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#### THE

# LIFE AND DEATH

OF

## KING JAMES V.

# Scotland.

FROM THE FRENCH, PRINTED AT PARIS, 1612.

In which is the beginning of the REFORMATION in that Kingdom: An Account of the Sufferings of the renowned Lady JEAN DOUGLAS, §c.

II. The Navigation of that King round Scotland, the Orkney and Western Iales, in which is the Distances of the Havens; the bangers, and how to avoid them; the Soundings, Courses, the times of full Sea, and the Courses of the Tides, §c. from the Mouth of the Humberto Carlisle.

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## THE

## PREFACE.

THE Author of the LIFE and DEATH of King James the Vth, was a French gentleman, and no wonder that he gives a fuller account of several matters than other historians; because that King had two Queens from France, and many of their countrymen had considerable posts in the government of Scotland. Our author gives no account of affairs during the minority of that prince, which is generally the weakest part of a reign, and affords only the history of the intrigues and practices of ambitious politicians, who involve their country in blood and confusion, for the sake of ingrossing the whole power, or a considerable share thereof. The state of affairs in Scotland during this King's minority was this ;- first, Queen Margaret had the keeping of the young prince her son, and the government of the kingdom committed to her during her widowhood ; her brother Henry the 8th of England had gained her to endeavour what she could to lessen the inclination of the leading men of Scotland to the French, their old confederates; but she, by her marriage with Archbald D uglas, Earl of Angus, lost the administration. To balance the English party in Scotland, the French king, upon the desire of the estates of the

kingdom, sent over John Duke of Albany, Earl of Marche, Marr and Garioch, Lord of Annandale and the Isle of Man, Count of Boulogne and Auvergne, by his marriage with the heiress Anne de La Tour and Auvergne. The French king did not openly discover what share he had in that affair, because then he was forming a league with England; and notwithstanding all the endeavours of Henry the Sth to hinder the Duke's coming to Scotland, he landed in that kingdom, March 27, 1515, his great misfortune was his ignorance of the language and customs, and parties there ; this made him rely too much on the advice of John Hepburn prior of St. Andrews, who in all the counsels he gave him, had more in his view to be revenged of his own enemies than the public good. The king of England used all methods to make the Duke of Albany uneasy, and to possess those of most power in Scotland with jealousies of him, as being the son of a traitor, who was outlawed for levying war against his sovereign, and designing to dispossess him of the crown : That the Duke was entirely in the interests of the French king, and had a greater regard to the service of that monarch than to the advantage and prosperity of Scotland. Queen Margaret on the other hand, when there was wars betwixt England and Scotland, discovered all the Duke's designs that she could come to the knowledge of. This queen, upon some misunderstanding betwixt her and her husband, became at last weary of him, and sued for a divorce, because, as she said, he kept a mistress when she was in England : This

made her live in better friendship with the Duke than formerly. Whilst the Duke was in France, which was from June 1517, to September 1523, the Earl of Angus did what he could to strengthen his own party, and exclude the governor from the administration, upon whose return the Earl fled to England, where he was kindly received by Henry the 8th, and was entirely gained to that king's interest. Henry used all means possible to get the Earl restored to his possessions in Scotland, but in vain; and both by letters from himself, and from some eminent Divines in England, persuaded his sister to be reconciled to her husband, and amongst other things, reproached her with too great familiarity with the Duke of Albany : Though he could not get the peace made up betwixt her husband and her, yet she was gained to follow her old practice of being a spy upon the Duke, discovering his designs to her brother, or to his ministers, which, in a great measure defeated all his purposes to invade England: At that time a faction began, which at last obliged the Duke to leave Scotland, to which he never after returned, though he kept all his titles there : He died in his castleyof Mirefleur, 1536, and was a prince of great courage; he had the command of considerable forces both by sea and land, under Francis I. of France, in which posts he always behaved himself honourably; he governed Scotland with great equity. When the news of his departure came to England, King Henry acquainted the Earl of Angus with it, and desired him to go to Scotland,

for then he was in France, where he had been three years. In the next parliament, the authority of the governor was abrogated ; the keeping of the young king was intrusted to four bishops, and four noblemen; who were the archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, of Aberdeen and Dunkell, the Earls of Arran, Angus, Lennox and Argile, who were to be the king's tutors by turns; but Angus at last got the young king into his own keeping, and excluded the rest. Buchanan tells us, that the Earl of Angus encouraged the king too much in his youthful pleasures, either to make him casy under his present restraint, or to engage him so deep in pleasures that he might be careless of the government, which he thought would turn to his own advantage; at last the king got free from the Earl and his party, and banished them; the Earl retired to England, and did not return till after the king's death.

