſte to be vpon his gardis, and to uſe moyen to get intelligence. Firſt ſome ſuſpition was tane vpon the lingering of the Erle of Gowry in Dundee. Alſo his Maieſte had ſome aduertifment, that he was not myndit to tak ſchip, bot to ſtay vpon the incommyng of the baniffit lordis, as ſaid is. His Maieſte alſo dreamed a dream, that he ſaw the Erle of Gowry tane, and brocht in priſoner before him be the crownell Stuart, ſa that his eſtait wes ſattelit he thocht therby. Quhilk wes trew in dede for that tym ; becauſe the lordis that had tane Stirling, ſa ſchone as they vnderſtode of the taking of the Erle of Gowry, fled incontinent fourth of Stirling, and again fourth of the contre ; beleuyng that the ſaid erle had bene tane willingly, ſupponyng his affection to be ſa gret vnto his Maieſte, as a neir kinfman com of the houſe of Angus, his mother being a naturall dochter of the ſaid houſe ; as alſo that he was never vpon the firſt deuyſe of any enterpryſe, bot drawn therupon efterwart be the craftynes of vthers. Therefore his Maieſte had compaſſion vpon him and was not myndit to tak his lyf. Bot the Erle of Arran was myndit to tak his landis, quhilkis he deuydit efterwart with ſome others, to get ther votis and conſentis that he mycht be wrackit. At his death, being vpon the ſkaffald, he ſchew himſelf a deuot chriſtien,

and a resolut Romane, mekle regretted with many that wer present, and hard his graue harangue, and saw his constant end.

Efter his death, ther was quyetnes for a whyll, without apperance of lang continowance. During this litle whyll of faire wether, ther was a parlement halden, to forfalt the baniffit lordis, at the instant desyre of sic as hoped to be the better be other mens wrak. Among others I was wreten for, and gratioosly resauit be his Maieste ; wha remembrit vpon some of my speaches, and tok me allane vnto his cabinet, and inquyrit how I thocht then of all his procedingis. I sayed, that he had gret cause to thank God, and na gud gyding ; and that ther wald be yet ma enterpryses, and that they wha tok Stirling, and wer reterit again, wald never cese to mak enterpryse vpon enterpryse, ay vntill they mycht se themselues in a better secrete. His Maieste said, that they had won sa litle be ther last incommyng, that they wald never do the lyk foly again. I answerit, that wer not the taking of the Erle of Gowry, who they beleuit was tane be his awen devyce, to bewray ther enterpryse, they had obtenit ther intent ; for euen some that wer vpon his Maiesteis awen fynd, wald haue junit with them, to put the Erle of Arran out ; whom they assistid for aw, and not for loue, and wer beginning to enuy and hate his insolency, and culd not se a fure outgait how to stand be him, and had maid some secret promyses to them be sic as past betwen. Bot seing the Erle of Gowry in handis, and the said lordis therby discouragit to fle away, samany as had maid the saidis promyses, tok vp a new deliberation, and schew themselues frackest in ther contraire.

P. 172. The Lord Burly, cheif reuler in England at this tym, caused send in heir ane Mester Dauysoun agent, to se what new busynes he culd

brew ; wha was efterwart maid secretaire. For efter the discese of Walsingame, secretary Cicill being aduancit to be Lord Burly, and gret tresorer of England, twa secretaries wer chofen ; ane callit Mester Smyth, and this Dauifoun, whais predeceffour was a Scotifman ; wherby he was thocht to be mair able to conkis credit, and had bene heir in Scotland of before, and was at my house in company with Sir Hary Killigrew, my auld frend, when he was resident in Scotland. At quhilk tym, he maid a secret confession to me, that he was com of Scotifmen and was a Scotifman in his hart, and a fauorer of the Kingis richt and title to the crown of England ; and willit me to kep all secret from Mester Killigrew, promysen gif he culd find the meanis to be employed heir, that he fuld do gud offices.

His Maieste was for the tym at Facland, and wret for me to be directed to ryd and meit the said Dauifoun ; whom I was commandit convoy to Couper, ther to remain vntill his Maieste had leaser to geue him audience ; and efterwart convoyed him to my awen house, and from that to Facland, wher his Maieste fand bot litle effec in his commiffion. Bot becaufe Mester Walsingame had refused, at his being heir, to speak with the Erle of Arran, albeit the said erle offred be me to content the said Walsingame in all his desyres, sa that he wald deall and conferre with him, quhilk Walsingame still refused. Bot Mester Dauifoun was directed, at this tym, to deall with the Erle of Arran, to se what vantage mycht be had at his hand ; for my L. Burly was not content that Walsingame was sa precise. Therefore Dauifoun enterit hamely with him and was maid his goffup, and hard his frank offers and lyked weill of them. For efter that the lordis wer fled in England and forfalted, the consaill of England thocht they had some

ground wherby to build vp a new stark faction, to trouble the K. and his estait. And wheras the said Dauifoun had promysed of before to schaw himself a kyndly Scotifman, I parfauit him clean alterit, and a very practyfer againt the quyetnes of this estait ; quhilk I schew vnto his Maieste.

Efter his retournyng, England apperit not to tak sic a skar at the Erle of Arran as they had done ; for ther was a meting drawn on at the borders, betwen the Erle of Hunfdane and the Erle of Arran ; wha had lang and preuy conferrence together, to kepe a gret frendfchip betwen the twa princes and contrees, with a secreet complot, that the Erle of Arran fuld kepe the King on maried for thre yeares. In sa doing, ther was a yong maid of the bluid in England that wald be about that tym redy for mariage, with the quhilk the Quen wald declaire his Maieste second persone, &c.

This was a disceatfull trafic, and kept secreet fra euery body, to hender the K. to deall for any other profitable and honnorable matche. The Erle of Arran thinking him self satelit, being in frendfchip with the Quen of England as he supponit, moued his Maieste to fend ther the Maister of Gray ; wha was entrit in gret fauour and familierite with his Maieste, be some secreet dealing and intelligence he had maid with the Quen his Maiesteis mother in England, be the meanis of some of hir frendis in France, he being ther ; and was bot laity com hame, and brocht with him some wretingis directed from hir Maieste to the King hir sonne ; and convoyed the anfwers bak again, be a moyen that he had in England with some that fauorit hir Maieste ; and was a gret dealer also betwen hir Maieste and some catholikis in England. For

weill lyked of be his Maieſte, that Arran thocht meit till abſent him from court be this ambaffade ; nevertheles employed him alſo in his courſe begon betwen him and the Erle of Hunſdane, as ſaid is. And yet when he was at the court of England, ſa weill eſteamed and trait-ed, as was reported be ſic as wer ſent bak, it wes allegit be ſome of the Maifter of Gray his frendis, that the Erle of Arran began till enuy him, and mak miſreport of him vnto his Maieſte, as thoch he had diſco-uerit vnto the Quen of England, a gud part of the Quen of Scotlandis purpoſes and procedingis.

Alwayes, the ſaid Maifter retournit again weall rewardit, and commendit for his behauour, qualites and diſcretion vnto the Kingis Maieſte, to the gret increaſe of his credit with the King. Not lang efter his hamecommynge, he wes infourmed what miſreport had bene maid of him in his abſence ; quhilk he recompenſit the beſt he culd with court charite, at ſic convenient tymes, that he pat Arran be litle and litle out of conceat.

The Maifter of Gray alſo foirwarnit his Maieſte of a notable perſonage that was vpon the way, ſent vnto his Maieſte be the Quen of England, to honour him and bear him company, and to entertenye a ſtraiter frendſhip betwen that Quen and him, nor had bene maid at any tym before ; and that the ſaid ambaffadour, callit Meſter Wotton, wald not faſche his Maieſte with negocis nor contre affaires, bot with honeſt paſtym, be hunting, halking, and horſfryding ; and with frendly and mirry diſcourſes, as ane com laityly out of Italy and Spain, expert in langages and cuſtomes of contrees, and a gret louer of his Maieſteis richt and tytyle to the crown of England. Sa that his Maieſte was rauiffit to loue him before his commynge, and cauſed wret for me to com with diligence, to entertenye the ſaid ambaffadour.

At my comyng to court, I was the better tane with, that Arran was a litle disgracit. The Maister of Gray was then my gret frend ; for his Maieste had tald him, how that I had euer refistid the Erle of Arrans furious proceedingis. His Maieste defyred me, as I wald do him acceptable seruice, to bear gud company vnto the said ambassadour ; declaring vnto me all his properties and gud qualites abone specified, willing me also to bancket him at my house. Bot efter I had hanted certane dayes with him, I remembrit that I had eyther seane him or his brother of before in France, with his oncle doctour Witton, wha was ther ambassadour resident for Quen Mary of England, the tym that sche was maried with King Philipe of Spaine. During quhilk tym, ther wer gret geloufies and suspitions betwen France and England ; git ther was het warres betwen the Kingis of France and Spain ; bot the paice continowed still with the Quen of England, wha was laityly maried be the King of Spain. Sche seamed to kepe still gud paice with France ; in the mean tym send ouer till Flanders baith men and monee, to the help of the K. hir husband. The auld Constable of France for the tym, wha had the haille handling of the contre affaires vnder K. Henry the second, reprochit the Englis ambassadour, for that the Quen his mestres was doing what sche culd to brek the paice. The ambassadour excused his mestres, alleging that gif any of her contre men seruit in the warres vnder the K. of Spaine, that they wald be found bot common wageours, redy to serue any man for monee ; and denied that sche knew of ther passing in Flanders, or that sche debourfit any filuer for the warres. Albeit, ther was cause and matter enough ministred vnto hir, be resauing and retenyng in France all hir rebelles and fugitiues ; geving them pensions and entertenement, and stering them vp

with enterpryses against hir lyf and estait. This the Conftable denyed platly ; only, he said, of a generall gud will that was born to all Englysh men in tym of paice, they wer sufferit to lywe in the contre quihilk bure the name of France, wher ther fuld be fredome and franchise till euery christien.

The ambassadour being wyse and fubtille, parfauyng this answer to be bot a meating till his, and that wairres culd not fail to folow vpon this kind of supitious procedingis, he intendit be some fubtilite to circonvene the Conftable, and to that effec had fend in England for his brother sone, yet yong of xxj yeares, asweill to employ him as to cause him se and learn the Ytalien and Frenche langage. This yong man being arryued in France, with ane Yreland boy to be his interpreter, wha culd speak French, baith in semple array, to be the les suspected to haue any practyse or policy in ther myndis, bot lyk a landuart yong man, addreffit him to some of the K. of France courtours, that he mycht haue audience of his Maieste in a quyete maner, as hauyng a matter of gret importance till propon. The K. again, dyuers tymes directed him to deall first with the Conftable. At last when he cam to the Conftable, he desyred also at him that he mycht first declare vnto the K. his errand, quihilk was of a gret consequence. Howbeit he knew that the K. spak with na man in sic matters, vntill the Conftable had taisted him first, and then tald his oppinion vnto the K., and how till mak answer. At lenth he said, he wald declare the matter vnto the Conftable, vnder promyse of gret secrecie, causing the Conftable be this nycenes to suspect some practyse ; and when he gaif him audience he desyred me to be present besyd him.

At ther meting quyety in the Conftables cabinet, his Yreland interpretour was put fourth, against his will as apperit ; bot he was sa instruct-

ed be the ambaffadour his oncle, to wfe sic landward and rud faffions ; yet again, or he began to propon his errand, he defyred fecrefie. The Conftable being ane auld wyfe experimented confellour, pat him a litle afyd and roundit in my ear, to wit gene I had fean this yong man at any tym of before. I anfwerit that I had fean him the day before, at lang conference with ane Mefter Sommer, fecretary to the Englis ambaffadour. Then the Conftable thocht that he fuld handle the matter weall enough ; for he geffit that all this nycenes proceadit from the ambaffadour, to trap him ; and calling the yong man, again defyred him to fchaw what he had to fay. Mefter Wotton began to declare the gret mifcontentement that was in England, not only for bringing in the prowde Spanyartis to reull ouer them, bot alfo for the alteration of religion maid be Quen Mary ; moving many to rebell, and others to remoue aff the contre ; wha neuertheles wer all weall refaut and traited be the Kingis Maieftie of France, wherby he had won the hartis of the thrid part of England fa deuotly towardis him, that they wald glaidly put the crown of England on his head, getting ouerficht in religion, to be quytt of the Spanniartis tirrorance and terrible inquisition, quhilk was feared fuld be alfo etabliffit in England. And for the firft proif of ther gud will and thankfulnes, a number of lordis and knyghtis, wha durft not wret, had fend him fecretly with ane ouerture and fure outgait, to put the strang town of Cales in his handis, with the haill erldome of Oye. At this the Conftable maid a ftart, and faid, “Knaue ye not, my frend, that ther is a fworn paice betwen your Quen and the King my maifter ?” The other replyes again, how that the Quen of England aydit fecretly with filuer and men the King of Spain hir husband, in his warres of Flanders againft France. Quhilk the Conftable allegit that fche denyed be

hir ambaffadour ; bot willit him to tell out the reft of his commiffion. Then faid he, “ My L., the meanis how ye may get Cales, is this. Firft, the maift part of the town ar of the reformed religion and malcontentis, and hes refused to refaue a garniffoun of Spanyartis. All thir ar frendis to them that fend me, and has intelligence with them. Then only the townfchip kepes ther toun, making watche and ward without wageours, onfkiifull to handle ther armes. Therefore the K. fall caufe Mons^r de Senarpon, his lieutenant in Normandye, to ly in ambufcad at fic a wod, within a myl and ane half to the town, at ane apponted day. Then a fchip, weill fourniffit with armed men, fall ly at a raid or anker half myll from the town. Some of thir, cloithed lyk marinelis, fall com a land, and haue fwerdis and piftolles vnder ther clais ; and fall await about tua efternun, at quhilk tym the portis of the town ar oppenit to let men in and out. Part of the porters wilbe at ther denner, when ane or tua will com before the leaue till open the gettis. The gettis being ceafet, let ane of the company fchut aff a lang piftolle, that the fchip may heir and fchot a canon, till caufe Mons^r de Senarpon with his company com fordwart at the flycht fpeid ; and they that ar within the fchip, to vfe the lyk deligence to com fordwart. In the mean tym, ther falbe a mutenirie raifed within the toun be our frendis and parteners, fa that the town falbe obtenit without ftraik.” Efter that the Conftable had hard all this lang difcourf, he faid that it was very lykly, and douted not bot it mycht be eafely done. Bot in refpect of the fworn paice, the K. his maifter wald not, nor fuld never haue his confell nor confent to brek the paice ; bot is far obligit to the noblemen that beares him fa gud will. And as for him that has tane fic panes, the K. fuld reward him ; willing me to remember to caufe geue

filuer to the yong gentilman. Sa he wan nathing at the Conftables handis, and cam never again to feak his reward ; but was efterwart manifefly knawen to be brother fone to doctour Wotton, ambaffadour as faid is.

This is he now that was fend in heir, to bear his Maiefte company, as ane that will not medle with practyfes, bot with paftymes. Bot when I foirwarnit his Maiefte to be war of him, and tald how that he, being litle abone twenty year auld, he was employed to begyll the auld wyfe Conftable ; now he was fyfty yeares, and his Maiefte bot twenty, it was to be feared that he ga about to begyll him. Yet his Maiefte wald not beleue me, bot thocht gret loue and frendfchip to be born to him be the faid Mefter Wotton, wha becam ane of his Maiefteis maift famylier mignons, and waited on at all feild paftymes, and difpyfed all bufy confellouris and medlers in matters of eftait, as he was instructed be fic as faid he wald pleife his Maiefte beft to feam to be fa, and to vfe fic langage. Bot he had ma hurtfull fetchis in his head againft his Maiefte, then any Englis man that cam in heir had at any tym of before, alwayes for the feruice of his princefs and contrey, according as the courfe of ther affaires and pretences preffit them for the tym.

P. 176. Ye haue hard of before of a meting that was drawn on at the Borders, betwen the Erles of Hunfdain and Arran ; wher at ther fecret conference, Arran was requyred be the craft of the [Englis confaill] Lord Burley and his faction, to ftay the King from any mariage for thre yeares, vpon many faire fengzeit promyfes, and alfo to be declaired fecond perfonne ; at quhilk tym again, Arran granted all that was defyred, he was fa glad to get the Quen of Englandis frendfchip. About this tym, the Quen of England, be hir intelligence from Denmark, was

aduertift of a gret and magnifik ambaffade fend be the King of Denmark in Scotland ; thre ambaffadours, with a fexfcore of perfones, in twa braue fchippis. Whither fche fufpected, or had hard that it was to draw on a mariage, I can not tell ; bot this far I learnit, that hir confaill fearit, that it was at leaft to confirm a greter familiarite and frendfchip between the tua Kingis and ther contrees ; quhilk was ane of the caufes that moued them to fend in Scotland this Mefter Wotton, to vfe all his wyles to difturb and hender any greter amytye that mycht fucead, be the faid commiffion and negotiation, between the twa Kingis and ther contrees. For England lippenit nathing to the Erle of Arrans promyfes ; for they efteamed him of a flichteren, inconstant capacite, as is alrede declaired.

Sa fchone as the Dence ambaffadours arryuit be fchip in this contre, his Maiefte ordonit me to enterteny them, and to bear them company ; and becaufe they wer thre junit in a commiffion, willit me to chufe any vther twa, that I thocht meteft, to bear them company with me ; and I named vnto his Maiefte the lard of Segy ane of the Seffion, and Willyem Schaw mefter of Wark. Ther names wer, Manderupius Henrych Bello, and doctour Theophilus ; the firft twa wer confellours.

Firft, at Domfermeling they congratulat his Maiefte in the K. ther mafters name, with a lang discourf of the auld amytye, band and mu-tuall frendfchip between the twa kingis and ther kingdommes. And laft of all, they requyred the ylles of Orkeney to be reftored again to the crown of Denmark, allegit be them to ly in wedfet, to be redemed again for the fowm of fifty thowfand florins.

Ther commyng and demandis was dyuerfly fkancit vpon ; fome fup-

poning warres fuld enfew, onles the faidis yles wer not renderit ; others thoct that ther intentions was, to bring on a mariage with the King of Denmarkis dochter.

Now albeit his Maieſte was determinit to trait them weill and honorably, they wer nevertheles mishandled, ruffeled, truffelit, drifted, and delayed heir the ſpace of monethes, to ther gret charges and miſcontentement. For they lyued vpon ther awen expenſis, and wer not deffrayed be his Maieſte, as all other ambaffadouris of that nation hes bene ſen ſyn.

When they wer apponted to part out of Domfermeling towardis S^t Androwes, ther to get ther diſpatche, his Maieſte ordonit to tell them that he fuld ſend them horſe out of the court to ryd vpon. The day of ther parting being com, they ſend away ther bagage and officers before them, and wer buted them ſelues, tareing lang vpon his Maieſteis horſe ; quhilk becauſe they cam not in dew tym, they tok ther journey fordwart vpon fut.

P. 177. His Maieſte was very miſcontent, when he vnderſtod how they wer handled, and cauſed his horſe to folow faſt efter them and ouertak them. Then at ther being in Santandrowes, dyuers appointed dayes of conſaill and convention wer broken vnto them, quhilkis wer promyſed to be keped for ther diſpaſche, quhilk they futed continowally for to get. Then men wer appointed to ſkorn them at ther logingis, and before ther windowes, when they looked out to the ſtreit ; ſa that nothing wes left ondone that mycht annoyne them, or kendle them vp in choler. Only Meſter Wotton the Engliſ ambaffadour veſited them oft, and bur them gud company, and confortd them at all occaſions, ſeamyng to be fory that they wer ſa miſuſed ; and offerit to lend them

gold and filuer largely, for the gret frendfchip that he knew to be between the Quen his meftres and the King of Denmark. For he was afured of gud payement, and thocht to conkis credit at ther handis, be his apperant frendly deling. At lenth, vnder gret fecret, he faid he wald not hyd from them, how that he had hard the K. fpeak difdanfull langage of ther contre and cuftomes ; and alfo that fome of his gentilmen had hard the K. fpeak euell of ther K., as com of the race of merchandis ; and that he and his confaill wer myndit to hald them lang heir, without any difpafche, to fafche and tyre them.