In the minority of this king, Henry the 8th by his ambassadors in Scotland, used all means to dispose him to prefer an alliance with England before one with France; and for that end, he sent him presents of fine horses and arms, which he knew would most readily take with the martial genius of this young prince; but several noblemen, and the popish clergy, many of whom had benefices in France, persuaded him to the contrary: those who were for the ancient league with France, always reminded him of the strait alliance of his ancestors with that nation. Because there is mention of the league in the

following history, I shall give here a short account of it:

All the Scotch Historians agree, that it began in the time of Charlemagne, cotemporary with Achaius king of Scotland : it is certain that this league is very antient, for in the \* contract of marriage betwixt. Francis, Dauphin of France, and Mary, Queen of Scots, April the 19th 1558, it is said to be of 800 years standing. The honourable Sir James Dalrymple, in his learned historical collections, thinks this a good argument of its antiquity. # Hilarion de Coste, in his Eloges et les vies des dames Illustres, Tome 2. in the character of Magdalen de France, King James the Vth's first Queen, says the same. In the original instructions, given November, 15, 1570, by the Duke of Chattelherault, the Earls of Huntly and Argile, Mary Queen of Scots Lieutenants, to the bishops of Ross and Galloway, and the Lord Levingston, to treat with Queen Elizabeth, for Queen Mary's restoration. In the 3d Article, it is said, that the old league has been inviolably kept betwixt France and Scotland for 800 years and more. Eginhardus, secretary to Charlemagne, gives us an account of the assistance the Scots gave to Charles in his wars. Paulus Æmilius, in his second book de rebus gestis francorum, says, Honores, Magistratusq ; Saxoniæ, gentibus alienigenis, et imprimis Scotis mandabat Carolus, quorum egregia side virtuteq ; utebatur. Belleforestus, in

\* Traite de paix.

+ Caligula, c, 2. p. 296.

lib. 1. hist. Carol. Mag. confirms this ; and adds, Scotorum fideli opera non parum adjutas in bello hispanico fuerat. The occasion of the league, was according to Buchanan, Lesley, Conæus de duplici statu religionis apud Scotus, David Chambers, and others, that the English Saxons had invaded France and plundered the sea coast ; whilst Charles was absent in his wars against the Saracens, he thought it adviseable to enter into a perpetual alliance with the Scots, who by their nearness to England were most capable to give a diversion to his enemies. Achaius, who knew that quarrels with neighbouring princes were unavoidable, was glad of the assistance of the French. The articles of this league were the same with those of other alliances, viz. That the French and Scotch were to have common friends and enemies, that they were to assist each other in their wars, and that none of the kings of the two nations were to make a separate peace with England. And it may be said, that never a treaty was more inviolably kept than this. Lesly tells us, Achaius sent his brother William to France with 4000 men to assist Charles in his wars in Italy, and in his absence William commanded the army. Conæus, who lived long in Italy, informs us, that many of William's soldiers settled there, and were founders of several families, as of the Barons, of the Mariscotti in Boronia and Sena, the Scoti in Placenti and Mantua. Sansovino and other geneologists say, that those families began in the reign of Charlemagne.

We don't believe what some historians affirm,

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that as a memorial of this league the crown of Scotland, which was before only a plain circle of gold, had another of flower de lis raised about it ; for the learned Mabillon, whose testimony in this matter is much to be depended upon, tells us, \* That the first French kings who had the flower de lis on their Crowns, were Philip the First and his father. Some also say, that upon this league the arms of Scotland were inclosed in a double tressure flowered and counter-flowered with flowers de lis, which is not probable, seeing Mabillon assures us, who is best acquainted of any, with the seals of the French kings, that + Philip the August, who died about 1223, was the first who had one flower de lis in his counterseal: Lewis VIII and IX, had sometimes one, and sometimes many, which was observed by the following kings, till the reign of Charles V. who reduced the flowers de lis to three : neither till a long time after that, did the kings of Scotland use their arms on their Seals, as we are informed by that learned and judicious antiquary Mr Anderson, t who is a great judge of the antiquities of Scotland, and has had better occasions than any to know what belongs to the seals, charters, and coins of his country.