Then again the faid ambaffadour, and twa of his gentilmen, in-fourmed his Maiefte of ther hard fpeeches of the reprochefull dealing of the K. and confaill towardis ther maifter, and alfo of ther rud manners, doildnes and dronkenefs ; and wer fortified and affited be fic as wer about his Maiefte, wha held the lyk fcornfull langage of the K. of Denmark, his contre and ambaffadours ; moving his Maiefte to mak the les accompt of them. Wherby they wer fterit vp in fic a rage, as I had na litle a do to perfwad them in the contrary, and to ftay them from ftealing away tua feuerall tymes to ther fchippis, to haue returnit to ther King without any farther anfwer, and to report of the gret lightly and difdane and injury quhilk they faid planly wes done vnto ther K. and contre. For the Erle of Arran was alfo ther ennemy, becaufe they maid na court vnto him, whom dyuers of ther company had knawen to haue bene laitly in Sweden as a foldiour. Sa that he wes als redy as the reft to mok and fkorn them, albeit the ringleaders for the tym wer complotted together with the Englifis ambaffadour againft him.

The principall of the thre ambaffadouris was a wyfe, graue and an-

cien confellour. Henrich Bello wes furious in his ſpeeches ; and the doctour cryed out, “ the K. our meſter is injured and wilbe reuengit.”

Then I tok Manderupius apart, and requested him to heir me patiently, for he ſpak gud Dutche, bot myn wes not ſa gud, therefore that he wald tak better tent to my meanyng, nor till any wrang word ; and mair cair to cauſe his frendly commiffion tak effect, that he mycht retourn hame with the happy ſucces therof, then till ſtart and ſteall away, to be called vnhappy inſtrumentis of diſcord, at the pleaſour of a few ſcornfull factioners, that had layed ther headis together to cauſe them part malcontentis, and to be als euell inſtrumentis, as they wer myndit at ther incommyng to do gud offices.

P. 178. I tald him, how that the Quenis Maieſte of England was a wyſe, weall inclynit and politik princes, and that ther wer aſmany honeſt and gud men in England, as in any ſamekle boundis of the haill warld ; albeit ther was in it dyuers oppinions and factions, ſchutting at findry markis, as they do in all other partis. And becauſe that ther Quen wald never mary, to bear ſucceſſion of hir awen body, they all tak gret cair to wit wha ſhall regne ouer them efter hir. “ The maift part of the contre lukis that it ſalbe our K., and wiſſes his weallfaire and profperite, as being richtous air to the crown of England be baith his fathers ſyd as be his mothers ſyd. Bot ſa many as haue the ſpeciall gyding of the court, ſchut at other particulair markis of ther awen, mynding to ſet fordwart ſome of them ſelues or of ther frendis, to bruike the kingdome ; and for that cauſe, they mak all the hender they can till our King. Alſo becauſe of ther on mercifull dealing with the Quen his mother, they fearit ſome day to be puniffit, when he ſalbe King of England. For all thir respectis, they practyſe to kepe him from ma-

riage, and from all forren frendfchip and alliance. And that this fame ambaffadour of England is a very euell inftrument ; baith him felf, his gentilmen, hunting daily with his Maiefte, makis the worft reportis they can."

The ambaffadour of Denmark anfwerit to that, marveling that Mefter Wotton fuld mak sic report of them, offring them fa gret frendfchip, and geving them dayly intelligence how they wer bot fcornit and mockit, baith be the K. and his confaill, to his gret regret ; and offres to len them filuer, with all other plefour that lyes in his power. I faid, he knew weall enough that he wald get gud payement and gret thankis ; for he efteamed the King of Denmark a worthy prince, and his ambaffadouris worthy to be honored. Bot the gyders of the court of England defyres not that our King fuld think or efteam fa of them ; wiffing him to haue bot few frendis and many ennemys. Then I affured him, that the Kingis Maiefte and haill fubiectis, (except fome that wer corrupted be England,) wer determinit to interteny and increafe a contynowall frendfchip with the K. and contre of Denmark ; preing ther wifdomes curagioufly to refift, and not febly and fulifchly to geue plaice, be ther way paffing, vnto the laidis crafty practyfes of ther fcornfull envyers, in fuffering them felues fchamfully to be maid euell inftrumentis, directly againft ther awen intention and commiffion ; and they fuld fchortly fe gud succes to folow therupon to ther contentement. Promyfen vnto them, for my part, that I fuld pafs instantly vnto his Maiefte, and with all hazard that mycht com, fuld difcouer vnto the Kingis Maiefte, how baith he and they wer difceatfully abufed be the double dealing of the Englis ambaffadour, and sic Scotifmen as affifted him.

P. 179. Vpon this discours and promyse, they went to counsaill all thre together, as ther custome was; and efter lang conference, gaif me answer, that ther commyng was for to do gud offices, and albeit they had sufferit findre injuries, they wald be fory to be maid instrumentis of discord, sa far against ther commiffion and intention; and therefore wald stay yet, vpon hope of better handling, and vpon my promyse, albeit to that hour few or nane had bene kept vnto them, as they allegit.

Efter this, I schew vnto his Maieste how that inconvenientis mycht ensue, vpon the lang delaying and frembd handling of the Dence ambassadours. And yet that I maruelit not that he maid sa little accompt of them, in respect of the gret cair and fyn practyses, that wer vsed to cast them and him findre, be the Englis ambassadour and others his assisters that had his Maiesteis ear for the tym. At the first his Maieste was impatient to heir this langage spoken of personages that he had sa gud lyking of; and said, that he was informed, that the K. of Denmark was com bot of marchandis, and that few maid accompt of him or his contre, bot sic as spak the Dutch tong. For this was pretey put in his head, to preuent lest any of my persuasions in ther fauour fuld get place or credit. I answerit, that the K. of France, nor Quen of England, culd not speak Dutche, and yet they maid gret accompt of the K. and contre of Denmark; France having ther ambassadour ordinair lying ther, and paying yearly to the K. of Denmark a gret sown of gold, to the valow of 16 or 20 thousand crownis. His Maieste said, the mair schame was his. I said, rather to the K. of France, wha mon bye his kyndnes. Nether culd the Quen of England, said I, speak Dutch; yet sche maid mekle accompt of the K. and con-

tre of Denmark, and durft not offend him nor nane of his fchippis, baith be raifoun of the ftrait paffage at Elfoun vre, and alfo had gret fchippis to tak amendis, incaice fche did him or any of his wrang. Then his Maiefte faid, that he fpak bot be way of raifonyng. I faid again, be way of wrang infourmation ; and faid mairouer, that “ wher it has bene reported vnto your Maiefte of the race of thir kingis, not to be of noble and royall bluid, I fall fchaw your Maiefte that it is bot manifet inventions to caufe yow difpyfe them ; and that this late K. Frederik is difcendit of an auld and royall ftok, [*bot I will pafs na further therintill*] to wit Criftiarnus of Denmark the firft of that name, wha had tua fonnes, and ane dochter callit Margaret, married in Scotland to K. James the thrid. His eldeft fone Jhon was king efter him ; his fecond fonne Frederik was K. of Noroway and Duk of Holftein. Jhon had a fonne callit Chirftiarnus the fecond, alfo K. of Denmark, wha married the emperour Charles the fyftis fifter, wha bure him tua dochters only. The eldeft was geuen in mariage to Frederik Electour Palatin ; the fecond to the Duc of Mylan, and efterwart being a widow, married the Duc of Lorrain. Him felf was tane and keped in prifoun be his fubiectis, for fome rigorous execufion vpon his barrons ; and his father brother Frederik was maid K. Efter this Frederik, the Erle of Altenbourg was chofen, be the affiftance of the toun of Lubek ; bot Chriftianus the 3., fone to the faid Frederik, pat him out and conkift the kingdome. Neuertheles this Chriftianus, being a gud prince, wald not chenge ther auld preueleges, bot caufed him felf to be chofen ; and lykwais his fone Frederik in his tym to regne efter him, now prefont K., and wha hes fend this honnorable ambaffade to your Maiefte, as to his gud frend and kinfman, difcendit of the kingly race of Denmark.

And wheras he requyres again the ylles of Orkeney, for the difcharge of his aith, becaufe euery King of Denmark at his election, that is one of the articles that is prefented vnto hym be the eftaitis to fwer, to clame again the faidis yles ; quhilk he hes done for the faffion, and till na vther effect bot to draw on a gretter famyliarite and frendfchip, or elis he had not fend fa honorable a company, bot rather a harrauld of armes, gif he had bene ernesly bent other to get the fayd yllis, or to difcord and feicht for them."

Efter that his Maiefte had hard this difcourf, far different to his formair, he was exceding glaid, and faid he wald not for his head bot that I had fchawen and declaired this verite vnto him ; and that fame efter-nun fend for the faidis ambaffadouris, and fchew them how fib he was to the King of Denmark ; and excufed ther lang delay, and promyfed to fe them instantly difpafched him felf, and that within thre dayes or four ; and fend for his efternun and drank to them, and fend them to ther logingis weill content and fatisfied ; and commandit a bankit to be prepared for them, quhilk his Maiefteis controllour and officers wer forbidden quyety to do, and allege the fkantnes of thingis. Bot the lard of Segy and I delt with the Erle of Marche, wha prepared a gret banket to them in his Maiefteis name ; to the gret difcontentement of Mefter Wotton and his practifiens, wha durft not kyeth, bot wald not fuffer his Maiefte to be prefent at the banket, bot to dyn in his awen chamber. Yet his Maiefte being infourmed be me how thingis wer vfed, raife from his awen denner, and paf to the banket houfe, and drank to the K. the Quen and ambaffadours of Denmark ; and fa contented them ay the langer the better, and caufed ther difpafch to be in a redines conform to his promyfe. Bot when I aduertift his Maiefte

that ther was na present preparit for to reward them withall, he was maruelous fory, and fayed they wald schame him that had the handling of his affaires.

Now at this tym was the Erle of Arran at court, not fa gret in fauour as he was wont to be. During the quhilk tym ther chancit a racles misfreull to fall out, at a day of meting betwen the twa wardens vpon the Borders, wher Sir Francis Ruffell vpon the Englis fyd was flain. Wherupon the Englis ambassadour tok occaſion to lay the wyet vpon the Erle of Arran ; alleging that the lard of Ferniheft, wha was wardane vpon the Scotis fyd, had married the Erle of Arrans brother dochter, and that the ſaid erle had cauſed the ſlauchter to be maid, that the Borders mycht brek. Wher the ſaid ambassadour was weill affiſted be the Meſter of Gray and his marrowes ; fa that the Erle of Arran was
P. 181. commandit till ward within the caſtell of Santandrowes, and kept ſtraitly thre or four dayes. Sa that being in fear of his lyf, he fend for the crownell Stuart, the lard of Segy and me, and lamented vnto us his hard handling ; purging himſelf, as he mycht juſtly do, of that accident that fell out vpon the Borders, and requested us to procure for his liberte. Alfo he declairit vnto us a ſecret, to be ſchawen vnto his Maieſte, incaice his lyf wer tane fra him ; quhilk was of a promyſe maid vnto the Quen of England, that the K. fuld not mary with any party for the ſpace of thre yeares, wherof I haue maid ſome mention of before. Neuertheles he forget not to trauell for him ſelf, for he fend his brother Sir Willyem to the Meſter of Gray at midnycht, and promyſed to get vnto him the abbey of Donfermeling, fa that he wald obtean his liberte at his Maieſteis hand. Quhilk was granted incontinent, and alſo the ſaid benefice diſponit vnto the ſaid Maifter ; wherat

the Englis ambaffadour was in a mayn raige at the Mafter. Bot ther difcord was efterwart agreed be Mefter Jhon Maitland fecretaire and the Juftice Clark ; and the Erle of Arran was ordonit to reter him hame to his houfe. Bot before his hame paffing, his Maiefte was infourmed to defyre him with all poffible deligence, to lend him a great chengnge, that he had gottin of befoir from Sir James of Balfour, quhilk weyed a vij^e and fifty crowns, to be geuen vnto the Dence ambaffadouris ; quhilk gene he had refufed he wald haue tint the K., and in delyuering of it he fuld tyn the chengge.

In the mean tym, the ambaffadouris vnderftanding that ther difpafche was in a redines, tok ther leaue fra his Maiefte, wha was alfo redy to part out of Santandrowes. I infourmed his Maiefte not to delyuer them ther difpafche, becaufe the cheingge was not yet com ; for they wer myndit incontinent to mak fail, in refpect of ther lang tary, and that the winter feafoun was at hand. Albeit, I had fchawen to ane of ther familier faruandis, that certane rewardis wer to com ther within tua dayes ; preing them to ftay that lang amang the reft. Quhilk they wald not grant to do, bot pafst to ther fchippis, wher I faid I fuld bring vnto them ther wretingis and difpafche ; quhilk I requested his Maiefte to caufe delyuer vnto my handis, to be kepit vntill the cheingge cam, quhilk was deuydit in thre partis, for it was belliffent. When I cam to ther fchippis, they wer going to fupper ; quhilk being done, I delyueret vnto them ther anfwer in wret, with ther chenggeis, and fome excufes for ther lang tary and litle reward, alwayes to ther gret contentement ; affuring me that they fuld be gud instrumentis of amytie, albeit be euell vfig they wer anes myndit to do otherwayes ; and that ther commiffion tended not to difcord, bot to bring on greter friend-

ſchip. Nether war they commandit to ſpeak of mariage, wherof ther was a wain bruit ; thoch the K. ther maifter had fayre dochters, any of the quhilkis being futed, as is requiſit that gentilwomen be, they ſupponit the clame of Orkeney fuld ga rycht. Thanking me for the gud offices I had done, wher in ſtaying them to part in diſpleaſour, the twa contrees wer preferued from hait warres ; quhilk they fuld not fail to declaire vnto the K. ther maifter, with whom they fuld not fail to mak my acquante ; not dowting bot the K. my meſter wald ſome day ſay, that I had done him gud ſeruice. Sa I tok my leaue, efter that I had rewardit the gonners, trompetis and taboringis.

P. 182. At my retournyng to the court, I ſchew vnto his Maieſte how that the Dence ambaffadouris had maid ſaill to ther awen contre weall fa-tified, and of all other ſpeeches that was betwen them and me at ther parting. Whervpon his Maieſte tok occaſion ſhortly efter to ſend in Denmark, offering that commiſſion firſt vnto me ; quhilk I ſhifted me of, parſauing ſic as had his Maieſteis ear and maift credit, contrary to his mariage, and ſtill vpon ane courſe with England ; and named Meſter Peter Yong, meſter almowſer to his Maieſte, to be very meit for that errand. Wha was ſend in Denmark, to thank that K. and to ſe his dochters, that he mycht mak report again of his lyking of them ; with a promyſe that his Maieſte fuld ſend ther or it wer lang ane honorable ambaffade.

The Erle of Arran being ſent hame, as ſaid is, the Engliſ ambaffadour and his Scotis frendis, as the Meſter of Gray, the ſecretary Maitland and Juſtice Clark, had the cheif credit and handling of his Maieſteis affaires. The ſaid ambaffadour had conkiſſit ſic fauour, and famylier acces about his Maieſte at all tymes, and at hunting, that he was

vpon ane enterpryse to haue brocht in secretly the baniffit lordis, to haue fallen down vpon ther knees in the park of Stirling before his Maieste, at sic a tym as they fuld haue sa many frendis in court as that his Maieste fuld haue remanit in ther handis, as maist mesters of the court for the tym. Bot this enterpryse failed him, for they durft not yet tak sic hazard as till com in, till they mycht lay ther platis mair substanciously.

Then the said Englis ambassadour enterprysed, to transport his Maieste out of the park of Stirling into England; and failgeing therof, his Maieste to be reteanit be force within the castell of Stirling, wher companies of men wer send for to be ther at ane appointed day. Wherof the secretary Mester Jhon Maitland gaif some intelligence vnto my brother Sir Robert, wha tald it incontinent vnto the Kingis Maieste, and the names of some of the principall enterprysers. And becaufe it cam to ane of ther eares that affirmed stoutly the contrair, wherupon my said brother forfit to mantean the same be the offer of a singlar combat; quhilk his Maieste wald not suffer, becaufe the personage grantit it vnto his Maieste. Wherupon my said brother perswadit his Maieste, with gret dificulte, to depart out of Stirling for ten or xv dayes, and hunt at Kincarn, before that the enterpryse mycht be rype; quhilk sa schone as the said ambassadour vnderstode, he fled in gret fear and haist, without gud nycht or leaue taking at his Maieste; weill instructed and furnisfit with the promyses of sic as had assistit him in our court, to perswad the noblemen that wer baniffit in England to com hame, wher they fuld find frendis anew before them in court, to put his Maieste in ther handis as of before. The Mester of Gray also absentit him self, and past to Donkell, and ther remanit with the Erle

of Athell. And vpon some bruitis of enterpryses, ther was a proclamation set out in his Maiesteis name be sic as had his ear, to conkis the mair credit to be trew and cairfull confellours for his Maiesteis secrete ; P. 183. quhilk proclamation was efterwart drifted be craft, that the baniffit [lordis] mycht prevene the day, and com in and get the K. in ther handis, wherby they mycht discharge the proclamation at ther plesour.

In the mean tym, I refault a wreting to be at his Maieste with all possible deligence, and another wreting from the Erle of Arran, to accompany him from Kinneill to the court. Bot I past vnto his Maieste, wher the said Erle of Arran cam also that same nycht ; for he had procured that he mycht retourn again to court, and remain about his Maieste. At my commyng to Stirling, I gat intelligence, from a secret frend, how that the said lordis were already at the entre of the borders, assisted be my Lord Hammiltoun, my L. Maxwell, my L. Bodouell, my L. Hume, and findre others that wer not junit with them of before ; also the Erle of Athell, the lard of Tullibarden, Bacleuch, Sesford, Codownknowes, Domlanerik, and others that wer in greteft credit about his Maieste, to concure with them at ther incommyng. Wherof I advertist his Maieste and the crownell Stuart ; wha tok in hand to ryd vnto the borders, and ouerthrow them befor that ther hail forces suld meit together ; quhilk was a licy purpos, gene the matter had not bene craftely disaponted be sic as wer about his Maieste, wha feamed to set fordwart the crownelis enterpryse, to please his Maieste and to conkis credit ; saying they suld send missyues vnto Kowdonknowes, Bacleuch, Sesford and sic others, to assist with him, whom they knew to be vpon the contrary faction already. Sa that the said apperant enterpryse was turnit to na purpos, and his Maieste mocked. And because I had

ſchawen ſome of them what aduertifmentis I had gottin, and how that his Maieſte was lyk to be ſtraited with a new taking, I was anſwerit with ſcornfull langage. And incontinent they cauſed his Maieſte to ſend me a fengzeid errand to Donkell, that they mycht the better bring ther purpoſ to paſs without any gainſaing. The coulour of my commiſſion was, to cauſe the Erle of Athell byd at hame, and not to jun with the lordis that wer to com ſchortly to Stirling; and be the way to delyuer a lettre to the balgeis of Sant Jhonſtoun, to be vpon ther gardis, and not to ſuffer any of the Kingis ennemys to com within ther toun. The balgeis inqyred at me, what gif the Erle of Athell and Meſter of Gray wald deſyre to com within ther toun. I ſaid they mycht let them ſelues enter, with ten in company, bot na ma. They allegit that ther lettre ſpecified not that far. I ſchew them how that was committed to me be mouth; the concluſion of my lettre willing them to credit me. When I cam to Donkell, I knew that the Erle of Athell wald not ſtay for me; wha had a thowſand men in a redines to tak the toun of Sant Jonſtoun, and to com forduart to Stirling, togither with the Meſter of Gray wha was yet with him. Bot I ſchew him that the crownell Stuart was riden with forcis, to deffait the lordis at ther entring in the contre, before they mycht be junit togither; therefore he wald do weill to ly at hame, vntill he mycht vnderſtand the yſſue of the ſaid cronelis enterpryſe. Gif that tok effect, it wer foly to him till marche forduart; and gene it tok na effect, he mycht do as his hart ferued him. He thoct this conſaill gnd; willing me to wret vnto his Maieſte for a liſſence to him and his to remain at hame fra the proclamation, quhilk I did.

In the mean tym, the Meſter of Gray wes ſent for to the court; the

P. 184. portis of the toun of Perth being refused to his men, wha wer com out of Angus to affist him. At his retournyng to court, he was alse gret with his Maieste as euer he was, and remanit within the castell of Stirling with his Maieste ; wher ther wer twa factions that kythed them selues, sa schone as they saw the malcontentis and baniffit lordis draw neir vnto the toun of Stirling ; wher they cam to the number of thre thousand, and entrit into the toun without stop. For his Maieste inclynit maist to the faction that brocht in the faidis lordis ; wha aduyfed his Maieste to fend some of them down to the toun, to commown and compon matters. Quhilk was agreed vpon at lenth, that his Maieste suld remain in ther handis, and na rygour to be vsed vnto them that wer about him ; sa that they wha past betwen mycht appear to be gud instrumentis, and stayers of bludscheding. For Arran was eschaiped and fled at ther first entre ; bot the crownell Stuart only with ten or tuelf, gaif them sic a charge in the midis of the narrow part of the toun, that a litle mair help mycht haue put them in gret difordour ; for the maist part of ther southland men and borderers wer busy spoilgeing horse and geir.

The lordis, when they cam to his Maiesteis prefens, sat down vpon ther knees, humbly craving pardone, for that ther hard handling be Arran and vther partiall persones about his Maieste had compellit them, vpon plane necessite and for ther last refuge, to tak the baldnes to com in armes for the saute of ther lyues and landis ; alwayes humbly myndit to serue and obey his Maieste.

The King again, lyk a prince full [of] curage and magnanimite, spak vnto them pertly and boistingly, as thoch he had bene victorious ouer laem, calling them traitours, and ther enterpryse plane tresoun. Yet,

faid he, in respect of ther necessite, and in hope of ther gud behauour in tymes commyng, he fuld remit ther faltis ; and the rather because they had vsed na vengeance nor crewelte at ther incommyng.

In the mean tym, his Maieste committed and recommendit the keping of the Erles of Montroise and Crafford, vnto my L. Hammiltoun ; and the keping of the crownell Stuart, vnto my L. Maxuell. Thir thre wer in some danger for a whyll, because they wer esteamed to haue tane ouer stark part with the Erle of Arran in his particulaires. The rest of his Maiesteis seruandis wer ouerlean and spaired. Sir Robert my brother, and his sone, wer baith courteously vsed. This moderat behauour of the lordis conkift daly mair and mair of his Maiesteis fauour ; preffing his Maieste in nathing bot be the humble intercession of sic as had his Maiesteis ear of before. A parlement was proclaimed at Lithco for ther restitution ; to the quhilk part his Maieste was convoyed, ther to pass his tym at hunting, and to recreat his spritis.

Many noblemen and vthers wer wreten for, to com vnto the said parlement ; among the rest the Erle of Athell, to whom I had bene sent and was with him at the lordis incommyng to Stirling ; wher I was tareing vpon ane anwser from his Maieste, quhilk the Erle of Athell had willit me desyre be wret, as said is.

P. 185. When I cam to kifs his Maiesteis hand, I was glaidly maid welcom ; his Maieste alleging that I wes corbe messenger. I said, that my absens with the Erle of Atholl had saued all my horse and the toun of Sant Jhonstoun vntane ; and had kept bak the said Erle from assisting with the rest. Sa that gene they that remanit at Stirling with him, had kept the south fyd afweill and als fre as I keped the north fyd, ther horse had bene saif afweill as myn was.

Then his Maieſte ſaid, that God had turnit all for the beſt ; being of before nuriffit in ane oppinion, that his lyf wald be in danger, incaice that thir noblemen mycht be his meſter ; and now having him and all his ſaruandis in ther power, they had vſed na rygour nor reuenge. His hynes remembrit alſo, how oft I had foirwarnit him of this and ſic vther accidentis, that I ſaid wald fall out vpon the Erle of Arrans raſche proceedingis ; and ſaid, that he had bene ane euell inſtrument, ſa that he ſuld never haue place nor credit again about him ; willing me to abyd at court, and help to do all gud offices betwen him and his nobilite, and to tell them the treuth, wha had the wyet of ther trouble, and that he had gret hurt and na vantage therby ; as a prince that ſocht na mans lyf, landis nor geir, bot only the fatteling of his ſubiectis amang them ſelues, and his paſetym, quhilk certainly I mycht juſtly teſtifie. His Maieſte tald me alſo, that he had ſchawen vnto the noblemen, my honeſt and frendly aduſſes towardis them ; and how that I oponit my ſelf continowally to the Erle of Arrans proceedingis. He willit me alſo to help to ſatiffie the miniſters, ſeaking alſo to be reſtored vnto ther formair fre aſſemblees, quhilkis had bene forbidden in tym of the Erle of Arran.

Sa that I taried a whyll beſyd his Maieſte vntill matters tok ſome ſtedfaſt fatteling. Dyuers of the lordis alſo requested me to tary and offerit me gret kyndnes ; ſaying that his Maieſte had tald them euery mans part and behauour towardis ther baniffement and perfecution ; and how I was euer vpon a moderat courſe, and deſyred ane law of obliuion to be maid for all bygains during his minorite. The ſaidis lordis therefore cauſed me propone ſome of ther futtis vnto his Maieſte, whom they wald not preſs by his pleaſour in nathing. But the con-

faill was in dyuers oppinions concernyng the restoring of the ministers to ther formair preueleges ; wher I was brocht in to say my oppinion. The maist part thocht meit to delay them for a tym, cheifly sic as had remanit about his Maieste, and had said ouer far to the contrair of before. My oppinion was, that his Maieste had na wyet that the noblemen wer baniffit, nor yet that the ministers preueleges wer tane fra them ; bot all tha infolences wer done be sic euell instrumentis as dominit ouer his Maiesteis gud mynd and ear, throw the vehemency of ther ambition ; wha now being fled and absent, why suld not the ministers be restored to ther formair preueleges, asweill as the noblemen to ther landis and honnours, or elis the blame wilbe laid vpon his Maieste. The secretaire for the tym was against this oppinion, for he had some tymes spoken ouer far in the contraire : bot the rest of the noblemen and consaill thocht my oppinion best. Bot it was not folowed then, nor granted at that parlement ; bot schortly efterwart, the ministers obtenit at his Maieste all ther formair preueleges.

P. 186. It is mentionit alreedy, how that Mester Almouffer was sent in Denmark ; and schortly efter him, the crownell Stuart tok occasion to pass ther for his awen adois ; for he had ane pension of the K. of Denmark. He obtenit also some wreting, wherby he had matter to speak of the Kingis mariage with the K. of Denmarkis eldest dochter ; and they baith returnit with sa gud and frendly answers, that ther was litle mair mention maid of the restitution of the ylles of Orkeney. The K. of Denmark was also put in hope be them, that his Maieste suld send the nyxt sommer ane honnorable ambassade in Denmark, to deall farther in tha matters.

I haue ſchawen alreedy of the dangerous practyſes of the Engliſh ambaffadour Meſter Wotton, and of a part of ther effectis, bot the principall is yet behind. The conſaill of England having concludit to tak the lyf from the Quenis Maieſte, his hynes mother, efter ſche had bene many yeares keped captiue in England, thocht firſt to get the King hir ſone in ther handis ; and to put him in hope that he ſuld get the kingdome of England, the rather that he was within ther contre. In the mean tyme, to be ſure that he ſuld not be able to reuenge his mothers dead, and to be as a plege among them, incaice that his contremen, or his forren and Frenche frendis, wald pretend to menace them, or to mak warre for his liberte or for hir death ; that they mycht boiſt again to cut him off, gif for his cauſe they ſuld be troublit. And however it wer, with tyme it was ſuſpected that they intendit to tak his lyf alſo, efter that they had layed ther platis how till mak him odious to the people, be falſe conterfit lettres, and allegit practyſes, (as they had craftely and diſceatfully allegit vpon his mother,) againſt the eſtate. Bot ſeing this practyſe of his careing in England to haue bene diſcouerit be my brothers intelligence, the ſaid ambaffadour fled, as ſaid is ; and for the nyxt beſt, thocht meit to ſe his Maieſte put in the handis of the maiſt part of his nobilitie, wha wer baniſſit for the tyme, and be wicked instrumentis ſo wracked and offendit, that it was enough to haue cauſed them tak his lyf, or elis kept him in perpetuell priſoun.

Bot the noblemen that had bene baniſſit, and wer ſend hame out of England, for that intention vpon Englandis part, vſed them ſelues ſo moderatly and diſcretly for ther part, that they ſocht nathing bot ther awen natyue contre and landis ; that they mycht haue acces to ſerue and obey ther prince, without any farther vengeance or rygour againſt

ther particulier ennemys ; as all ther actions and proceedingis haue sufficiently declaired sen fyn, to the gret increafe of ther fauour with his Maieſte, and eſtymation of the hail contre. It hes bene ſendle ſean in any contre, ſa many gret alterations to be maid, as hes bene in Scotland laityly in this Kingis tym, with ſa litle bludſhedding.

P. 187. Now they that wer ennemys to our Quen and Kingis tyle to the rycht of the crown of England, ſeing ſome of ther fetches to fail them, entrit in deliberation what way to proceed in the taking of the Quenis lyf. Sometymes they myndit to geue hir ane Italien poſſet ; ſometimes to ſley hir at the hunting in ane park ; bot at lenth, be the way of ane aſſiſe, to conwick hir. Wherin they wer weill helpit be the deuyce of Meſter Archebald Douglas and ſome vther Scottiſmen, that maid hir intelligence to conkiſ credit ; ſa that writingis and chiſfers paſt betwen hir and them, and betwen hir and ſome catholikis of England that fauorit hir. Sa that be tymes lettres wer forgit, and other mens handwretis conterfeit ; wherunto ſche making ſome anſwers, anent ſome outgaitis for hir liberte, thir trikis of ther awen deuyces wer interpret againſt hir for trefoun. Then hir Maieſte had a Frenche ſecretaire, callit M. Naw, wha was eaſely corrupted to diſcouer all hir Maieſteis intelligences and doingis ; wha was richely rewardit be my L. Bourliſ moyen, and was na vther wayes tormented to tell the verite.

All thir callomnies and falſe accuſations being preſented in wret vnto the Quen of England, hir hart wald not ſuffer hir, as ſche allegit, to let any ſentence be geuen fourth againſt the Quen, hir dear ſiſter and cuſines, ſa neir of hir royall blud ; vntill the conſaill, nobilite and eſtaitis, at leaſt ſic as wer ſeducit to that effect, ſat down vpon ther knees, humbly requeſting hir Maieſte to haue compaſſion vpon ther vnſure

estait, albeit s^{ch}e cared not for hir awen, be the practyses of the Quen of Scotland. Wherby s^{ch}e was at lenth moued, for very pitie of them, to geue fourth the sentence of death vpon the Quen, with condition that it s^huld rather serue to be a fear and terrour vnto hir, to cause hir cease from making any ma practyses, then that s^{ch}e wald se the bluid of sa noble a princes to be s^{ch}ed. And in the mean tym the wreten sentence was geuen in keping to Mester Dauiffoun, ane of hir secretarys, and not to be delyuerit without hir Maiesteis exprefs command.

Nevertheles the said Dauiffoun being deffault be the consaill, efterwart delyuerit vnto them the said wreten sentence of death. Wherupon they gaif the Quen warnyng, a nycht of before, to prepare hir for God. Quhilk s^{ch}ort warnyng s^{ch}e tok very patiently, and lay not down that nycht to sleep, bot wret some lettres vnto the K. hir sonne, the K. of France, and to some vther princes hir frendis. And efter s^{ch}e had maid hir testament, put the gold that s^{ch}e had in als many litle purses as s^{ch}e had seruandis, mair or les in euery purs, conform to ther qualites and deseruyngis. The rest of the nycht s^{ch}e employed in prayer, and being in the mornyng convoyed out of hir chamber, to the gret hall wher the skaffald was prepared, s^{ch}e tok hir dead patiently, constantly and curageously ending hir lyf, crewelly handled be the bourreau, with dyuers straikis of the axe. Quhilk execution was the baldlier perfourmed, that some Scottisfmen assured them, that the K. hir sonne wald s^{ch}one forget it. Albeit, his Maieste when he vnderstode of thir sorowfull newes, tok hauy displefour, and conuenit ane parlement; wherin he lamented the myshandling of the Quen his mother, be his ennemys that wer in England, desyryng the assistance of his subiectis, to seak to be reuengit. Wher all the ef-

P. 188. taitis, in a voice, cryed out in a gret rage, to set fordwart, and promysed that they suld all hazard ther lyues, and spend ther gudis and geir largely to that effect, and to get a mendis of that vnkyndly and vnlawfull mourther. Quhilk pat the counsaill of England in gret fear for a whyll; bot some of our contre men comforted them, and sa did some Englis that hanted our court, alleging it wald be schone forget. Others said that the bluid was alredy fallen from his Maiesteis hart, and gif it wer not, they suld cause the matter fall out sa to ther contentement.

First when the Kingis Maieste hard, that they wer about till accuse and convict the Quen his mother, he send Sir Robert my brother and the Mester of Gray, to deall for hir Maieste. Wher my said brother spak braue and stout langage to the counsaill of England; sa that the Quen hir self boisted him of his lyf, and efterwart had bene retenit captiue, wer not the credit that his collig had, and the promyses that he had maid, wherby they wer baith sufferit to com hame together.

A four monethes of before, his Maieste caused wret for me to be send in England, to confirm a band of alliance offensywe and deffensywe with the Quen and Crown of England, and to tak the Quen of Englands aith for obseruyng of the said band, and Mester Randolphe wha was heir alredy, to tak the Kingis aith, and vse the lyk ceremony heir. At my commyng to court, I did what I could to be schifted of the said commiffion, being a matter of sa gret consequence as ane indirect breking of the band with France. Yet his Maieste wald tak na excuse, bot thocht meit to send me ther, that I mycht get him fur knowlege of findre thingis, quhilk his Maieste supponit another wald not get, be raifoun that all his mothers frendis and his awen that wer in that court and contre, wer best and langest acquainted with my brether and me.

Bot sa fchone as Mefter Randolphe had hard that I was to be fend in England, he defyred audience of his Maiefte, and vfed all the perfuafions he culd to get me ftayed, and another fend that mycht be found meter for the tym. Efter that his Maiefte had raifonit lang with him theranent, he callit vpon me, and tald me how that Mefter Randolphe had fpoken fa mekle gud of me, whom he loued better then any Scotis fubiect for our auld acquaintance ; bot faid, that I wald not be acceptable to the Quen his meftres at this tym, becaufe Sir Robert my brother had bene alwais, and was yet vtterly vpon hir faction ; and alfo that my brother Sir Andro of Garvok, was for the tym in England hir Maiefteis maifter houfhald. His Maiefte faid, he replyed again that I was never efteamed a factioner, and wald not yeild at the firft ; bot I requested his Maiefte to grant him his defyre as then ; for I had na will of that commiffion, knowing that ther was nathing merit bot fraudfull dealing be England with him at that tym. “ It is for that caufe,” faid he, “ that I wald haue you ther.” “ And it is for that caufe, fir,” faid I, “ that I wald fayn efchew the fame, with your

P. 189. hynes fauour.” His Maiefte faid, that he maruelit that Randolphe fuld feam to lyk fa weill of me, and yet defyre another to be fend. I fchew his Maiefte again, how that in France and in Italy we lyked other very weill ; bot in the handling of his Maiefteis affaires, we fchot at findre markis. His Maiefte wald ftill haue me to tak that commiffion, and askit whom I beleuit that Mefter Randolphe wald wis to be fend. I anfwerit, other the Mefter of Gray, or elis Mefter Archebald Douglas. For the Mefter of Gray had maid moyen for Mefter Archebald, and had brocht him hame out of England, and had femond ane affife of his awen frendis, to cleange him of the lait Kingis mourther ; and being cleangit, he hanted in court famylierly with his Maiefte.

It was he indeed that Mester Randolphe desired to be sent, or the Mester of Gray, or baith in a commission; but his Maieste wald not consent therto. Then the lard of Cowdownknowes, capten of the castell of Edenbrough, desired the commission. Bot Mester Randolphe wald haue nane other; causing the Quen his mestreis wret bak, that it was not neidfull to send any ambassadour for that errand at that tym; only that the K. wald wret with his awen hand, that ane suld be sent when sche thocht tym, assuring be his said lettre, that it was in effect already concludit in his mynd, as gene the ceremonie wer performed. Quhilk lettre was sent to the Englis ambassadour, that was resident in France for the tym, to be producit before the K. of France and Quen Mother, to let them knaw, that albeit the K. of Scotland was futen hir Maieste for ane alliance offenfywe and deffensywe, quhilk wald be a novation and a breking of the auld band with France, yet sche wald not put them in suspition and gelousie of hir, in consenting therto, as caring litle for the Scotis Kingis sickill frendschip or fead, sa lang as France and sche kept ther paice and frendschip together. Quhilk was done only to disgrace and discredit the K. with the K. of France; sa that ther procedit na mair fruitis of the said intendit band, and I glaid to tary at hame. Lykwais when the bruit was of the Spanish navy, in the 1587, to com in thir partis, I was ordonit to be sent in Spain; quhilk voyage I happely also eschewed.

Now to retourn again to Mester Archebald Douglas. He retournit bak to England to remain ambassadour ther for his Maieste; be the quhilk meanis he obtenit the greter credit with the Quen his Maiesteis mother. Bot my brother Sir Robert, when he was sent ther to procure, and to vse schairp and boisting langage, to se gif that mycht saif

the Quenis lyf, he difchargit Mefter Archebald of the office of ambafadour. This is a parentefis be the way, to fchaw how far a gud K. hes bene abufed, and led be myngnons that he lyked weall of, to his Maiefteis gret hurt and difhonnour.

P. 190. In this mean tym, for fome difordour vpon the weft borders betwen the Maxuelis and Jhonftons, his Maiefte pafit ther to reform the difobedience. Bot fome houfes wer kept, and wald not rendre vnto his Maiefte. Wherupon Mefter Jhon Maitland being maid chanceler, the Mefter of Gray and vthers faouurers of the Englis faction, confellit his Maiefte to fend to Berwick, becaufe it was allegit to be nereft, to borrow canons to befeige the faid houfis. Quhilk gons wer glaidly lent be the governour of Berwik ; quhilk apperantly he durft not haue done without knowlege and confent of the Quen and confaill, wha thocht therby that his Maiefte had forget the gret boift that was maid at the foirnamed parlement, anent the reuenge of his mothers dead. For his Maiefte, efter he had rypely confiderit the beft and worft of that dede, remembrit him felf of the many frendis he had in England, wha had na wyet of his mothers wrak ; and for a few nomber that gydit the court and Quen, he wald not trouble the eftait of the hail contre, wherof he was apperant ayre. And alfo becaufe the Quen was of gud yeares, not able to lyue ouer lang, he wald abyd his tym to be reuengit vpon his ennemys. As for the Quen his gud fifter, fche had fworn and purgit hir felf of the death of his mother ; being difceaued be hir confaill, and be the fecretary Dauiffoun, whom fche committed to be wardit in the tour of Londown. This was the convoy of that vnkouth, vnkyndly mourther.