At this time, as Buchanan says, barbarity and ignorance had not overspread Scotland so much as other countries; for there were still in that nation

\* De Re diplomatica, p. 424. + Page 139. ‡ Independency of Scotland, p. 66.

some Monks remarkable for the ancient piety and learning. Charles was a prince who favoured and encouraged men of letters, therefore he invited some of them to France. Buchanan expresses that well in his admirable poem upon the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots, with the Dauphin of France.

> Hæc quoque cum Latium quateret. Mars barbarus orbem,
> Sola prope expulsis fuit hospita Terra Camænis, &c.

When barb'rous Foes the Roman bounds o'erspread,

- Thither the Muses for protection, fled :
- Hence Greek and Roman Learning in full store,

By Charlemagne to France was wafted o'er.

Bede, lib. 3. Hist. Cap. 27. tells us, that many of the noblemens sons of England, were sent to Scotland to be educated, where they were entertained kindly, and had maintainance and learning given them gratis; for at that time the monasteries were schools of learning, and not as afterwards, priviledged places for impurity, laziness, and ignorance. Before this time flourished Bonifacius, a Scotchman, according to Marianus Scotus, lib. 2. ad annum 744 and Trithemius, lib. 2. cap. 24. Denpster in a dissertation concerning the country of this Bonifacius has nine arguments to prove him a Scotchman;

he was called the apostle of Germany, preached the Gospel in many places of that country, and was the first archbishop of Mentz. Those who came to Prance upon Charles's desire, were Joannes Albinus, or Alcuinus, Charlemagne's preceptor, he founded the university of Paris. In his 26th epistle he calls himself Vernaculum Scotorum, *i. e.* a native of Scotland. Bozius, Tom. 2. lib. 2. cap. 9. is of the same opinion; as also Boterus, &c. Buchanan says, he saw a book of rhetoric of which he was the author. At this time came also Clemens Scotus, who founded the university of Padua.

The Scotch Guards in France began upon this occasion, when Alexander III. heard that St. Lewis designed an expedition to the Holy Land, he sent to his assistance 7000 soldiers. Lewis chose 24 out of that number, who were to have the constant keeping of his person; his example was followed by his suceessors, Charles V. added 76 to the former number ; Charles VII. besides the hundred Foot Guards, added a troop of Cuirassiers of that nation, who were to take place of all the horse of his army. An \* original paper containing instructions from Queen Mary of Scotland, to her Ambassador the Bishop of Rosse, &c. as a treaty with Queen Elizabeth, informs us of the state of those guards in 1570. They then consisted of 100 men of arms, 100 archers of the guard, and 24 archers of the corps, keepers of the King's body : after the Reformation the privileges of those guards were greatly lessened. This

Cotton. Library, Calig. C. 2. Fol. 323.

is remarkable, that never any of those gentlemen was found guilty of treason or carelessness in the defence of the French Kings. Phillip de Comines, lib. 11. cap. 12. of the Life of Lewis XI. tells us, that the citizens of Liege broke in upon the lodgings of that King, and had certainly killed him, had it not been for the valour of his Scotch guards, who stood about him like a wall, and with their arrows drove them and the Burgundians away. At the battle of Pavia, Francis I. was not taken till there were only four alive of his 100 Scotch Guards. It would be too tedious to give a long account of the privileges the Scotch mation had in France by that

Several things contributed to the weakening of the alliance with France. First, Henry VIII. by means of his sister, Queen Margaret, stirred up a party in Scotland against those who were for the old league. Herbert, in the life of that King, tells us, that he loved interviews because he was a handsome prince, and made a great appearance at justs and tournaments; yet the great reason of his desire to meet with King James, was to alienate him from the friendship with France, and to persuade him to make a breach with Rome, as the most likely way to attain that end : but King James rejected the offers of his uncle, who persuaded him to a match with his daughter Mary, and afterwards married with France. Francis I. who had heard of the danger of losing the friendship of Scotland by the solicitations of Henry VIII. and that King James