Schortly efter this, ther was a gret bruit of the Spanifh navy, boun

to land in England, Scotland, or Yreland. And then also wer entred about his Maieſte a new faction, wherof the Erle of Huntly was cheif-ſeſt, wha had laityly married the Duc of Lenox ſiſter. This new faction aſpyring be litle and litle to ſhut out the Meſter of Gray, the chancellor and vthers that aſſiſted with them, and to reſtean part of them that wer in court of before ; wher ther wer dyuers conſpyracies to ſley the chancellor, and ſic as had aſſiſted him to be remoued. And becauſe they ſtak ouer lang be the court, therles Huntly, Bodowell, with ſome vthers, thoct to haue tane the King and kept him. Albeit tua of ther enterpryſes failed, yet they wald haue bene nereſt about his Maieſte at the incommyng of the Spaniardis ; and in the mean tym wer myndit to cauſe his Maieſte fend Sir Jhon Seatoun in Spain. Bot his Maieſte wald haue nane to be fend bot me ; wherupon the chancellor and my brother Sir Robert wret vnto me, willing me not to reſuſe, becauſe they ſaid his Maieſte wald haue ane ther of his awen religion, and that wald not be corrupted, on whom he wald repoſe. Yet his Maieſte had na will to deall with Spain, and I had a litle deſyre to mak the voyage. Albeit, Sir George Douglas ſuttred the ſaid commiſſion, as ane that had aſſiſted his Maieſteis mother ; yet it tok na effect. The Erle of Huntly in the mean tym was prouydit with the benefice of Domfermeling, quhilk was tane fra the Meſter of Gray laityly de-
courted, and geuen to him.

P. 191. How that the Spaniſh gret navy wer thre yeares in making ther preparation, and wer ſufficiently and ſubſtancially furniſſit with men, monition and all kynd of neceſſairs, is now maniſeſt to all Europe. What was ther intent and purpoſe was ſa ſecret, that the chiftans of the army knew na mair bot as they ſuld vnderſtand be the oppenyng

of ther stamped instructions at euery apponted landing place. Many ar of oppinion, that they wer firft disaponted be the Duc of Parma, gouernour of Flanders ; wha had behaued him felf in his charge fa circumspectly, in his promyses fa trewly, in his enterpryses fa stoutly, that he wan the hartis of his foldiours, and the fauour of his enneyes, that he was suspected to vsurp the estait of Flanders be the K. of Spaine, and therefore was myndit to remoue him out of that gret and riche gouernement. He being miscontent, as was allegit, nother furniffit the said army vituallis, nor affifted them with schippis and men nor sufferit them to land in his boundis. At least they tok fa gret suspition of him, that they landed not ; bot wer lyen at ancre, when Mester Draikis be a strategeme subtilly deuyfed of a schip full of poudre with a bournyng lont, quhilk kendlit vp the poudre fa schone as the English schip was dryuen be a direct vehement wynd within the midis of the part wher the Spanissh schippis lay ; bournyng therby dyuers of ther gret schips, and causing the rest to cut the cordis of ther ancrs, for haift to eschew the fury of the fyre. Wher in the mean tym God fend sic a strange storm of wynd, that the haill navy wer blawen and broken vpon dyuers coiftis of our ylles, and of Yreland, and ther wrak was the greter that they wanted ther anckres.

It is specified of before, how that Mester Peter Yong, mester almofer to his Maieste, and the crownell Stuart, wer retournit from Denmark, weill rewardit and contented with euery thing that they had sean, and cheifly with the fair yong princeffis ; and also how they had put the K. of Denmark in hope, that the Kingis Maieste our maister fuld in the nyxt somer fend ther ane honorable ambassade, to deall farther to the increafe of a greter societie and amytye. And for this effect, the

Bifchop of Santandrous, the Lard of Segy and I wer named to be fend ; bot I was reterit and had na will to medle, feing his Maieftis affaires fa henderit be fic as had greteft handling about him. Therefore the chanceler deuyfed the Lard of Barnbarrow and Mefter Peter to be employed in that turn, with vncertane and vnrefolut instructions ; alwayes to propon mariage, and with dyuers faire allegeances anent his Maieftis fufficient richt to the ylles of Orkeney ; quhilkis the K. of Denmark was myndit to fut mair fchairply, wer not the hope he was put in, of the apperant mariage of the Kingis Maiefte with his eldeft dochter.

Thir ambaffadours wer not weill imbarkit, when Mons' du Bartas arriuit heir to vefit the Kingis Maiefte, who, he hard, had him in gret efteam, for his rare poefies fet out in the Frenche tong. He wald not fay that he had a fecret commiffion, to propone the Princes of Navarre to be married with his Maiefte ; bot that the King of Navars fecretary willit him, (feing he was to com this way), as of his awen head to propone the faid mariage. P. 192. Mons' du Bartas qualites wer fa gud, and his credit fa gret with his Maiefte, that it apperit gif the ambaffadouris had not alredy maid fail, that ther voyage fuld haue bene ftayed for that feafoun. The chanceler affured Mons' du Bartas, as he fchew me, that the mariage of Denmark fuld not tak effect ; for our ambaffadours had indeid fic ftrait injunctiions, and fa flender a commiffion, that it was enough to haue caufed the King of Denmark to start and to quarell our K., wer not that they delt at ouer ther commiffion, quhilk kepit that K. in fome temper. Albeit they retournit without fruit, full of difpleafour, thinking them felues fcornit, as they wer indede.

In the mean tym that they wer in Denmark, Mons' du Bartas being

in Faeland with his Maieſte, cam to my houſe to perſwad me to tak a commiſſion in hand, quhilk he ſaid his Maieſte wald lay to my charge ; quhilk was, to be ſend vnto the K. of Navarre, and to be acquainted with Madame the princeſs his ſiſter. And becauſe his Maieſte knew that I wald be laith to gang, he named alſo my L. of Tun gland my brother ; wha tok the voyage in hand, and maid gud acquaintance with the ſaid princeſs, and was weill traited and rewardit be the K. hir brother, now King of France, and brocht with him the picture of the princeſs, with a gud report of hir rare qualites.

The Lard of Barnbarrow and Meſter Peter Yong being retournit bak from Denmark, declaired how that the K. of Denmark thocht nathing of ther commiſſion bot fecles dealing, and dryuyng of tym, and faire langage without any power to conclud. I am incertane whither he gat intelligence of his Maieſte ſending my brother to the King of Navar ; bot the marieing of his eldeſt dochter ſa ſhortly efter with the Duc of Brinſfwik, geues ſome apperance that he had gottin ſome intelligence therof from the court of England, wha wer weill enough infourmed of all our procedingis.

Efter this, the crownell Stuart being willing to ſe the mariage with the K. of Denmarkis dochter tak effect, paſt ther vpon his awen charges dyuers tymes ; and ſeing the eldeſt dochter alredy married, he excuſed the K. Maieſte, and layed the blame vpon them that had the handling of his affaires. Sa that the K. of Denmark promyſed yet to geue his ſecond dochter vnto the K., with condition that ambaffadours ſuld be ſend ther the nyxt year before the firſt day of May. In the mean tym, the K. of Denmark tok ſeaknes and departed this lyf, leaving the ſame commiſſion with his conſaill, and ſic as wer appointed for regentis of the realm.

Now the Kingis Maieſteis mariage being futed of findre gret princes, and his ambaffadours being com bak, baith out of Denmark and Navarre, with the pictures of the yong princeſſes, his Maieſte determinit firſt to ſeak conſaill at God, be his ernest prayer, to addreſs him wher it wald be meteſt, and the weall of him ſelf and his contre. Sa that efter fyften dayes aduſement and deuot prayer, as ſaid is, he callit his conſaill together in his cabinet, and tald them how that he had bene aduſen and praying vnto God, the ſpace of fyften dayes, to moue his hart the way that was meteſt, and that he was reſoluit to mary in Denmark. The conſaill apperit all to be content of his reſolution, requyring meat inſtrumentis to be employed to conclud the mariage and to mak the contract. Then his Maieſte ſaid, that he had alredy choſen me in his mynd for ane, willing the conſaill to name another ; quhilk they did, to wit my L. of Attry, the Erle Marchallis oncle.

P. 193.

We twa being wreten for and com to court, fand not fic ernestnes with the conſaill as with the King ; quhilk my L. of Attry perſaving, drew hame again, excuſing him ſelf vpon his age and ſeaklynes. His Maieſte vſed many perſuaſions and raifouns to cauſe me tak the voyage in hand ; declairing how that he had many tymes ſend for me to be employed in ambaffaddis, and culd not tell what was the cauſe that I went not. I anſwerit, that his Maieſte wald haue done me that honour abone my deſeruyngis, quhilk he wald not haue done gif he had knawen my vnablenes and inſufficiency, aſweill as I did my ſelf. His Maieſte ſaid, that this his mariage was the greteſt matter that euer he had ado, and culd tak na reſuſe. I ſaid that my Lord of Tunghland my brother was far meiter nor my ſelf, being a gud ſcollair, and culd perfytyly ſpeak the Latin, hy Dutche, the Flemyn and the Frence tong.

Bot his Maieſte wald repoife ſtill vpon me in that erand, bot was content that my ſaid brother ſuld paſs in commiſſion with me.

Then his Maieſte ſaid, “ albeit the conſaill will form your inſtructions, ye ſhall reſaue myn out of my awen mouth. Thre headis in ſpeciall. The firſt, gif the K. of Denmark had, at the pleaſour of God, bene alywe vntill this tyme, he wald not haue ſtand to geue a gret tocher with his dochter, wherin the regentis and conſaill wilbe als ſpairing as they can. I dout not therefore bot ye will draw out of them ſamekle as may be had ; bot at lenth, ſtand not for filuer to paſs fordwart with the concluſion of the mariage. The ſecond head is, to knaw what frendſhip and aſſiſtance they will mak me, when it may pleaſe God to place me be richt in the kingdome of England, be diſceſe of this Quen, incaice any contre men or vthers wald wrangeouſly pretend till vſurp and debar me fra the ſame. Thridly, concernyng the ylles of Orkeney, ye mon chuſe any man of law that ye pleaſe ; for that head mon be anſwerit and delaited be form of law. Alwais, gif the mariage tak effect, that purpos will not be ouer preciſly futed nor handled. It may be that my conſaill will geue yow ſtraiter conditions, bot this inſtruction of myn ye ſhall folow fourth, let them ſay what they pleaſe.” When I ſchew his Maieſte that I wald tak with me, for man of law, Meſter Jhon Skein, his Maieſte thoct then that ther wer many better lawers. I ſaid, that he was beſt acquainted with the conditions of the Germanes, and culd mak them lang harrangues in Latin, and was a gud trew ſtout man, lyk a Dutche man. Then his Maieſte was content that he ſuld ga ther with me.

P. 194. Efter this I taried lang at court, and culd ſe na preparation for our diſpaſche, nother ther filuer nor ſchip maid redy ; and the apponted tyme

that we fuld haue bene in Denmark was past, to wit before the first day of May. For it was ordonit sa be the K. of Denmark or he died, that incaice that day was not kept, that they wald think them selues bot skouffit. Quhilk moued me the mair to employ my frendis in court to cause another be named in my place, seing sa many futting for to get the said commiffion. The chanceler gaif me sic terrous as he culd for his part. Now the Erle Marchall had desyred to supple the place of his oncle my L. of Attry, and his Maieste was content that he fuld be send ther. Wherupon I tok occasion to say vnto his Maieste, that the said erle was very meit, and wald ga the better contented, gif he mycht haue in commiffion with him some of his awen frendis and acquaintance. His Maiesteis answer was, that it was his part to cheise his awen ambassadouris, and that the Erle Marchall fuld haue the first plaice as a nobleman, bot that he wald repoise the cheif handling with the regentis and confaill of Denmark vpon me. Then I declaired how that the apponted tym was past, and that ther was na apperance of any preparation of schip or siluer; wherat his Maieste was very angry. And when I named the lard of Barnbarrow, or Mester Peter Yong, wha had bene ther before, his Maieste wald not; for the blame and wyet was wrangeously laid vpon ther vnufficiency and mishandling, that matters tok not the desyred succes of before.

Wald not this kynd of court handling skar any man to be a medler in sic weichty matters, wher sic men ar preferrit, and the hail bourding of the princes affaires committed to ther cair and credit? Wha confellit his Maieste to send first to the Quen of England, and requyre hir consent and aduys to the said mariage with Denmark; wha they knew wald not only disswad his Maieste from the said mariage, bot

also stay him fra any mariage, as sche and hir confaill had euer done and delt, baith with his mother and him self. When I vnderstod of this new delay, I obteanit liscence to pass hame to my house, and mak me redy vpon the nyxt warnyng. In the mean tym, the seasoun of the year was weall spent. The Quen of Englandis answer was, not to mary in Denmark. Sche had credit with K. and princes of Navarre, quhilk wald be far better. In the mean tym, sche wret to the K. of Navarre to hald bak the mariage of his sifter for thre yeares, for sic friuoll respectis as caried na raisoun.

Vpon this answer of England, our confaill wer conuenit, and pratikit and intyfed to vot, as the maist part of them did, against the mariage of Denmark. Wherat his Maieste tok sic a dyspyt, as that he caused ane of his maist famylier seruandis deall secretly with some of the deakens of the craftismen of Edenbrough, to mak a maner of a mutinerie against the chanceler and confaill; boisting to slay the said chanceler, incaice the mariage with the K. of Denmarkis dochter wer hendrit or any langer delayed. This boisting and fear caused a new resolution to be tane, that the Erle Marchall suld be dispasched with deligence, and the constable of Dunde and my L. Andrew Keith, whom the said erle requested his Maieste to send with him. Quhilk his Maieste granted the mair easely, because he fand sa many difficultes in this matter, and some of my frendis had schawen vnto him, that I wald not be miscontent that he sent with the said erle sic as he desyred.

Now it wes yet a lang tym, before the Erle Marchall culd be maid redy and dispasched. Then at his dealing with the confaill of Denmark, his power to conclud wes sa limitat, and his commiffion sa sklander, that he wes compellit to send bak again my Lord Dingwall, other

for a licence to com hame, or for a sufficient power to conclud. Wher it chancit that he fand his Maieſte at Aberdene, and the chanceler and maift part of the counſaill abſent ; quhilk was a gret furtherance to get a full power, to conclud the contract and ceremonie of the mariage be the Erle Marchall ; wha was incontinent diſpaſched be the regentis and counſaill of Denmark, and the Quen fend hame with him weill accompanied. Bot the tempeſteous wyndis drawe them vpon the coift of Nouroway, wher they landit and ſtayed a lang tym vpon fair wind and wether. Quhilk ſtorm of wind was allegit to haue bene raiſed be the witches of Denmark, be the confeſſion of findre of them, when they wer brunt for that cauſe. It that moued them, they ſaid, was a kuff or a blaw quhilk the admyrall of Denmark gaue to ane of the bailgeis of Copenhauen ; whais wyf conſulting with hir aſſociatis in that art, raiſed the ſaid ſtorm, to be reuengit vpon the ſaid admyrall.

His Maieſte had hard that they wer vpon the ſee, and left nathing ondone to mak all in a redines to reſaue the Quen and hir company honorably ; bot in the mean tym, was very impatient and forowfull for hir lang delay, laying the blame vpon the chanceler, and ſic others of his counſaill as had planly voted againſt the ſaid mariage, and had delayed the diſpaſche of the ambaffadouris ſa lang, vntill the ſeaſoun of ſealling vpon tha ſees was neir paſt. The ſtormes wer alſo ſa gret heir, that ane boit periffit betwen Brunteland and Leith, wherin was a gentilwoman callit Jene Kenete, wha had bene lang in England with the Quen his Maieſteis mothe and was ſen ſyn married vpon my brother the maifter houſhald to hir Maieſte, Sir Andro Meluille of Garvok. Quhilk gentilwoman being diſcret and graue, was ſent for be his Maieſte, to be about the Quen his bedfallow. Sche being willing to mak

deligence, wald not stay, for the storm, to fail the ferry ; wher the vehement storm draue a schip forceably vpon the said boit, and drownit the gentilwoman and all the perfonnes except twa. This the Scotis witches confessit vnto his Maieste to haue done. Wher I tint also tua faruandis.

Now his Maieste remanit quyety in the castell of Craigmyllair, not content with the maist part of his confaill, as said is, and culd not sleip nor rest. In the mean tym, he directed the crownell Stuart to my brother Sir Robert and me, charging us to tak cair of his mishandled estait in tym commyng ; lamenting how that he was abusèd be sic as he had ouer mekle reposed vpon, and that he had alwayes found us faithfull and cairfull for his wealfaire ; willing us to sit down, and aduysè how he mycht best put remedy to thingis past, and eschew sic inconuenientis in tymes commyng ; for he was determinit heirefter to repoise maist vpon our confaill.

P. 196. Our answer vnto his Maieste was, that we had gret cause till render his Maieste maist humble thankis for the gud oppinion that he had of us, quhilk we suld tak panes at our power till deserue ; and wer very fory for the displeasour that his hyenes had tane ; preing his Maieste that he wald tak patience, and as that he had alwayes reposed vpon his God, and not vpon men, that the same God wald mend his estait, as he had oft tymes done before. Presently our only cair suld be, how to resaeue honorably the Quen, wha was vpon the sea, we daly loking for hir landing ; and nyxt, how to trait and reward the noblemen of Denmark, hir hynes convoy. That being done and they returnit bak to ther contre, it wald be best tym to tak ordour with the affaires of the kingdome, conform to his Maiesteis desyre, with the concurrence

of ſa many of the conſaill as his Maieſte had found maiſt faithfull and leaſt factious.

Bot to tak vpon us the hail bourthen, we thocht it not beſt ; in reſpect that has bene alwayes the cheif cauſe of the wrak of Scotis kingis, ſpecially of all his troubles, in laying the hail bourthen of his affaires vpon any ane or twa ; wha maiſt commownly, for gredines and ambition, abuſes gud princes ; then few or nane dar controill them, for fear of ther gret autorite and credit.

The chanceler being advertiſt of his Maieſteis miſcontentement and diſpleſour, as ſaid is, maid his preparatywe till part aff the contre ; and cauſed it to com vnto his Maieſteis eares, that he ſuld ſaill and bring the Quen with him ; and that they wer all bot ſnaffellers that was with hir. And forget not till anoint the handis of ſome that wer famylier with his Maieſte, to interpret this his enterpryſe ſa weill, that it pat all vther byganes in forgetfulnes. And be litle and litle to infourm his Maieſte ſa weall of the ſaid voyage, and of the gret charges that he maid vpon a faire and ſwyft ſailing ſchip, that his Maieſte was moued to tak the voyage him ſelf, and to ſaill in the ſame ſchip with the chancelair, with gret ſecreſie and ſhort preparation ; making na man preuy therto bot ſa many as the chanceler pleaſit, and ſic as had bene vpon his faction of before. He had alſo hard a nynckling of a word, how that his Maieſte, in the tym of his hauy diſpleſour, had ſend vnto my brother and me to tak the bourden of his affaires ; wherat he had a gret hid invy and diſpyt, and was the cauſe why his Maieſte maid me not preuy to his voyage in Denmark ; and was very miſcontent when his Maieſte had apponted my brother Sir Robert to be left vicechanceler, to conuene the conſaill in his Maieſteis abſens, to hald hand with

the Duc of Lenox, my Lordis Hammiltoun, Bodowell, and vther noblemen, with the officers of the crown, to reull the contre in his Maieftes abfence.

Thre vther fchippis failed with his Maiefte, wherin was the Juftice Clark, Carmychell, the proueft of Linclowden, Willyem Keith, George Hum, James Sandelandis, and his mefter almowfer, with all his hynes ordinary feruandis. The wether was rough aneugh, for it was in the beginning of wynter ; bot the laft day was fa extream ftormy that they wer all in gret danger. Bot his Maiefte landit that fame nycht at
in Noroway, wher the Quen was abyding the wynd ; and wher he accomplifit his mariage in perfone, bot culd not be perfuadit to retourn in Scotland that winter, be raifoun of the raging fees and ftorme that he had fufteanit a litle of before.