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was come to France to court his daughter Magdalen, he received him with all possible solemnity. King James entered Paris, Decemb. 3. 1536. Hilarion de Coste tells us, from the records of the Parliament of Paris, that Francis commanded the Parliament to do James the same honours they did himself. The Senators objected, that it was never their custom to attend foreign princes in their red robes. The French King answered that he could grant King James no less. seeing he was his old ally, and was come in person to marry his daughter. The marriage was solemnized the next day." When Henry heard of it, he wrote to Francis, then at peace with him, and told him, that his alliance with the Scotch King, vexed him no less than it would do a violent lover to see his mistress embrace his mortal enemy. After the Death of King James, Henry proposed to the estates of Scotland, a match betwixt his son Edward and the young Queen Mary, one of the conditions of it was, " That they should renounce their league with France, and the young Queen should be carried into England." They could not be brought to that, because Mary of Lorrain, the Queen Dowager, many of the Nobility, and the whole Clergy were against it. Upon this Henry made war with Scotland in 1543, but missed of his design. which was to oblige the Scotch nobility to consent to the match, as the only way to unite the two nations. After his death the Duke of Somerset, the protector, continued the war to the fourth year of Edward VI.+ That war cost England 1439977. · Hérhert 444. + Otho E. 11.

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11s. 10d. a great sum in those days. After Queen Mary was carried into France, the protector made peace with Scotland in 1550.

The second thing which made many in Scotland averse to the friendship of the French, was the change of religion in that kingdom in the minority of Queen Mary, upon this they became jealous of France, and thought an alliance with them would be dangerous to their religion ; they were afraid of the power of the house of Guise, for the Queen Dowager had then six brethren, viz. the Duke of Guise, the Cardinal of Lorrain, the Duke d'Aumale grand captain, the Cardinal of Guise, the Marquis d' Elbeuf, and the Grand prior, four of them were remarkable for their military bravery, and had gained the reputation of excellent soldiers all over Europe, besides that family managed the whole affairs of France. The Protestant lords of Scotland thought it their interest to seek the assistance of Queen Elizabeth; Lethington and Robert Melvill were sent to the court of England in 1559. Lethington, when he was admitted to his audience, in an eloquent \* Oration complained, that since Queen Mary was married to the Dauphin of France, the government of the kingdom was changed, French-men had engrossed all posts of trust and profit, had got the strong holds of the kingdom into their hands, and although Scotch-men had titular offices, yet the French had the power : upon those and many other accounts they had reason to believe they designed a conquest of Scotland. Queen Elizabeth, who saw it was

\* Cambd, Hist. Q. Eliza. pag 35.

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pot for her interest that the French should settle so near her, and besides, longing to be revenged upon Francis the IId, and Queen Mary, for their taking the stile and arms of the kingdom of England, at length resolved to send forces to assist the Lords of the Congregation, to drive the French out of Leith. The relief which was sent them from France in the fleet commanded by the Grand Prior, was shipwrecked, which obliged the French to capitulate. Upon the news of this, the Queen Dowager, an excellent and prudent Princess, died with grief. So the French were obliged to leave Scotland, by which Queen Elizabeth established a party there, which was ever afterwards willing to be directed by her. When Queen Mary returned to Scotland after her husband's death, Queen Elizabeth always mantained that party to embroil all her affairs. Queen Mary at last was obliged to flee from Scotland and came to England, being invited by Queen Elizabeth, who promised always to do what she could towards her restoration, provided she did not seek aid from France, which Queen Mary observed, till she saw it was in vain to expest help from her cousin, during her imprisonment in all the unsuccesful treaties for her liberty. Queen Elizabeth always made that an article, that the league with France should be dissolved. Queen Mary and the Lords of her party declared that seeing the Scotch nation had so great benefit by it, they could not well consent to renounce it, unless some equivalent advantage were proposed by Queen Elizabeth; and the most they could do in that case was, to

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suspend that league during the lives of the two Queens.

Third, But what above all ruined the French interest in Scotland, was the massacue of Paris in 1572, which will be an everlasting reproach to that nation : at that time Queen Mary's party was very strong. Upon the news of this, Queen Elizabeth, who knew well how to improve every thing to her own advantage. sent an ambassador to Scotland, who told the Protestant lords, and considerable gentlemen of Queen Mary's party, that by that bloody cruelty, they might understand the genius of popery. So by degrees they made their peace with the Regent; Grange would not acknowledge the Regent's authority, but held out the castle against him ; but Queen Elizabeth sent Artillery and Forces, which obliged Grange to surrender. Lethington died the same year. This was the end of a long civil war. Cambden tells us, that upon this several officers and soldiers of both parties went over to Sweden, France and the Netherlands, where they gained a great reputation for their military bravery.