The Quen and confaill of Denmark, being aduertift that his Maiefte was to abyd all that winter at _____, fend and requested him to com to Denmark. Wher he pafte be land, with the Quen his new bryd ; and behaued him felf honorably and liberally be the way, and at the court of Denmark, fa lang as he tareid ther.

P. 197. Bot the company that wer with his Maiefte held him in gret fafcherie, to agre ther continuall ftryf, pryde and partialites. The Erle Mar-chall, be raifoun that he was ane ancien erle, and had bene employed in that honorable commiffion, thocht to haue the firft place nyxt vnto his Maiefte, fa lang as he was ther. The chancelair, be raifoun of his office, wald nedis haue the preeminence ; lykwayes betwen the conftable of Dunde, and my L. Dingwall, for the firft place ; betwen the chancelar and the Juftice Clark. Bot George Hum fchot out quyety Will-yem Keith, fra his office of mafter of the garderob. At lenth the hail

wair deuydit into twa factions ; the ane for the Erle Marchall, and thother for the chanceler, wha was the ftarker, becaufe the King tok his part. Sa that the chancelair tryumphed, and deuyfed, being yet in Denmark, many refourmations to be maid, and new fourmes and faffions to be fet fordwart at his Maiefteis hamecommyng ; as to haue na preuy confaill bot the chekker, and the nobilite to be debarrit therfra ; and findre of the lordis of feffion to be put out, and others plaicit in ther rowmes. And caufed pen ane proclamation, quhilk was fend hame to be proclaimed before his Maiefteis retournyng, that nane of the nobilite fuld com to court on being fend for, and then to bring with them fex perfones and na ma ; lykwais euery barron to bring bot four. And alfo was myndit that na knychtis fuld be maid at the Quenis coronation, bot fic as wer of worthy eftymation, be honorable behaouour other in the warres, or that had bene employed ambaffadours towardis vther princes. Lykwais it was deuyfed, to put in ward fic as had bene vnreuly and inobedient during his Maieftes abfence ; as the Erle Bodowell, the lord Hum, and dyuers borderers and hyland men.

The nyxt fpring, as faid is, ther Maiefteis cam hame and landit at Leith, weill accompanied ; with the admyrell of Denmark and dyuers of the confaill, and many other gentilmen, wha all his Maiefte traited honorable ; and efter the coronation of the Quen, rewardit them princely, with ma then tuelf golden cheigungeis, and many medallis of gold with his Maiefteis picture.

His Maiefte, at his landing, had fend for me to bear them company ; quhilk I did vntill ther parting, to his hynes contentement. In the mean tym, the Erle of Worcefter was fend heir ambaffadour from England, to welcom and congratulat baith ther Maiefteis, with fome presentis vnto the Quenis Maiefte. Whom his Maiefte commandit me

to enterteny all the tym of his heir being ; and at his parting, presented him with a riche ring of feuen gret dyamontis, that he parted weill satisfied, and sa did all his company.

It pleafit his Maiefte, at leafer, to declair vnto me his haill voyage, and proceedingis during his abfence ; and faid that he wald that I had bene fent myn allane ambaffadour in Denmark, in fteid of the Erle Marchall and the tua that wer junit with him, he was fa euell infourmed of the faid erle. I faid, that I vnderftode that the Erle Marchall, for his awen part, had behaued him felf very honorably and difcretly, as the admyrall of Denmark, Stean Braue, and dyuers of ther company had infourmed me. Alwais, his Maiefte beleued the contrary for the tym, and faid farther vnto me, that he had greter fafcherie to kepe gud reull and ordour among the few company that wer with him in Denmark, then had my brother Sir Robert to reull and kep quyetnes in all Scotland during his abfence. Quhilk prayfe my brother deferved indede ; for he had fic fauour and credit with the nobilite and barrons and bourrowes, that they folowed his aduyfe, and beleued that he wald not fay bot the trewth in his Maiefteis name ; and again, that he wald not hyd ther quyet behauour from his Maiefte at his hamecommynge.

P. 198. Bot the chanceler invyed my brother for the gret oppinion that his Maiefte had of him, notwithstanding that he was a speciall instrument to bring the chanceler in court with his Maiefte, firft when his hynes pafte to his liberte at Santandrowes, and efterwart to get him the office to kepe the gret feall, and fyn to be chanceler in effect. The chanceler remembrit alfo of his Maiefteis deliberation, before his paffing to Denmark, when he was miscontent with the chanceler, what drection he fend be the crownell Stuart to my brother and me. Quhilk the chan-

celler now went about to preuent, and tok occasion to callomniat my brother in his abfence, becaufe my brother was fent for to vefit his wyf, lying in Brunteland at the point of death, in the mean tym that ther was ado with his office, to founrice fome litle neceffaires for the ftrangers. The chanceler tald his Maiefte, that he vfed euery Sater-day fa to do, during his Maiefteis abfence, and taried ther thre or four dayes, neglecting that way the commown affaires of the contre ; and that it was the clark of the regifter, Sanders Hay, that had done all the gud offices quhilkis wer allegit that Sir Robert had done ; and kendled fa vp the Kingis anger againft Sir Robert, that he boifted till ward him, and tak his office fra him, fex dayes efter that fa gret rufe was maid of his fecfull feruice. Sa euell handled ar oft tymes gud princes and trew faruandis, be crafty callomnies. Bot his Maiefte repented fchone this fodane anger, being richtly infourmed, and converted the fame againft the faid chanceler vpon a nother occafion.

Ther was emulation betwen the confaill and the chamber ; the confaill complenyng, that the chamber wer the deuyfers of euery wrang that was done, be caufing his Maiefte fubfcrywe findre hurtfull fignatours and commiffions ; and gat paff for them felues and ther frendis, the beft and maift proffitable cafualites. They again wald other haue had the maift part of the confaill at ther deuotion, or elis chengit and others mair frendly for them placit in ther rowmes. Wherupon the confaill confulted, and concludit together to caft the chamber ; yet one of the confaill that had fome gret turn to be fped, difcouerit the enterpryfe of the reft to the chamber ; wha having greteft credit with his Maiefte, pat the chanceler fchone out of conceat. Sa that at his firft commyng to fpeak with his Maiefte, he rebuted him very fourly ; and

leaving him, tok me be the hand, faying, " I am the worft handled prince in the world, as I fall schaw yow the morn ; for now when I go to bed, I haue na will to enter vpon fa melancolyk purpofes fa lait. Therfor fend for your brother, and at his commyng, I fall declair vnto yow baith mair of my mynd. I can not forget a faying of yours, that it is the grettest wyell in the world to be trew." At my brothers commyng, we fand that the only caufe was, that the chanceler and fome with him wald haue wraked his Maieftis trewest myngnons ; quhilk my brother tok vp betwen them incontinent, to his Maieftis gret contentement ; and the hail blame was layed vpon him that had oppenit vp the matter to the chamber.

P. 199. Efter the coronation of the Quenis Maiefte, and banketting and rewarding of the ftrangers, they retournit hame weall contented. Ther was another convention apponted, for taking ordour with the affaires of the contre, to the quhilk many noblemen and barrons wer wreten for ; bot very few obeyed the faid wretings, or wald com neir the court, becaufe when they wer firft wreten for to the Quenis coronation, they thocht not them felues weill vfed. For hall, chamber, and all durris wer fa ftraitly and indifcretly keped, that they culd get na entre ; therfor many of them returnit malcontent to ther houfes. Nor na man was appointed to welcom them, and to direct them, except fa many as wer maid knychtis ; quhilk was the caufe that fa few cam again to court, the nyxt tym that they wer wreten for. For they that had bene laity in Denmark with his Maiefte, thocht to retean him and the hail gouvernement in ther handis, and had geuen his Maiefte confaill, not to be ouer famylier nor of ouer eafy acces ; nane till enter in his chamber, bot famany as wer gentilmen of his chamber, with the chanceler and

some of the confail ; and wer not content to haue the only acces, and haill handling at all other tymes, bot euen also at thir conventions, they occupied continually his Maiesteis ear in presens of the haill assemble, to let ther gret credit be seane, to be futed and buddit be sic as had to do with the prince. Nane of them all had mair occasions to occupy his Maiesteis ear, then I had at that tym. Yet when it wald please his Maieste to call vpon me, to know how euery stranger was traited and contented, I wald geue his Maieste a schort answer, and with a gret reuerence retein and draw a fyd. Quhilk was perfault be some of the nobillite and barrons, that wer com to the said convention. In the quhilk, findre necessary reformationis wer intendit, bot nathing perfourmed ; quhilk was the mair spoken of, because euery man hoped to se a fattelit estait at his Maiesteis hamcommyng ; and with the greter assurance, be raisoun of his Maiesteis promyse, maid publicly in the hye kirk of Edenbrough, to be a new man, and till tak vp another kynd of cair and doing in his awen persone, then had bene seane vsed of before. Quhilk certainly his Maieste was very willing to put in execution, bot, alaise, he lakit help and assistance. For sic as he reposed maist vpon, had na farther cair of his affaires nor as they mycht best serue to ther awen particulaire profit and aduancement to sic ambitious markis as they schot at ; making his Maieste in the mean tym beleue that all was weall rewled, and ordorit at wiffis. The contrary being to manifest, moued me to present vnto his Maieste, at dyuers tymes, some memorialis and informations anent his estait and gouernement. The maist part wherof I had set doun in wret, efter that the crownell Stuart had brocht commiffion from his Maieste vnto my brother Sir Robert and me, before his hynes failing to bring hame the Quen,

during the tym that he was dolorous in Craigmillair, and miscontent with the chancelair, and sic of his confaill as had bene henderers of his mariage ; and had willit my said brother and me to fit down and aduysse vpon some gud reules, for the establisshing of gud ordour in his contre.

P. 200. “ Sir, your hyenes happy hamecommung has gretly reioised your hail subiectis. Your expectation has bene gret euer sen your birth, baith far and neir. Your publik promyse, to tak vpon you a mair kingly cair sen your retournyng, throw greter experience, hes augmented ther gud hope of a gracious gouernement. Your religion, pure and clean, your zeall to godlynes and justice, your chaift and sincere lyf, your promptitud to suppress rebellions when they aryse, ravisses the hartis of the maist part of your subiectis, to loue you and esteam you the best King that hes bene thir many yeares in this realm. And yet they all maruell with stupifak myndis, to se your affaires sa vnkannely handled ; complenyng hauely that your contre was never in greter difordour and distrefs, the kirk sa euell content, your house sa euell at point, the nobilite sa deuydit, the barrons in greter pouertie, and the commons mair opprest, nor never ma taxations raifed, to the vtilite ratheft of priuat perfonnes, ma parlementis halden, monyer lawes casten lowis and broken, your proclamations and missyues les obeid, and mourther and bludfeding mair increffit, sen your hynes hamecommung and publik promyse, then it was during your absens.

“ Therefore, fir, as in ane parrelous storm vpon the see, or till stanche sodane tane fyre vpon the land, euery mans help is requisit and acceptable ; sa I hope your hyenes clemency will confidder and geue gentill

audience, and your prudency will tak in gud part, this my dewtifull declairation and admonition ; the baldlyer enterpryfed, vnder the warrant of your fauorable allowance ; folowing your famylyer commandement, before your hynes paffing till Denmark, that my brother and I fuld fet down the caufes of the euellis and diforders that hes bene and is, together with the metest remedies for the refourmyng and amending of the mifreull.

“ Ther be thre cheif caufes of all thir euellis and difordours.

“ The first, concernyng Godis feruice.

“ The fecond, concernyng your awen estait, and prouifion of your houfe.

“ The thrid, concernyng the policy and commown weill of your contre.

“ As tuiching the feruice of God, neglected be our finnes and cairlefnes in the fetting fourth of his glory, fuld be redreffit and amendit be humble repentance, amendement of lyf and gud exemple, first in your awen perfoun, vpon the quhilk euery mans ey is fixit, as the head to reull the rest of the members, with religion, justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitud. Cheifly be religion and justice haue all the best commown wealis bene rewled. Sa that sic contrees as wanted the knowlege of trew religion, feing the gret workis that God brocht till pafs be his awen peculier people obseruyng his religion, they invented religions, trowing to imitat the Jews, fell in ydolatrie and superstition. Yet they straitly obserued ther said invented religion, and caused punish with death sic as dispyfed or spak against the same.

P. 201. “ Far mair fuld your Maiefte be cairfull to fet fordwart the trew religion, and to se the same reuerencit and obseruit ; and for that ef-

fect, fuld deuot and discret ministers be chofen, whais chriftien lyues may preach afweill as ther doctrine ; and fic to be prouydit with fufficient locald ftipendis, nother ouer mekle, till entyfe them till auarice, nor ouer litle, till mak them fa indigent as till cry out in all ther preachingis of ther pouertie ; in fic fort as they may haue na occafion yearly to leaue ther flok, to com and mak fut for ther lyving, with gret pain and expenfis, as they do prefently.

“ Dyuers ar the caufes of the difordour in your court and houfe. Officers and feruandis ar not chofen for ther qualites, bot at the inftance of this or that frend or courteour. Then the number of all fortis of feruandis ar not limitat, in placing about you fa many as ar neidfull, bot ane extraordinary number ; wheras twa ar anew in euery office ; and then your hynes prudency falbe beft knawen, when ye falbe fean to mak gud election of meit perfones for euery occupation. For the prince is ay eftemed to be femblable vnto tha fort of feruandis as he .lykis beft to be about him. Mekle confiftis in this, to haue in court, discret, modeft, courtes and vngredy courteours. Nathing wonnes mair the hartis of the people to the prince ; for fa lang as they fee about him fic perfones, they ar out of fear to be bourdenit vnmefurably. When they fe men that ar not gredy, importun crauers, nor prodigall fpenders of the princes geir and ther awen, nor fterer vp of the prince to tak mens lyues for ther landis, they ar in hop that euery man may lywe vpon his awen, and the prince alfo vpon his awen patrimony. Therfor fuld the chekker be alfo chofen of trew reftrik men, be the princes foirficht ; wha fuld be oftymes present himfelf, and heir his awen comptis. For few dar controill or find falt with the wrang comptis of fic officers as ar gret courteours, and in gret

fauour ; quhilk I haue oft tymes fean and found falt with my felf, being vpon the chekker, to my gret hurt and difcredit.

“ The caufes why the patrimonye of the crown is fa diminiffit, your hyenes predeceffours difponit mekle to the kirk, for deuotion, and to noblemen and barrons, for gud feruice. And fomtymes when princes wer cairles, to preuene rebellions vpon ther mifgouernement, they wer compellit to by the affiftance of a fort, be difpofition of landis, to help to reprefs another number of vnnaturall fubiectis ; quhilk ther cairfull and provydent gouernement mycht haue preventit and efchewed.

“ Also your Maiefte, of a noble and princely nature, difponit liberally vnto dyuers gredy and importun perfones, during your minorite, dyuers landis and rentis, quhilkis wald haue ftand in gret fteid to the entertenement of your houfe ; and ay heaped gift vpon gift till a fort of gredy cravers, and that be the perfuafions of fic as had your ear, and not to the beft deferuers.

P. 202. “ Now the chekker being weill chofen, as faid is, and the rentmefters and ther officers that ar comptable to be trew refponfeable mean men, nother ouer gret men nor gret courteurs, bot fic as men dar controill, and will not fear till offend ; that all vacand benefices and cafualites be retenit in your awen handis, vntill ye fee what ye may fpaire.

“ Then the beft part of the properte lyes in the hylandis, wher nother God nor the King is ferued nor obeyed. Reducing the hylandis and the ylles, as your gudfchir K. James the fift did, your rentis may be that way redoubled. For the Kingis of Scotland wer never riche, fen they left the hylandis and the ylles to duell in the lawland ; for ay fen fyn ther rentis haue bene diminiffit, and ther superflow expences increffit, at the vneuenly exemple of other nations nybours.

“ Then your hynes parkis wald be pleniffit and put to proffit, quhilk wilbe found a necessary help to the halding of your house. The rest of your stoir rowmes, lying in the far south partis, ar in sic handis that they wald not be medlit with as yet ; bot some yearly number of wethers wilbe easely granted, be them that possels presently the saidis stoir rowmes.

“ Also the forbeden gudis that pass yearly out of Scotland, gene they wer stayed and tane according to actis of parlement, wald be very profitable.

“ The best meanis to bring thir gud purposes to pass, is a princely prudent and gracious gouvernement ; quhilk is easiest brocht till pass when the prince correctis him self, before he correct his subiectis. For they wilbe schone subdewed vnto his will, when they se the same maid subiect vnto raisoun. For being subiect vnto raisoun, the prince has conkiffit him self ; the rediest meanis also to conkis the hartis of the subiectis. Ther hartis being conkiffit, the contre is easely conkift. The contre being conkift, the prince may plant and establis gud or-dour therintill at his pleasour.

“ Theopompe being demandit, what way a king mycht best conferue and reull his realme, answereth, in geving liberte to them that loue him to tell him the treuth. The senat of Rome, wreting vnto Trayan, excuses princes to be negligent in many thingis, not famekle for that they haue no desyre till foirsee, as because few or nane dar warn them of the treuth ; and sayes mairouer, that it belangis to gud priuces rather to haue regarde to the benefit of ther contre, then to the delytis of ther persone ; and rather till folow exercises till encrease ther reputation, then ther pastym ; then to be spair in speach, and prodigall in dedis.

“ And Plutarque to the fame Trayan : Gif thy regiment answer not to the expectation of thy people, thou canst not be but subject to many dangers. And sayes farther, that princes shall reule well, gif they be thankfull to the great God, patient in chances of fortune and in trouble, diligent in execution, careful of their affairs and in dangers, mynded to the people, tractable to strangers, not greedy of riches, nor lovers of their own opinions and desires, the burthen of their office will be easy unto them.

P. 203. “ As God is the ruler and spirit of the world, so ought princes to reule, and to be the spirit of their country. The heaven, the earth, the sea, the planets, and all the elements, obey God's ordinance, be the strength of his continual motion and providence. So should the prince, who is God's placeholder, be continually careful, provident, and motion, cause every lieutenant, minister, magistrate, judge, officer and sheriff, keep their due course in their vocation. For the quhilk effect, it may please your Majesty consider the nature and wrong kind of Scottish government, be ane continual long corrupted custome.

“ Scotland is indeed hereditary, and a monarchy. Yet among all other monarchicall kingdoms, it is oftentimes out of tune, be the sleuth and carelessness of princes, the unreasonableness and stubbornness of the subjects, the great rents of the nobility and their great number. Also the many great comberfome clanes, so ready to concur together, and to rebel for the defence of any one of their name, or to revenge the just execution of some of them, for murder, slaughter, theft, or sic other crimes. Our Kings, wanting the means of fixed wages remaining in garnisons, as other monarches has, may not, at all occasions, punish and redress sic wrongs and disorders; except so many of them as, be

wifdome and vertu, had wincuft ther awen paffions, oppinions and defyres, and be the fame meanis, raviffit the hartis of the maift and beft part of the fubiectis, to affift them with hart and hand to fuppreff the rebelles, and to punifh the offenders. Sic Kingis again as command abfolutely, not karing for the hartis of ther fubiectis, ther proclamations wilbe outwardly obeyed with ther bodyes ; bot ther doingis will ftand the prince in na fteid in tym of neid, faif only to help to wrak him. Then ther is nathing mair dangerous for a Scotis K. that has not the loue of his fubiectis, nor when a gret number ar convenit together ; for at fic tymes, they vfe to tak fodane consultations, to put ordour to the prince and his maift familier mignons. Of thir tua fortis of Kingis, the firft is mair nor a monarque, and the laft les then electywe. Of the firft, in Scotland, ther hes rong ouer few ; and of the laft ouer many ; quhilk is caufe that the contre is not yet halely conkift to the lawfull King. Quhilk is alfo caufe, that the corrupt cuftomes and diforder hes lefted fa lang, and ar not able to be remedied, vntill it may pleife God fend thre fic Kingis as I haue named of the beft fort, granting them lang lyf ilk ane to fucceed efter vther. I prey God that your Maiefte may begin and continow to be the firft of the thre. Bot wher it aperis ye ar aduyfed, be creating ma noble men, to increafe your forces, wherby it rather makis them the ftarker ; wheras dyuers vther princes preffit to mak them lawer and fewer, be raifoun of the auld emulation that hes lefted betwen the Kingis of Scotland and ther nobilite ; the Kingis to command abfolutely as fouerain monarque ; the nobles to withftand ther abfolut power, sometymes be fecret and indirect meanis, and oft tymes be plane refiftance and force. Then the wyfe, verteous and potent Kingis, wherof ther hes bene bot few, wer ay fouerain monarques,

and obtenit the maisterie ; and the cairles, sleuthfull and femple princes, that wer gydit be mean men, wer commownly kept captiues or slane. The gud and worthy prince tok vpon him mair or les absolut power and autorite, as he fand him self able, be affistance, substance, and alliance, or as he fand his nobilite feble, fulifche, and devydit.

P.204. “ England beleues ay to be in the better estait, be schedding the bluid of ther nobilite, and debarring of them from the consaill and handling of the princes affaires. Scotland, now, contrary wyse, be spairing of the nobilite and barrons, and be making them partakers of honours and offices. For the way taking of the lyf of a nobleman or barroun, breidis ane hundreth ennemys ma or les, according to the gretnes of the clan or surname ; of the quhilk nomber some will ly at the wait to be reuengit, albeit lang efter, when they se ther tyme. For the nobilite being sa many, be lang euell custome, they esteame them selues to be borne confellours ; and yet will not remain at court, nor vpon the consaill, without it be at conventions, or for some particulaire profit. And gif the prince pretend to reull by them, they vse to mak sodane enterpryses against the prince and his famyliers ; of the quhilk tragedies, the cronikles ar fillit and defyled. Then efter sic a violent alteration, they think them selues odious to the prince ; sa that they seak commonly to be mesters ouer him fra that tyme fourth, lest he fuld, when he fies his tyme, tak his revenge for ther contempt.

“ It is not best then to debar your nobilite from being vpon the consaill ; bot grant plaice to a nomber of the wysest of them, wherof they will schone tyre, and reteir when ther purfes begins to grow tume. And sa your ordonance fall tak effect of will, and they fall want occasion to gruge or rebell. It is meit also to won, be gud dede, part of the wor-

thyeft of your nobilite ; quhilk may be a stay to hald the rest fra rebellion, when they will see sa many of ther fort daily about you, and in your fauour.

“ Princes ar callit pastoures be Homere, and fathers of the contre be the Romans. Nane can be anfwerable till sic honorable names, without extrem diligence and fatherly cair, to se euery officer occupy his vocation, and strait accompt to be tane how they discharge ther dewtye ; rewarding weill doers and puniffing the offenders ; reward and puniffement being the pillaires wherupon the commown weill stand.

“ Specially tak panes, this first year of your mariage ; for the reputation obteanit the first year, will last lang efterwart, whither it be gud or euell.

“ Be earnest and liberall to get gud intelligence, asweill of the estait of contrees nybours, as of your awen ; of the greifis of your subiectis, and parcialites and feadis that fallis fourth ; quhilk will open your eyn to se findre outgaitis in matters of estait.

“ Geue famylier acces to your nobilite and barrons, when they com ; cheifly to all sic as ar wreten for to your conventions.

“ Geue open audience, anes euery owk at least, to riche and pure, refaving ther supplications and complantis, and with strait command to the consaill and mester of requestis, to geue them answer with sodane dispasche.

“ Cause reform the superfluite of clothing and banketing, asweill be your awen exemple as be commandement.

P. 205. “ Now supponyng your Maieste to be ripe fruit, and na mair gren, I hope that your dear bocht experience hes maid you apt enough to receaue all profitable impreffions, presented vnto you be your faithfull

prouen faruantis ; and not to commit fa easely again your wechty charge to any ane, twa or thre ; quhilk ye haue fean to haue alwais fshot at ther awen markis, and not yours, bot to mak them felues gret and riche, parelling your estait to bring ther awen turnis to pafs ; quhilk kynd of doing, be some cairles princes, caused the poet Du Bellay to cry out—

*O trois et quatre fois malheureux la terre
Dont le prince ne void que par les yeux dautruy,
N'entend que par ceux qui respondent pour luy,
Aveugle, sourd, et muet, plus qui n'est vne pierre.*

“ Na man will think it strange that, during your yong yeares, ye haue bene preffit and perfuadit to lay the bourthen of affaires aff your self, vpon vthers wha gredely coueted that weichty charge abone ther capacite, wanting cair, knowlege, credit, and abilitie, to bear it out. Bot now euery man will marvell, gif ye fuld do it in your perfyt age ; thinking that your prignant engyn, excellent memory, and hurtfull experiences, mon compell you to exerfe the office of a K. in your awen persone. For wherof hes procedit fa many attemptatis, fa mony enterpryses, fa many takingis of your Maiesteis persone, fa many alterations and chengementis of court, confellouris, faruandis and lawes, bot be geving the charge and keping of your fcheep and fubiectis to certane ambitious ravinous wolves ; wha ceffit not to cheifs and bring in court, for ther affitance, fic as they knew to be of ther awen qualites ; that they mycht concure togither, first, how to put out of your fauour, and debar fra your ear, all fic honest trew perfonnes as wald opon

againſt ther parnicious procedingis, that your Maieſte mycht nother ſee nor vnderſtand bot be ther eyn and eares. Then all was weall reuled and ordorit, calm and faire wether, for a very few dayes. Your Maieſte can weill enough remember, how oft I haue, for my part, foirwarnit you of the ſtormes that wer to fall out, throw the miſbehauour of ſic inſolent, ſic inconstant, ſic ſcornfull and ſic partiall perſonnes, as haue oftelt poſſelt your ear, and caried the vog in your court; and what vantage I obteanit therby, your Maieſte knowes. Yet I had this confort, that your Maieſte confeſſit that I had ſchawen you the verite; bot the ſaid confeſſion was ay behind the tym, with ouer lait repentance.

“ Heir your Maieſte may reproche me of inconstant confeſis, becauſe an year efter your retournyng fra Denmark, I ſchew yow that your ſubiectis wer not ſatiſfied of ther expectation, nor of your public promyſe. Preing your Maieſte yet to begin, and other reull as apperteneth a richt king, only for a year, or elis to ſubmit the hail bourthen of your office to ſic a nomber as I ſuld name, only for ane year. In doing any of thir twa, I ſaid I ſuld bind and oblyſe my ſelf, that your eſtair ſuld be ſufficiently ſatteled at the yeares end; or elis for my penaltie to be put in priſoun, or to be perpetually baniffit out of Scotland.

P. 206. “ Then it pleaſed your Maieſte to demande of me, the maner that I wald wiſe yow to reull as a King. Wherunto I maid anſwer, that it wald not ſet me, nor nane in Scotland, to ſchaw you the dewty of a king, quhilk ye culd do better and declair better then any of your counſail, gif ye pleiſit to tak the panes bot only for a year to do your awen office your ſelf. In ſa doing, I ſupponit that before the end of the ſaid year, ther ſuld enſew ſic profitable effectis, that ye ſuld think the gouernement plaiſant and na mair painfull. Be the quhilk meanes alſo

your Maieſte ſuld eſchew the reproche of the poet Paucue in ane of his verſes, ſaying in the Frenche—

*Je hay, dit il, entre les hommes ceux
Qui ſont eſpris d'un vouloir pareſſeux,
Et toujours ſemblent, ſ'on ſ'y fye,
Practiquer l'art de la philoſophie.*

Italien.

Chi non fa quel che deue, quel ch'aspetta non receue.

Spanis.

Si fueras regido par raxon, a muchos regiras.

- “ In four thingis a prince ſchoneft wrakis him ſelf.
- “ To be cairles and ſleuthfull in his affaires.
- “ To forſaik the ſeur confell of his trew ſaruandis.
- “ To geue largely vnto vnthankfull flatterers.
- “ And to ſpend abone his rentis.

“ To retourn again to the purpos. It pleaſed your Maieſte to inquire, for the ſecond point, that mycht beſt ſatle your eſtair within the year. I ſaid, to ſubmit the hail bourthen, for a year, to a number of ſic as I ſuld name, with the beſt inclynit of your awen conſaill. To that your Maieſte agreed; bot when I cam mair in particulaire, your Maieſtie thoct it ouer mekle to be ſa far addicted, and ſa entierly ſubmitted. Then I requested your Maieſte to do the firſt, and do your awen office.

“ Yet not lang efter, your Maieſte ſubmitted your ſelf halely and entierly to aucht perſonnes, callit Octaviens ; and tald me how that ye had folowed my oppinion therintill, and had ſubmitted ſimpliciter for your tym to the ſaidis aucht perſonnes. I replyed, that I ſpak bot for ane year, and that I wald haue named ſome of the ſaid number, but not all.”

They wer wyſe men, learnit and politik, the vnmeater that they wer cheſers of them ſelues ; yet they began to do better then any had done before them. Bot they continowed not, bot deuydit amang them ſelues, efter that they had deuydit the offices of the crown, to euery man ane ; wheras at the firſt, they had geuen fourthe that they fuld plant mean reſponceable men in the ſaidis offices, and they all to be reſtrict controllouris of the ſaidis officers. Sa that many began to gruge againſt them, ſeing them becom ſa ſchone rich, and ther gret bakis, the haill ſubiectis and his Maieſteis awen domeſtikis to folow and depend vpon them, and Maieſte to paſs throw the ſtretis with thre or four, as foirſaiken, becauſe nane hoped any mair for reward at his hynes handis, bot ſa mekle as mycht be had for ſeruyng and depending vpon the ſaidis aucht lordis.

P. 207. They wer alſo ſa hated and enuyed, that a rebellion was raifed in Edenbrough againſt them in his Maieſteis prefens, partly for the cauſes ſpecified, and alſo for ſuſpition of papifre. Wherby they fled aff the town, and ſen ſyn wald not tak vpon them the haill gouernement, bot wer content to be junit with a number of noblemen and vthers of the confell, to the number of xxiiij. Bot the maiſt part of the noblemen taried not, bot cam quhen they wer wreten for to the conventions, as they wer wont ; ſa all this new deuyce tournit to the auld, ſicut antea.

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Ye haue hard how that his Maieſte was aduſed, at his retournyng from Denmark, to put in ward ſic as wer geuen vp to haue bene maiſt vnrewly during his abſens ; bot being retournit, euen ſome of them that had deuſed the ſaid warding, wer the firſt warners of them that wer to be wardit ; not without ſome proffit for ther reward, to the gret diſcontentement of ſome of ther aſſociatis. Quhilk lowſed the band that was maid in Denmark be the chanceler and his faction, and cauſed euery ane of that number to ga findre and do for them ſelues. Sa that all ther platis and deuſes turnit to wynd and vanite.

A mynt was maid to chenge ſome of the ſeſſion, bot ther was na concurrence. The chekker continowed a whyll to be the only conſell, and the nobilite when they cam, wer halden at the dur of that conſaill. Of the quhilk number I being ane, tok occaſion to ſay vnto his Maieſte, that it culd do na harm to cauſe them com in, feing they wer gret men, as my L. Hammiltoun, my L. Maxuell, and a number of vthers. Bot his Maieſte, of his awen motyue and naturell, was not chengeable fra the ordour layed down be them that he lyked and reposed vpon. Yet I paſt fourth of the chamber, and tald the noblemen that his Maieſte was vpon the ordoring of his rentis and daly expences, and thocht ſchame that they ſuld ſe the ſober eſtate therof ; quhilk was cauſe that they wer ſufferit to ſtand without. This litle excuſe ſatiſfied them in a maner ; bot this ordour was alſo ſchon alterit.

Anent the reducing of the hylandis and ylls ; thre of the principales, as Maclain, Maconell and Donald Gorm, wer ſubtilly drawn to the court be the chanceler, wha vnderſtod of ther partialites, and wer euery ane put in hope to get his hand beyond his enemy. Bot at ther commyng, they wer all thre wardit in the caſtell of Edenbrough, to

ther gret astoniffement ; for they had committed sic foull mourthours vnder traitt, that it wer horrible to rehers. Being therefore in fear of ther lyues, they delt largely of ther euell won gold to sic as had credit. Neuertheles they wer put to ane alyfe, and convict of traifoun, and for many vther foull crymes ; quhilk caufed them redouble ther giftis to the gyders ; bot not to the King, in sic fort as it was agreed betwen his Maiefte and them, that they fuld geue plegis to pay yearly vnto his Maiefte twenty thowfand markis, for the landis of the properte wherof they had na securete, and of the quhilk they had of yearly rent, as was geuen in to the chekker, twa hundreth thowfand and fyfty thowfand markis. This was all geuen them quyt for twenty thowfand. And wheras of before they had na richt nor securete bot a forceable poffeffion, they obteanit fure infestementis, be chartour, feafing and the gret feall, and a remiffion of ther foull crymes. And fchortly efterwart, ther plegis that wer kepit in the Blaknes wer fet to liberte, for geving v^m. markis to ane of his Maieftis chamber ; and fa the xx^m. markis wer tint and never payed.

P. 208. Heir was a gud prince euell vfed and abufed, and the half of his rentis robbit fra him ; and his God offendit, for fpairing to do iuftice vpon sic bludy tarrantis, that acknawlegit nether God nor the King.

I had geuen his Maiefte aduyfe to pafs him felf to the ylles and big a fort, and to remain ther twa yeares, and promyfed to ga with him ; fchawing his hynes how that the Kingis of Scotland wer never riche fen they left the hylandis, to duell in the law landis, bot haue euer fen fyn deminiffit ther rentis, and increffit ther superflew expences in cheir and clothing, at the uneuenly exemple in folowing the customes of vther nations nybours. Quhilk his Maiefte vnderftod to be maift trew, and

was myndit to haue folowed the said aduyfe ; bot all was alterit be the formair misfreull.

Matters proceeding in this sort, many began to tyn hope of amendement, or to se schortly sic a reformation as was promysed and that they loked for ; lamenting to se a gud K. sa euell handled, and that him self fuld ouerse the same, and suffer euery thing to pass at the pleasour of them that wer about him.

About this tym his Maieste fend for me, and at my comyng to Facland, wher the court remanit for the sommer seasoun, it plaifit his hynes to tell me, how that at his comyng out of Denmark he had promysed to the Quen and Confell ther, to place about the Quenis Maieste his bedfallow gud and discret company ; quhilk he had left ouer lang ondone, till at lenth he aduyfed with him self that I wald be metest ; willing me not to refuse the just calling of my prince. Wherin I mycht serue as in ane lawfull vocation ; because they that sut for seruice in court or any office, dois it for ther awen proffit ; bot they ar mair profitable for princes, that ar socht and chofen for ther qualites. “ I know that ye wald fayn lyue at hame in your houle with contentement of mynd ; bot ye know that a man is not born for him self only, bot also for the weall of his prince and contre ; and wheras your continowall vnwating wilbe coiftly and chargeable to yow, and henderfome to your awen affaires at hame, I fall ordane sufficient entertenement for your present releif, and recompence for this and your formair faithfull seruice.”

I answerit that, as his Maiesteis maist humble saruant and subiect, I neuer refused till obey his commandement ; and fuld be his direction do my vtter deligens to satisfie his hynes expectation. Then it pleaseth

him to tell me, how that nane of his confaill, nor chamber, nor na man was maid preuy to this purpos, bot a only man ; and that the Quen had gottin word of it, and fupponit that I was to be put ther to infourm her richtly of the eftait of the contre, and anent hir behauour to his Maiefte, and to euery nobleman and lady conform to ther rankis and conditions, and to be hir keper.

Now his Maiefte tok occaſion to enter in purpos with me openly at the table, and therupon ſchew vnto the Quen, how that ſche and all hir nation wer addetted vnto me, for the continowall gud will and report that I maid of that nation ; and alſo how that I had ſean many
P. 209. contrees, and was a man of ſa gret experience, that baith he and ſche mycht learn at me ſindre thingis proffitable for ther weill, and ſtanding of ther eftait ; and that the Quen his mother fand hir ſelf mekle releued be my converſation, and ſeruice of importance, afweill heir at hame as when I was employed be hir in other contrees. This far his Maiefte ſaid abone my deſeruingis, to ſet me out, and to cauſe hir Maiefte tak the better lyking of me. Wherunto the Quen ſchew na gret contenance, bot tok cauldly with me ; when, efter denner it pleaſed his Maiefte to preſent me vnto hir, to be hir hynes confellour and gentilman of hir chamber. Some dayes efter, hir Maiefte aſkit at me gif I was ordonit to be hir keper. I anſwerit, that hir Maiefte was knawen to be diſcendit of ſa noble and princely parentis, and ſa weill brocht vp, that ſche nedit na keper, albeit hir dignite requyred to be honorable ſeruit with men and wemen, baith yong and auld, in ſindre occupations. Then ſche ſaid that I was euell done to ; and how that at the firſt, when ſche was yet yngnorant of euery mans qualites, ſome indiſcret enuyers wald haue put me in hir diſfaour. I ſaid that I was put in

done, whow many they had won to ther oppinion fen ther laft meting, what fucces the melting of the pictour had tane, and fic vain toys. And becaufe ane auld fely pure plowman, callit Grey Meill, chancit to fay that “ nathing ailit the King yet, God be thankit,” the deuell gaif him a gret blaw. Then dyuers amang them enterit in a raifonyng, maruelling that all ther deuellerie culd do na harm to the K. as it did till others dyuers. The deuell anfwerit, “ Il eft vn home de Dieu.” And certanly he is a man of God, and dois na wrang wittingly, bot is inclynit to all godlynes, juftice, and vertu, therefore God hes preferued

P. 210. him in the midis of many dangers. Now efter that the deuell had endit his admonitions, he cam down out of the pulpit, and caufed all the company to com and kifs his ers, quhilk they faid was cauld lyk yce; his body was hard lyk yrn, as they thocht that handled him; his faice was terrible, his noife lyk the bek of ane egle, gret bournyng eyn; his handis and legis wer herry, with clawes vpon his handis and feit lyk the griffon, and fpak with a how voice.

The trikis and tragidie that he played them, amang fa many men and wemen in this contre, wald hardly get credit be the pofterite; wherof Mefter James Carmichell minifter of Haddingtoun has ther history and hail depofitions. Amang vther thingis, fome of them fchew how that ther was ane weftland man, callit Riche Grame, wha had ane familier fpirit; the quhilk Riche, they faid, culd baith do and tell many thingis, cheifly againft the Erle Bodowell. Wherupon the faid Riche Grame was apprehendit and brocht till Edenbrough; wha being exemed before his Maiefte, I being prefent, granted that he had ane famylier fprit that fchew him findre thingis. Bot he denyed that he was a witch, or had any frequentation with them. Bot when it was an-

fwereit to him again, how that Anny Sampfoun had declaired, that he caused the Erle Bodowell address him till hir ; he granted that to be trew, and that the Erle Bodowell had knowlege of him be Effe Mac-kalloun and Barbery Naper, Edenbrough wemen. Wherupon he was sent for be the Erle Bodowell, wha requyred his help to cause the Kingis Maieste his maister to lyk weill of him ; and to that effect he gaif the said erle some drog or herb, willing him at some convenient tym to tuiche his Maiesteis faice therwith. Quhilk being done be the said erle, and fand him not the better, he delt again with the said Riche, to get his Maieste wracked, as Riche allegit ; wha said that he culd not do sic thingis him self, bot that a notable midwyf wha was a witche, callit Anny Sampfoun, culd bring any sic purpos till pass. This far the said Riche Grame affirmed dyuers tymes before the consaill. Nevertheles he was brunt, with the said Sampfoun and findre other witches. This Riche allegit that it is certane of the fary folk, and that spritis may tak a fourm, and be sean, bot not felt.