In this King<sup>2</sup> sreign (James Vth.) the Protestart religion began to be professed in Scotland, which alarmed the popish clergy, who by it foresaw the ruin of their absolute power over the consciences of the people, and that they were now in danger to lose those blessed times, when they could persuade the kings and other rich persons, that what lands were made over to religious houses, as they called them, would certianly purchase salvation to the Donor, and to his predecessors and successors. Scotland had one king, viz. King David I. who founded fourteen monasteries, and erected four bishopricks; the priests in gratitude got him sainted, which signified no more, but an easy bigotted prince. King James the 1st. of Scotland, called him, a sore saint to the crown. If we consider the extent of Scotland, no kingdom had more religious places than it, and some of them of magnificent architecture. At length the government began to be sensible that the priests, sceing they had a foreign dependence on Rome, were bad subjects ; to prevent the consequences of which, we find several acts of parliament forbidding them to go to Rome without license from the King, or the chancellor of the kingdom; neither were they to go thither to obtain the collation of benefices in Scotland, as is evident from James I. Parl. 7. Act 106. James III. Parl. VI. Act 42. James III. Parl. 11. Act 84. King James IV. Parl 4. Act 38. King James IV. Parl. 5. Act 53. The popish authors, as Lesly, Cameravius, Conæus and others, own, that when the change of religion began, many things contributed to the contempt of their clergy, of which these were most remarkable, viz. that by the ambition of the nobility, children were made Bishops and Abbots ; that if any of their sons, by reason of imperfections either of body or mind, were uncapable of civil business, they were made priests ; that many of the rich abbots neglected their charge, and committed the management of their offices to others, whilst they in the mean time abandoned themselves to 3

luxury and idleness; that the clergy at that time were deeply engaged in whoredom, for common harlots were frequently their domestics; and those who had solemnly devoted themselves to religion, spent most of their time both night and day in taverns, &c. And even the nuns, those Christian vestals, were often debauched by their priests there. Things lessened the regard formerly paid to their order, bred discontents amongst the people, which prepared them to shake off their yoke. No doubt but in this change, as well as in other revolutions, interest and other passions had their share. To prevent that storm which threatened them, the popish clergy persuaded King James to persecute the Protestants, as the way to atone for all his sins, and to secure the peace of his kingdom; they had but too much power over this prince, for when his uncle invited him to an interview, they represented how wicked a thing it was to have any conference with an excommunicated person, which in great measure hindered it. \* The pope, to secure the obedience of this king, who was still a dutiful son of the church, sent over his legate Antonio Campeggio in 1535, who with many ceremonies and apostolical benedictions, delivered him a cap, and a sword, consecrated the night of the nativity of our Saviour, that it might breed a terrour in the heart of a wicked neighbouring prince, against whom the sword was sharpened. The pope in his letter to him complained of the affronts that

. Drummond's History of James Vth,

Henry of England had done to the church of Rome by his divorce, the executing of Cardinal Feishr, the Bishop of Rochester, &c. and that by patience she received more wrongs, and that now she was obliged to use a searing iron, for the application of which she had recourse to his majesty, whose aid she implored, seeing Henry deserved to be dethroned; therefore the pope desired the king of Scotland to undertake something for the defence of the church, worthy of a Christian king, and himself. King James dissuaded the pope from excommunicating his uncle, and promised to endeavour what he could by letters or messages to reclaim him. \* King James at that time took the title of Defender of the Christian Faith, which offended his uncle Henry because it was his title. The protestant religion made no great progress in this king's reign ; but in the minority of Queen Mary the protestants became a considerable body, and what above all things made the popish religion odious in Scotland, was the cruelty of the clergy : the Cardinal of Lorrain and the Duke of Guise were for violent persecuting methods, D. Oysel was recalled because he was suspected of Calvinism, and was succeeded by the bishop of Amiens, the popes nuncio, afterwards a cardinal, and la Brosse the ambassador, who complained to the Queen Regent that she used too much moderation to the heretics, who deserved to be punished with death and loss of their possessions. Mary of Lorrain, who

" Herbert, 519.

knew the undaunted and fierce temper of the Scots, saw the danger of such proceedings, but she was gained over at last to those severe methods; and whenever she began to persecute, the lords of the congregation disowned her authority.

In this king's reign \* gold mines were found in Crawfurd Moor by the Germans, which afforded him great sums. They would not refine it in Scotland, but after they had bargained with the king, they carried over the ore with them to Germany. Besides those mines in Crawfurd Moor, we have an account of others not far from it. + In King James the IVth's reign, the Scots did separate gold from sand by washing. In King James the Vth's time 300 were employed for several summers in washing of gold, of which they got above 100,000l. of English money; by the same way the laird of Marchestone got gold in Pentland Hills, great plenty has been got in Langham-Water, fourteen miles from Lead-Hill House in Crawfurd-Moor, and in Megget-Water, twelve miles, and over Phinland sixteen miles from that house, and in many other places where pieces of gold of 30 ounces weight have been found, which were flat mixed with the sparr, some with keel, and some with brimstone

In this king's reign the order of the Thistle, was in great splendour; for he being honoured with the order of the Garter from England, that of St. Michael from France, and the Golden-Fleece from

See Lesly, Drummond + Otho, E. 10.

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the Emperor, he sent also his own order to those princes; he celebrated the festivals of them all, and set the arms of each prince, with their orders about them, over the gate of his palace of Lithgow, and erected his own in the midst, with the order of St. Andrew. May 29, 1687, at Windsor King James VII. of Scotland renewed it : in the act for the reviving it, we have the account of its original; (but when the statutes of that order were first made, and the cognisances of the knights appointed, is not so certain). The records give this further account of that order, that it consisted of twelve knights brethren, and a sovereign, in imitation of our Saviour and the twelve apostles, under the protection of St. Andrew and the holy Virgin, for the defence of the Christian religion ; that it was evident from ancient histories, authentic proofs, records and documents of that kingdom, that it continued in splendour for many hundred years, was worn by several foreign princes and kings, and honoured in all places of Christianity till the reign of Mary Quéen of Scotland. when the splendour both of the church and monarchy fell into contempt; then the order with its ceremonies was extinguished, some of the knights in rebellious contempt of Queen Mary, laid the ensigns of that order aside, others of them fled to foreign countries. But in her majesty's patent for the reviving of it, Decemb. 31, 1703, the account of the disuse of it is not so reflecting upon the reformers; the words of the records are as follows : " the order of the thistle was very honourable all over Europe ; but

by the continued wars, and intestine troubles after King James the Vth's death, and two long successive minorities, the splendour of the crown was in many things, and by many ways, clouded, and amongst others, the regard to this order lessened."

The oath of this order in King James the VIIth's time was, "I shall fortifie and defend the true christian religion to the utmost of my power; I shall be loyal and true to my sovereign the king, sovereign of this most ancient, and most noble order of the thistle, and the brethren of the order. I shall maintain the statutes, privileges, and honours of the said order. I shall never bear treason about in my heart against our sovereign the king, but I shall discover the same to him : so help me God and the holy church." This oath was a little reformed by her majesty, for instead of the true christian religion, it is now the *true protestant religion*, and the *holy churck* at the end, was left out.

In King James the Vth's life, our author has given a large account of the sufferings, bravery, and chastity of the famous Lady Jean Douglas, sister of the Earl of Angus; we have in the Soutch history another instance of the courage and loyalty of a lady of the same family. In the reign of King James I. some wicked subjects had conspired against the life of the king, who was one of the best of princes: this lady then one of the maids of honour, when she saw these murtherers coming to assessinate the king, did run to the King's chamber door to shutti ; but finding the bar taken away, thrust her arm in the

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place of it, and kept the door shut till the conspirators broke her arm in pieces, and entered the chamber, where they killed the king: so that family, which has had so many men remarkable for bravery, has also had women, who, in spight of their sex, have been remarkable for their courage.