The Erle Bodowell, as I haue said, was entrit in ward within the castell of Edenbrough, his Maieste not willing to credit his deuellische accusers. Bot the consaill thocht metest, that he suld pass his tym in other contres for a whyll, vnder some artycles and conditions. Bot some of them that wer apponted to deall with him, went about to draw commodite fra him to be his frendis ; vthers that wald haue had the estait troublit, maid him false aduertisementis. Quhilk caused him tak purpos to saif him self out ouer the castell wall, and reterit him self to Caitnes ; wher he wes schortly sent for be sic as wer malcontentis, and vthers wald haue fished in dromely watters, alleging that they had maid him frendis anew in court, and that ther was a fayre enterpryse deuyfed to

tak the K. and fley the chanceler. To this purpos, he wes easely per-
P. 211. fuadit to com and mak him self head of the said enterpryse ; wha not
lang efter, accompanied with James Douglas fomtymes lard of Spot,
the lard of Nitherie, mester Jhon Coluille and findre vthers, entrit in
the Kingis palice lait about supper tyme, be the passage of ane auld
stable, not without secret intelligence with some that wer about his
Maieste. Sa schone as they wer all within the clofe of the palice, they
cryed, " Justice, Justice, a Bodowell, a Bodowell ;" and had bene maif-
ters of the hail, wer not that James Douglas of Spot, efter that he had
tane the keyes from the porter, enterit within the porter loge to re-
leauve some of his seruandis that wer kept ther in prisoun, and had bene
examd and buted, vpon suspition of the slauchter of his gud father the
auld lard of Spot. In the quhilk doing ther was some resistence maid
be the porters, the bruit wherof raise schoner nor was the intention of
the enterprysers ; quhilk was a foirwarnyng to his Maieste, the chan-
celer and vthers, to cloife and fortifie ther chamber durris, and to mak
resistence, vntill some releif cam out of the Canogait, be convoy of my
brother Sir Androw Meluille of Garvok, his Maiesteis maister houshald ;
wha knew a secret passage throw the abbay kirk, and entrit be the
same in armour. Quhair of the Erle Bodowell and his company being
aduertist, stealed quyetyly throw the galleries vnto the part wher they
entrit in the palice, and fled without any gret harm done, as God wald ;
saif in his outganging, he chancit to meit with Jhon Schaw maister
stabler to his Maieste, whom he slew together with his brother, being
in a rage that the enterpryse had failed. Bot dyuers of his company
wer apprehendit be my said brother, and be others efterwart, wha wer
all executed the nyxt day.

Ther maner of proceeding was ; first the Lard of Spot with a company tok the keyes, and maid them felues mesters of the portis of the palice. Another company wer directed to the chanceler, wha wes fitting at his supper, and my brother Sir Robert with him, and had bene tane, wer not the Lard of Spotis earnestnes to releif his faruandis. The bruit wherof caused the chanceler to fle out of his hall to his chamber, and schut the dur efter him ; sa that my said brother gat na entre, bot reterit him self in another void house, wher na body persewed him ; nether was he in any fear for him self. The Erle Bodowell, accompanied with Mester Jhon Coluille and vthers, adressit them vnto the Quenis chamber dur, wher he supponit to find his Maieste ; bot the dur was weill deffendit be Hary Lindfay of Kilfans, hir Maiesteis maister houshald. In the mean tym, his Maieste was convoyed vp to that towr abone the said chamber, efter that the dur of hir hynes chamber had bene broken with foir hammers in dyuers partis, and that Mester Jhon Coluille had caused bring fyre to burn it vp. The dur of the chancelers chamber was manfully debaited be him self, and caused his men schut out of the windowes continowally, and throw durris ; wher Robert Scot brother to the lard of Belwery was schot throw the thy. And wer not my brother the mester houshald, that was newly planted in the north fyd of the close, cryed to the chanceler not till schut to-wart that fyd, he was in danger also. Bot the chanceler tok curage when he hard his voice, and then the enterpryfers fled as said is.

P. 212. At ther first entre within the palice, I was fitting at the yffin of our supper, with my L. Duc of Lenox ; wha tok his fuerd incontinent, and preffit fourth. Bot he had na company, and the plaice already full of vnfrendis, we wer compellit to fortifie the durris and staires, with

burdis, fourmes, and ftules, and be spectatoris of that strange hurly burly, for the spaice of ane hour ; behalding with torche leicht fourth of the Dukis gallerie, ther reilling, ther rombling with halbertis, the clakking of ther colueringis and pistolles, the duntting of melis and forehammers, and ther crying for iustice. Now ther was a passage between the chancelers chamber and my L. Duc, be a ftaire. During this frey, the chanceler cam vp the said ftaire, and defyred entre in my Lord Duc chamber. My L. Duc, be my aduyse, willit him to cause his men debait at the nether dur sa lang as they mycht, and offerit to refaue him self within his chamber ; quhilk the chanceler tok in ane euell part, and suspected my L. Duc, and sa returnit bak again to his awen chamber, and debait the best he culd, as said is. My L. Duc, sa schone as he saw company of frendis within the close, past fourth to persew the Erle Bodowell and his company ; bot the nycht was dark, and they tok them spedely to ther horse and eschaiped.

They being reterit, we gat entre to hir Maiesteis chamber, wher the K. was for the tym com down. Wher his Maieste discoursit with me a gud space of this terrible attemptat, and of his many hard fortunes. Wher I left not to tell his Maieste, some of the speciall causes of the saidis enterpryses, and how that many of them mycht haue bene eschewed and prevenit, be a prudent and cairfull gouernement ; as may be sufficiently marked and confiderit be the many admonitions and formair aduertiffementis that wer maid vnto his Maieste, before all the accidentis that chancit vnto him, and also in this. For, twa dayes before this enterpryse, my brother Sir Robert and I had gottin intelligence, that ther was ane enterpryse schortly to be execut be the Erle Bodowell and his complices, against his Maieste and the gyders of

court ; wherof his Maieſte being aduertified, maid na accompt therof, bot was the nyxt day paſſing to the huntis to tak his paſtym. Quhilk comyng to my brothers eares, he raife out of his bed fark allane, only in his nycht gown, and cam fourth to the vtter cloſs of the abbay, and tok his Maieſte be the brydill, (for he was alredy vpon horſbak,) to haue ſtayed him with many perſuaſions, bot all in vain. For we wer in dout whither the enterpryſe wald be execut in the feildis, or within the palice.

Efter this attemptat, his Maieſte paſt vp to the town of Edenbrough for his greter ſecurite, wher ther wer dyuers new enterpryſes maid ; wherof my brother Sir Robert getting oft aduertifmentis, ſometymes to kepe his loging ſic a nycht, ſometymes to be weill accompanied ſic a nycht, as a man that had done pleſour to many, and was not hated, nor wald not be in danger, ſa that he mycht ſaif himſelf from the firſt fury of the enterpryſers. This hes bene the hard eſtait of this gud king, for laying the bourding of his affaires vpon men that wer hated, and envyed for ther ambition, gredines, particuliers and vengeance ; wha ſa ſchone as they had atteinit ſa wechty a charge, tok only cair how to mak them ſelues ſchone riche, and maiſt commonly be the wrak of vthers, or ther ennemys ; ſa blindlingis tranſported be ambition and gredines, that they ouerſaw baith king and commown weall ; making the K. content with faire langage, and the contre miſcontent be hurtfull dedis ; caring only how to diſcredit ſa many honeſt men as they knew wald diſcouer ther miſbehauour, or that wald opon againſt the ſame ; quhilk I may juſtly teſtifie for my part.

Not lang efter this, a new enterpryſe was maid to mak a gret change in court, be ſome courteours amang them ſelues ; when as the Meſter of

Glames was treforer, Sir George Hume maifter of the garderob, my L. of Spyny gentilman of the chamber, and yong Logy alfo ; Sir Jhon Maitland lord of Thirleftane chanceler, Sir Robert my brother treforer deput, and had the principall handling of the office be receaving and debourfing ; the proueft of Linclouden collectour and Seatoun of Parbroith controllour, and Sir Richard Cocburn of Clarkingtoun fe-cretaire, and I was ane of the preuy confaill, and gentilman of hir Maieftis chamber. My L. Duc, my Lord of Mar, and my Lord Hume, wer drawn vpon this courfe, to reform the abuffis in court, as was allegit. Ther was na gud lyking between the maifter of Glames and my Lord of Spyny, cheifly for the fead between the houfes of Crafford and Glames. Then my Lord of Spyny was in fa gret fauour with his Maiefte, and fometyms his bedfallow, that he was worthy to be enuyed, attour the foirfaid feid. Then he was accused to haue bene a dealler with the Erle Bodowell, and was decourted for a tym. Yong Logy was eftemed to haue had gret dealing with the faid erle, and was accused and tane and wardit for the fame ; bot he elchaped out of a window in Daketh, be the help of a Dence gentilwoman, whom he married efterwart.

Ther was a gret fufpition between my L. Duc and the chanceler ; for efter the lait enterpryfe in the abbey, the chanceler caufed cloife vp the paffage with ftane and lym, that was betwen his logging and my L. Duckis ; wherby he gaif the Duc till vnderftand that he fufpected him, quhilk was weill raclefly done be the faid chanceler. For efter that this new alteration was intendit, and callit the enterpryfe maid at Dakeith, my L. Duc and my L. Hume ryding from Dakeith to Edenbrough, met the chanceler weill accompanied ryding to the court ; wher the

ſaid lordis maid a mint to ſet vpon him, as to ſley him. Yet the matter was helpit, at that tym, be Allexander Hume of Northberwik and my brother, wha wer in company with the chanceler for the tym. Bot ſchortly eſter that, the chanceler left the court, and reterit him to his houſe. And in his abſens, a gret number of faltis wer layed out againſt him, and among the reſt, how that [he] had maid ſa gret henderance to the Kingis marriage, wherby the Quenis Maieſte was maid his gret enemy.

The Meſter of Glames alſo wald fayne haue had my brother out of his office, to bruik the haill office of treforer his allane. Therefore the lard of Carmychell, capten of the gard, was eaſely perſuadit to cauſe a number of the gard, that ſtod with colueringis at the yettis of the place of Daketh, to boiſt to ſley my ſaid brother dyuers tymes, in his paſſing in and fourth of the place of Daketh; ſupponing that my brother ſuld tak a fear of his lyf, and leaue the court as the chanceler had done. Bot my brother maid na accompt of ther boiſt, for he knew the Duc to be his frend, and that he had bot a few ennemys; therefore hanted the court oſter than he was wont to do, and cam ay weil accompanied. For they culd get nathing to lay to his charge, bot ſaid vnto his Maieſte that he was ouer liberall in his office to be a treforer, ouer eaſy in his compoſitions, and ouer gentill to the horners. The Quenis Maieſte, according to hir cuſtome, wheneuer ſche vnderſtandis that his Maieſte, be wrang information, is ſterit vp againſt any honeſt ſaruant or ſubiect, ſche procures incontinent for them, and vſes gret deligence to get ſure knowlege of the verite, that ſche may the baldlyer ſpeak in ther fauour. Therefore ſa ſchone as hir Maieſte vnderſtod that they wer deling againſt Sir Robert my brother, it pleaſed hir to ſpeak far in his fauour; declaring how that at hir firſt landing in this con-

tre, his Maieſte had preſented him vnto hir, praying him to haue bene a trew ſaruant to the Quen Regent his gudame, to the Quen his mother, and to him ſelf, willing hir to think ſa of him and to vſe his gud conſaill. And alſo many of the lordis tok my brothers part, in ſic fort as he kepit ſtill court.

When this chengement was maid, I was abſent ; and at my comyng again to the court, his Maieſte tald me of the chancelers fearfull retrait, and that he was in na danger in his company. I ſaid again, that the princes prefens fuld be a ſaif gard, albeit it was not alwayes ſa in Scotland. It apperit that his Maieſte, be hard infourmations, was ſomething alterit vpon the chanceler, and my Lord of Spynny, and my brother ; for as the Meſter of Glames wald haue had his office, others miſlyked hym becauſe he hanted the chancelers company, and was thoct to be his gret frend ; ſa that his Maieſte was moued to think and ſpeak, that he was not meit for his office. I being preſent, anſwerit that I lamented to heir and ſee ſa gud a prince alwayes enuyronit with euell company, cauſing him ſa oft, without offence, caſt aff his maift ancient and faithfull ſaruandis ; and that it fuld be ſean, let men ſerue neuer ſa weill, gif it be euell interpret be ſic as had his ear, it auailed not. To this his Maieſte replied, that he knew my brother to be a trew ſaruant, bot ouer gentill, lyberall and eaſy in his compositions, and that he fuld neuer alter vpon him nor me. Sa that his Maieſte continowed conſtant, againſt the intention of ſome of them that wer about him.

Heir it may be ſean, how neceſſary it is to haue gud frendis beſyd the prince, and how hurtfull and dangerous it is for a courteour, when ſic as haue the prince ear ar ther ennemys. Otherwayes what ſouer he be that reſopes vpon his gud ſeruiſe, is commounly cowped and wraked.

About this tym capten James Stuart, vmwhyll callit Erle of Arran, wha had bene lang abfent euer fen the raid of Stirling, cam to the court, and fpak with his Maiefte, and pretendit to haue obtenit again his office of chancelair. His Maiefte had ftill a gud lyking of him, and wald haue bene content of his company, bot others held him a bak ; and fchortly efter that, he was fuppryfed and flane be James Douglas of Parkheid, for the death of the Erle of Mortoun his oncle, and litle deligence maid for the reuenge therof ; many thinking ftrange that he was left fa lang on lywe, in refpect of his infolent behauour when he had the court. He had wone many that wer about his Maiefte, and fome minifters confented to his incommyng again to the court.

P. 215. Now the chanceler, that was decourted at the chengement maid in Dakeith, did what he culd to get his Maiefteis fauour ; quhilk he obtenit, and was brocht in again. Bot the Quenis Maiefte wald not fe him, nor haue to do with him ; yet at lenth, be the moyen of Sir Robert Car of Sefford, wha had maried his brother dochter, his drefs was maid alfo with hir Maiefte.

About this tym, ther araife gret ftryf and diforder in the contre be- 1591.
tween the Erles of Huntly and Murray, betwen the Erles of Caitnes and Sutherland, betwen my Lordis Hammiltoun and Angus ; for dyuers of them had maid futtis, and obtenit commiffions, with ample preueleges ouer others landis, afweill as ouer ther awen, quhilk pat many of them in difcord. Wherof I aduertift his Maiefte, that ordour mycht be tane theranent. Wherupon the confaill being convenit, they ordonit lettres to be directed in his Maiefteis name, charging them all to leaue af fra hoftilite, and to comperre before the preuy confaill at prefix dayes.

Firft the Erles of Huntly and Murray comperit, being a gentleman of his name flain with a ſhot out of the houſe of Tarnaw, be therle of Murray, whom they braggit at his awen houſe. Baith the parties being com ſtark to the court, wer commandit to keip ther logins, for eſchewing of comber. Before ther compering, his Maieſte was aduſed be the chanceler and ſome of the chamber, what ordour fuld be meteft to be tane betwen them. Then his Maieſte propoſit the ſame to the conſaill him ſelf, to wit thre pointis ; other preſent agrement to be maid, or warding of baith the erles, or caution to be tane of baith ; then to ſend hame the ane, and hald the other ſtill at court for a while. His Maieſte folowing fourth his propoſition, declared firſt, how that the parties culd not be preſently agreed, becauſe of the het bluid of the Lard of Cluny, Gordons brother, laitly flaine. And anent warding, that the caſtell of Edenbrouch had anew of wardouris alreidy ; that the abbay was not a meit ward for nobleſmen. Sa that caution to be tane of them baith wald be beſt ; and to hald them findre, to ſend hame the ane, and retean the other in court for a ſeaſoun. The chanceler was of that ſame oppinion, and findre vthers that vſed commonly to pleaſe them that had the cheif handling. Then his Maieſte commandit me to tell my oppinion ; quhilk was, that I wiffit na delay bot preſent agrement ; ſupponyng that the Erle of Huntly, for his Maieſteis pleaſour and command, wald not reſuſe nor think ſchame to obey his prince be a preſent vptaking ; ſeing he was com ſa far a journey, with his wyf and haill houſhold, to remain all that winter in court. At this the chancelair chekkit me up tantingly, ſaying that the Erle of Huntly wald tary at court all that day till the morn, and wald part na ſchoner ; for he had promyſed to the ſaid erle that advantage vpon his ennemy ; albeit, the erles intention was to haue taried

all that winter in court. The justice clark was of my oppinion, bot said that it apperit his Maieste, with the chanceler, had concludit alreedy to fend Huntly hame, and let the other remane at court.

Sa schone as the Erle of Huntly was at hame in the north, and wanting his compeditour, tryumphed and tok findre aduantages vpon the Erle of Murreys dominions, geuing the Erle of Murrey occasion to complain ; bot getting na redrefs, reterit him from the court, and becam sa malcontent, that he tok plane part with the Erle Bodowell, wha was still vpon his enterpryses. The Erle of Huntly, aduertift that his ennemy was becom ane outlaw with the Erle Bodowell, re-
P. 216. turnit again to court, to get yet farther aduantages ouer him. Bot in the mean tym, the Lord Ogiltre trauelit to agre them ; with consent of his Maieste drew the Erle of Murray to Donybirffell, to be neir hand, that ther conditions and artikles mycht be ekked or paired, at the plefour of ther frendis. The Erle of Huntly being also maid preuy to his commyng to Donybirffell, obteanit incontinent ane commiffion, (seamyng to do his Maieste acceptable seruice,) till persew be fyre and sword the Erle Bodowell and all his partakers. Litle wist his Maieste that he was myndit, vnder this generall, to assailge the Erle of Murray at his awen houfe, vnder commownyng, to fley him, as he did to the regret of many.

Bot the Lord Ogiltre tok sic a despyt, that his frend was sa flane 1592. vnder commownyng, as he allegit, that he tok plane part with the Erle Bodowell ; and sa did dyuers vthers, encuraging the said erle to assailge the Kingis Maieste within his palice of Facland ; having dyuers in court, that wer famylier enough with his Maieste, vpon the said conspyracy with him, whais confaill his Maieste folowed maift. Sa that they drew him in ane hoise net, to abyd still in Facland, not-

withstanding of the many fure aduertiffementis that had bene maid vnto him. Sic hes bene his Maieftes hard fourtoun at many sic strait tymes.

The few number that wer faithfull and cairfull for his Maiefte, gaif him confaill, efter the first aduertiffement, to pafs to Couper, and conuene with all poffible deligence the barrons of Fyf for his deffence. Bot sic as focht his wrak, perfuadit him to tary and delay ; alleging that they had fure aduertiffement, that the Erle Bodowell wald not com out of Lowdien till sic a day ; quhilk wald haue bene twa dayes langer, and behind the day quhilk he keped, and cam till Facland twa dayes fchoner. This aduyfe was geuen, that his Maiefte mycht be furpryfed, before he culd other enter within the tour of Facland, or be provydit with any forces to deffend him. And becaufe they knew my brother and me to be cairfull for him, they aduyfed his Maiefte to fend us hame to our houfes, that fame nycht that we vnderftod the Erle Bodowell wald be ther, and had fa tald his Maiefte ; bot he beleued his abufers better. Bot we gaif his Maiefte confaill to ryd quyetly to Banbriech, and mak na man preuy therto bot ane, and let it appeir that he was ftill in Facland fecretly within the tour ; then at ther comyng, miffing his Maiefte, they wald be difcoragit, and geue they cam till perfew him in Banbriech, he mycht tak a boit, and pafs ouer till Angus, wher he wald haue leafer till conuene the townes of Perth and Dundee, and the contre. Bot this aduyfe was alfo ouerthrowen be them that wer vpon the contraire part.

Thus we being commandit be his Maiefte to ryd hame and to warn the contre incaice he wer befegit within the tour, euery ane raid hame. My brother that fame nycht, be the way, was aduertift

be ane of the Erle Bodowelis awen company, how that he was al-
redy in Fyf, and wald be in Facland about supper tym ; vpon the
quhilk aduertifment, he fend bak a gentilman of his callit Robert
Athlek, to fchaw his Maieſte and to request him to enter in dew
tym within the tour. When the ſaid Robert declaired the matter
vnto his Maieſte, they all leuch at him and ſcorned him, and ſaid
that he was bot a full. The ſaid Robert, ryding bak again, mal-
content to haue ben ſa mocked, met the Erle Bodowel and his company
vpon the heicht of the Lommondis, when it was elis dark nycht, and
P. 217. turnit incontinent as gif he had bene an of thers, and vſed gret deli-
gence to be firſt at his Maieſte ; entring within the palice of Facland,
cloſed the zetis him ſelf, and cryed continowally to cauſe his Maieſte en-
ter within the tour ; wha beleued him at lenth, and mocked him na mair.

The Erle Bodowell at his commyng had pittardis to brek vp zetis
and durris. It was allegit that ſome of them that ſchot out of the
tour for his Maieſteis deffence, had chargit ther culveringis only
with paiper ; bot ſome of his Maieſteis houſhold officers ſchot out
boullētis, quhilk gaue the erle and his company a gret ſkar. Alſo his
entring within the tour before he was ſuppryſed, ſupponyng that the
contre wald gather ; the ſaid erle and his company reterit and fled,
without any folowing efter them, wher a few number mycht haue
eaſely ouertane and ouerthrowen them. That ſame nycht I lay in my
butis abone the bed, awating vpon word out of Facland, wher ther was
ane left to that effect ; at whais bakcomming, I with other frendis and
nybours raid to conuene the contre at Couper, to haue reſcued his
Maieſte. To the quhilk his Maieſte fend, and aduertift us that the
erle and his company wer fled ; yet deſyred the barrons and townes to
com fordwart to Facland, as they did to the number of thre thowſand

that same day at efternun. This way God delyuerit his Maieſte myraculouſly, as he had done dyuers tymes of before.

About this tym, cam to his Maieſte ane honeſt gentilman of Yreland, callit _____, wha maid offers of conſequence to his Maieſte. Wherof the Quen of England was incontinent aduertit, to requyre the ſaid gentilman to be delyuerit vnto hir, quhilk the maift part of the conſaill perſuadit his Maieſte to do. Albeit, the Juſtice Clark and my brother and I wer of the contrary oppinion; quhilk dede did gret harm to the weill of his Maieſteis affaires in England and Yreland. This I ſay with gret regret, becauſe it was ſa far againſt his Maieſteis awen mynd; and yet ſufferit to be done, becauſe the cheif ringleaders haue bene alwayes wone to the deuotion of England.

Now the Prince being borne at Stirling the _____ day of _____ in the year _____, his Maieſte thocht meit to ſend ambaffadours till Eng-
 1594. land, Denmark, France, and Flanders, to requyre ther ambaffadours to be ſend to the baptifme of the Prince his firſt born ſone; the conſaill being commandit to diſern vpon ſic as wer meteft to be ſend for that meſſage, as they did. Yet ſic as procured to be ſend, obteanit the commiſſion, albeit ſome of them wer vnmeit for that erand; as Sir Willyeam Keith, becauſe he culd nether ſpeak French, Latin nor Flemyng; the lard of Eaſter Weames procured to cary the commiſſion to France, and alſo to England, becauſe he was to paſs ther for to ſut his awen affaires, being the K. of France ſaruand. Bot Meſter Peter Yong ſped beſt, wha was ſend to Denmark, and to the Dukis of Mekelbourg and Brunſwick, for he gat thre fair cheigngeis. Bot the K. of France nor the Quen of England gaif nathing; quhilk ther dewty had cauſed them to do, gif ambaffadouris expreſ had bene ſend vnto them.

P. 218. Nether fend the K. of [France] any ambaffadour heir at that tym ; quhilk the Quen of England was anes at the firft myndit to do the lyk, vntill that ſche was aduertift be hir ambaffadour in France, that the K. wald fend nane. Then very lait ſche fend the Erle of Suffix, to let us think that ſche wald be ay a redy frend, when France wald refufe and ly abak. On the vther part, the Duc of Mekelburgh and Brunfwik wer difcontent, that they wer ſa far difpyfed as not to fend them a man expreſs to ilk ane of them. A ſpeciall day was apponted for the ſolemniffing of the ſaid bapteſme. The ambaffadours of Denmark and Dutcheland arryued almaiſt togither. His Maieſte had fend for me of before, to be ther at ther landing, to reſaue them, and to enter-teny them ; bot the ambaffadour of Mekelbourgh and Brunfwik wald not ryd out of Leith in company with the Dence ambaffadours, when they wer convoyed vp to Edenbrough, bot wald haue a convoy a part.

A few dayes efter them, arryuit the ambaffadours of the eftaitis of the Law Contrees, to wit, Mons' de Brederod, and Mons' Folk, gret treforer of Holland and Zeland ; wha landit at the New Heauen, wher I was weill accompanied to reſaue them, having horſe and fut mantelis in a redines to cary them vp to Edenbrough to ther logingis.

A litle before the landing of the ſaidis ambaffadouris, the day of the bapteſme was delayed, becauſe ther was na word of any Frenche ambaffadour, nor of the Engliſ ; and the Kingis chaipell in the caſtell of Stirling, quhilk was caſten down to be biggit again in a better fourm, was not yet perfourmed. Sa that the ambaffadours wer ordonit to remain in Edenbrough, till all mycht be put in gud ordour. Therefore his Maieſte appointed his meſter houſhald and my L. of Tungland my brether, togither with me, to enterteny them vpon his hynes charges,

and also bear them company. Then efter they had taried lang in Edenbrough, and feing na apperance of any vther ambaffadours other out of France or England, we wer commandit with some vthers of the confaill to convoy them to Stirling ; at quhilk tym his Maieſte maid his excuſes, that they wer ſa lang delayed in Edenbrough without any acquaintance pleſour or confort. Bot they allegit that they had gret contentement of our company, quhilk his Maieſte left not to declair before the haill confaill, geving me gret thankis, alleging that I had done many gud offices, and this amang the reſt, quhilk he fuld never forget ; and that he had thre other of my brether, that wer all meit for fic matters, and for forrene affaires.

Now being in dout of the Engliſ ambaffadours commyng, the ceremony was to be ſolemniffit without langer delay. In the mean tym, ther cam word that the Erle of Suffix was vpon his journey toward Scotland, for the Quen his meſtres, on whom the action ſtayed. The day of the ſolemnite, ther was gret buſynes for ther honours and featis. That being agreed, ther was a tum chair ſet before the reſt, for the K. of France ambaffadour. The order of the banket and triumphe, I leaue till others to ſet out.

P. 219. When the ambaffadours had audience of the Quenis Maieſte, I was appointed to ſtand a litle behind, and nyxt vnto hir Maieſte. To the Engliſ, Dence and Dutche ambaffadours, hir Maieſte maid anſwer hir ſelf ; bot to the ambaffadours of the eſtatis, albeit hir Maieſte culd ſpeak ſeamly Frenche, yet ſche roundit in my ear to declair vnto them hir anſwer. Then euery ane of them be ordour maid ther preſentis, for the godbarne gift. The jowelis of precious ſtaines ſche reſaut in hir awen hand, and then delyuerit them vnto me, to put them again in

ther caices, and lay them vpon a table, quhilk was prepared in the midis of the chamber to lay them vpon. The Quen of Englandis had a gret schaw, in fair coipburd of filuer ouergilt cuningly wrocht, and some coupes of gold maffywe. The ambaffadours of the estaitis presented a golden buift, wherin was wreten vpon parchement, in lettres of gold, a gift of a yearly pention to the prince of fywe thowfand

be year; with gret coupes of maffywe gold, twa in speciall, quhilkis wer enough for me to lift and fet down vpon the said table. I leaue till vthers to fet down ther weicht and valour; bot I say that they wer schone melted and spendit, I mean sa many as wer of gold, quhilkis fuld haue bene keped in store to the posterite. Bot then, they that gaif aduysse to brek them had wanted ther part, as they had of the Quenis tocher.

All thir ambaffadours being dispaiched and weil rewardit, they of 1593. Denmark wer aduysed be Mester Jhon Lindsay of Menmure, to cause send in heir again in deligence new ambaffadours, to requyre the contract of mariage that was maid in Denmark to be fulfillit; alleging that the chancelair, wha maid it, had left out the rentis of the abbey of Domfermeling that lay befouth the watter of Fort, fraudfully, and had tane in few to him self all the lordschip of Muffelbruch. Therefore wer sent out of Denmark twa ambaffadours, to wit, Stean Bill and Doctour Craik, on whom I was appointed to attend, and se them weil vsed and entertened. As they wer weil instructed, sa they chancit vpon a meit tym; for the chanceler was for the tym decourted, and my brother was ambaffadour for his Maieste in England. Sa the chanceler was caused to renunce ouer his part; and because my brother Sir Robert was absent, yong Sir Robert his sone and I obligit us, that his part, quhilk

was a xiiij chalder of vituell, sould be also renuncit ouer at his retournyng, quhilk he did. Dyuers vthers that had some portions wer lyk-wais compellit, other be gud will, or elis be a new law that was maid for that effect. Bot his Maieſte promyſed to my ſaid brother afmekle heritage in another part, in reſpect that his gift was obtenit lang before the contract of mariage.

Thir twa ambaffadouris being weil ſatiſfied, and redy to retourn in Denmark, ther fell out another fould attemptat in the Kingis palice, be the Erle Bodowell and his affociatis, be the convoy of ſome that wer about his Maieſte. The ſaid erle, early in a mornynge, enterit in at the bak get beſyd the kitching, as the ſaid get was openit to let fourth of the palice my Lady Athell, paſſing that way to veſit hir mother the Lady Gowrye, that logit hard without the palice. The ſaid erle, with a few company at the firſt, entrit within his Maieſteis chamber, quhilk wes eaſely oppenit vnto him. He had a drawen ſwerd in his and Meſter Jhon Coluille another. His Maieſteis claife wer louſe, and his of his hoife not knet vp; get he was in nawayes aſtoniſſit, bot be calling them falſe traitours, bidding them ſtryk gif they durſt.

P. 220. Bot when they perſaued that his Maieſte wald tak na fear, Meſter Jhon Coluill roundit in the earles ear; wha efter that fell down vpon his knees, humbly craving pardone, alleging that he had waited on lang ſecretly in the town of Edenbrough, to haue futed grace and mercy on the ſame maner vpon the hye ſtreit, as dyuers vthers had done; and that his intention was diſcouert till ſic of his ennemys as wer about his Maieſte, wha had apponted men to ſchut him; ſa that he was compellit to tak this harder courſe for his latter refuge; requeſt-

ing his Maieſte other till pardone him, or elis to tak his awen ſwerd and fley him. With this he layed his lang hair vnder his Maieſteis feit, and tok his fut with his hand and fet it vpon his hair, in ſigne of greter humilite. Quhilk moued his Maieſte to haue pitie and compaffion vpon him, and granted him pardone frely without compulſion; as his Maieſte tald me that ſame day, and the hail maner of his incommyng.

In the mean tym that this was in doing, the allarme cam vp to the town. The commown bell rang, and many ran down, and I among the reſt, to ſe what help mycht be maid. Being in the vtter cloiſe, I cryed vp at the window of his Maieſteis chamber, aſking how his Maieſte did. He cam to the window, and ſaid all wald be weil enough; and ſaid, he had agreed with them vpon certane conditions, “ quhilkis ar preſently to be put in wret. Therfor,” ſaid he, “ cauſe ſa many of the town as ar com to my relief, to ſtay in the abbay kirk gard, till I ſend them farther word, and retourn again within half ane hour yourſelf.” Now eſter that I had tald my commiſſion to the few number of the town that wer com, they taried not lang. Sa gret wer ther miſcontentement for the tym, that many deſyred a chengement.

Eſter this I paſt to the tua Dence ambaffadours, that wer logit in the houſe of Kinloch; wha wer in a gret diſpleſour for his Maieſteis eſtair, and willit me, in ther name, to retourn and deſyre farther knowlege of the weilfair of baith King and Quen. His Maieſte cam again to the window, and brocht the Quen with him; and they baith bad me tell the ambaffadours that they wer weil, and that thingis wer fully agreed. Then the ſaidis ambaffadouris directed me to the Erle Bodo-well, to deſyre leaue that thay mycht com in eſternun to the court, and ſe ther Maieſteis. Quhilk being granted, I paſt with them to the Quenis

chamber; and leaving them ther, past forward to se his Maieste, wha was glaid to get any of his awen that he mycht speake to, and declared vnto me the haill maner; lamenting mair the euell fauourit fourm of doing of the maist part of them that wer about him, then he did the Erle Bodowelis proceeding vpon sa gret necessite. I again, efter that I had comforted him the best I culd, said that it was lamentable that he, wha had sic a pringnant wit, and sa sincere ane inclynation, suld cast him self continowally in the company of wicked men, whom he loued for thair pleasant langage, albeit he had oft proif of ther infidellite; and waved and did cast aff sic trew honest men as had a continowall cair of his honour and suretie, be schawing him the verite in sour and unpleasent langage. He said, it was his chance to beleue that men, vnto whom he had bene very beneficiall, suld loue him. Wher I remembrit him of the saying of Plutark vnto Trayan, to think better of ther counsaill that loued him, then of thers that he loued.

P. 221. Efter this the Dence ambassadours required to be hard before the counsaill, quhilk was granted; and his Maieste past to the nether towbuith, throw the town, wher the counsaill thocht meteft to sit, and ther gaue audience to the said ambassadours. Wha declaired how they wer redy to depart towardis Denmark, and how that the K. ther maister, at ther commyng, wald inquire of the estait of the K. his gud brother. And gene they culd not inform him of the verite, he wald perchance send vther ambassadouris. Therefore requested the counsaill, not to think strange of ther curiosite in thre questions; to wit, whither the K. knew or was maid preuy to the Erle Bodowelis enterpryse or not; whither the K. had promysed any thing to the said erle, for fear or be compulsion, or frely with his hart; and whither the K. wes kept captiwe, or gif he was at liberte.

To this his Maieſte maid anſwer firſt him ſelf, that he knew nathing of the erles incommyng, and that he was not tane with his awen content. To the ſecond his Maieſte anſwerit, that his promyſe was not maid be compulſion, bot for very pitie, vpon the Erle Bodowelis gret humiliation. To the thrid he ſaid, whither he was keped captywe or was at liberte, he left that point to the conſaill to diſcyd. The conſaill againe referrit it vnto the kingis awen declairation; ſa that head lay ouer vndiſcydit.

It nedet na farther deſciſion; for euery body mycht ſe that he was keped, and a new gard was tane vp, wherof the Lord Ogiltre was capten. His Maieſte was parmitted daly till paſs fourth to the gardes, to tak the air; wher he lamented vnto me to ſe him ſelf ſa waited on, aſking gif they wald ay keip him captywe. I requested his Maieſte to vſe wiſdom and patience; "and let it not appear that ye cair quhilk of them be about you, and ye will ſchortly ſe them devyd among them ſelues, for the caſualites, or for wardes or mariages that may vaik. This lord will ſay that he will haue it; another will ſay that he will other haue it to him ſelf or to his frend, or elis he will tary na langer. Then with tyme ther purſe will grow tume, that the maiſt part of them will retire them and becom malcontentis. Then your Maieſte may tak occaſion to wone ſa many of them as may be without breking of your promyſe or parelling of fre liberte; wheras gif your Maieſte preſis now to eſchaipe they ar in the hait tred of ther ſtanding, as I ye will brek your promyſe and parell your perſon." gud vntill he was alterit be the chanceler, Sir Ge fled for fear of the Erle Bodowell; for they

aduyces vnto his Maieſte to ſpy out ſome gud occaſi
 ſelf out of his keepers handis. For they fearit
 company with the new com in lordis that he wald with
 had bene about him of before, and wald forge
 folowing this aduyſe, his Maieſte determinit to eſchape
 him. Sa this plat was layed, that his Maieſte fuld de
 ther to paſs his tym vntill the Erle Bodowellis cleang
 for that effect to ane apponted day; in the mea
 him ſelf from court vntill he fuld be maid a clean
 the Lord Ogiltre with a gard. The Erle of Athell
 Malcom Toiſche and dyuers vthers. Now his Maieſte
 that ſome that wer in his company had bene
 him as he conjecturit weill enough at the
 requyred, oppenit his intent of eſ
 ment and hopped to be in a better

P. 222. wer when the chanceler, Sir George and ther adherentis had the cheif
 handling. Bot he hid his enterpryſe fra me, becauſe I had diſwadit
 him to be ouer haifty, as is ſpecified of before; and lykwais from
 my brother Sir Robert, wha was new retournit fra his ambaffage in
 England. His Maieſte thocht, in his retournyng out of Facland
 to Edenbrough, to ſpure his horſe towardis Couper, and ther to be-
 come fre; quhilk he mycht haue done eaſely, gif they had bene all
 trew that he maid preuy to his enterpryſe. Quhilk when he cam till
 Edenbrough, was diſcouerit to the Erle Bodowell; wha boiſted his
 Maieſte, and ſpak very hard and reprochefull langage of him, ſa that
 dyuers thocht his Maieſte in gret danger.

In the mean tym, the miniſters, with Meſter Bowes the Engliſ am-

baffadour and my brother Sir Robert, delt betwen his Maieſte and the Erle Bodowell, and brocht them in ſome better termes ; packing vp all matters according to the firſt contract and agreement. And the Erle Bodowell was fairly cleangit be ane affyſe, and therafter ane convention apponted to be in Stirling ; wher his Maieſte being at fre liberte, fuld perfourm all conditions and promyſes. When his Maieſte was at Stirling, dyuers of them that wer fled for fear of the Erle Bodowell, and that had ſome particulairs, cam till court and moued his Maieſte, being at the convention, to ſay that whatſoeuer he had promyſed of before vnto the Erle Bodowell, was done vpon juſt fear be compulſion. Quhilk his Maieſte was very laith to do, conform to his vprycht naturell ; afirmand the contrary, as he had alwayes done of before. Then ſic as had particulaires, vſed wyles and futilites till drawe him indirectly from his ground, to folow ther intent ; alleging that whatſoeuer his Maieſte did in his captiuite, culd ſtand the Erle Bodowell in na ſteid. And now to mak the Erle Bodowell ſure, his Maieſte behoued to ſay that he was compellit at the firſt ; bot being at liberte, he mycht mak the agreement effectuell ; in the mean tym ſet down his ordinance
 out of his company dyuers of his dependers, with whom
 the Erle Bodowelis doers again deſyred the houſes of
 to him, and the houſe of Spot to James Douglas, and
 promyſed as they allegit. The Erle ſtayed at dele-
 to Stirling, when he vnderſtod that the chancellor
 com again to court aganes promyſe. Wha wer his
 cryed out in a rage that they wer fiſchen
 the articles of agreement at the inſtance of his
 that wer neuer ſpoken of. In the mean tym

. to Stirling that Bodowelis frendis wer fayn
 and litle, and he retirit him him first to Lithco; vnto
 directed my brother Sir Robert to deall with him; bot he
 epentance for his moderat behauour and pro-
 full vnreuerent langage of his Maiefte and of all
 the laft agrement, whom he allegit wer cationers
 my brother that was sent vnto him was glaid to
 with his awen faifete. Sa the Erle Bodowell becam
 mynd then he had bene of before, for efchewing
 to draw the maift part of his dependers
 and remiffions, except only James Douglas
 particulaires.

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