The Second Treatise in this Miscellany, is the Navigation of King James V. round Scotland : the author of it was Nicholas d'Arfeville, chief Cosmographer to the French king. In 1546, the Lord Dudly, the English admiral, invited him to England, Mr John Ferrier, who continued Hector Bœthius's history, assisted him to translate it into French, after which he presented it to Henry II. of France; the author, by the command of the French king afterward in 1547, went with sixteen galleys commanded by the Sieur Leon Stroza, prior of Capua, and admiral of all the galleys of France, to besiege the Castle of St Andrews, which then held out, being garrisoned by those who had killed Cardinal Beaton. \* Drummond gives this account of that voyage, that King James sailed with five well manned ships, and gave out that he designed to steer his course to France ; but it is more likely he designed to try the behaviour of the great men of the kingdom in his absence. He arrived at Orkney, placed garrisons in some forts, and sailed about the islands of Sky and the Lewis ; he surprized the chief of the clans

\* Drummond, p. 309.

of those Highland islanders, whom he sent as hostages to the Castles of Dumbarton and Edinburgh : and when by the skill of one Alexander Lindsay his pilot, he had sounded the remotest rocks of his kingdom, he was driven by storms to land at St Ninians. near Whitehorn in Galloway. This voyage did so terrify those islanders, that it brought long peace and quietness to those places afterwards. This active and brave prince, not only ventured his life in pursuing and apprehending robbers and highway men, which had been neglected in his minority, but his care extended to the most remote islands and rocks of his kingdom; by this voyage he humbled those leaders who thought they might set up for themselves, and exercise tyranny over their vassals and tenants. No doubt he had the advantage of the fishing of herrings and other fish in his view, which was made more easy, when the safest harbours amongst those dangerous rocks were discovered, the dangers and the way to avoid them shown, and a full account given of the distances and courses, and the points to which the tides flowed, and the times of full sea. This may be of considerable use to those who sail about those islands for fishing or otherwise : It cannot fail to please the curious, being the navigation of a king, and never before published in the English tongue.

## TXiv

THE

## HISTORY

OF THE

## LIFE AND DEATH

OF

JAMES THE VTH.

## KING OF SCOTLAND,

TOGETHER

## With the Tragical History of the Renowned Lady JEAN DOUGLAS, &c.

WHEN King James the Vth was twenty-four years old, his subjects addressed him, that now it was necessary for him to marry, because nothing would more effectually contribute to the safety of his person, the breaking the force of the present factions, and the settling the public peace, than children. Upon the report of this, four of the greatest princes of Europe most earnestly desired his alliance. Henry the Eighth, King of England, who had the same in-

clinations with his predecessors to annex Scotland to England, offered him the princess Mary his daughter by Queen Catherine; and for that end he sent William Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, to the Court of Scotland, to negotiate an interview betwixt the two kings, that they might confer together about affairs that concerned their own peace, and that of their subjects ; he assured the king, that upon the consummating of that marriage, his master would declare him his successor to the crown of England; and as a testimony of the sincerity of his intention, King James should immediately be created Duke of York, and Lieutenant General of England. Nothing could be more desirable than this, which certainly would have put an end to the inveterate hatred betwixt the two kingdoms, which had occasioned so great expence of blood and treasure, in room of which a sincere amity would have followed. But unluckily at that time two kinds of persons had an ascendant over the spirit of that prince, who dissuaded him both from the match, and the interview. In the first place, the churchmen were afraid if that marriage had been concluded, the king would easily be persuaded to a change of religion, seeing already he was sufficiently displeased with the avarice of several of the Pope's legates in Scotland, and according to the example of his uncle Henry the Eighth, he might be brought to establish the Protestant religion, and abolish popery ; so to prevent those consequences, they represented to the king, that his mortal enemy Henry the Eighth had no other view, in desiring so earnestly that conference, but to en-

snare him, and had a design upon his liberty ; that it would be an instance of extreme easiness and rashness, to endanger his crown, life, and liberty, for the sake of those amusing promises. They reminded him how barbarously his predecessor King James the First had been treated by Henry the Second, who, though he landed in England, even in the time of a truce, was there detained prisoner eighteen years, and at last his subjects were forced to pay 18,000 crowns for his ransom; and seeing we are to measure mankind more by what has been, than what ought to be, it was needful to remember that kings never fail to improve all opportunities against. their enemies; and that they have always a greater regard to satisfy their ambition, than to avoid the reproaches due to infamous and unjust actions.

And from the time he fell into his Uncle's power, he may expect to be intirely determined by his pleasure and humours. Further, that Henry not only intended to seize his person, and invade his kingdom; but above all, he designed to ruin his soul, and poison it with his own heresy, to which he was proselyted by the sinful liberty it allowed him to live according to his lusts; so it is no wonder that sensual princes are easily perverted to that error: and in fine, seeing his person, conscience, and kingdom, would be in visible danger, it was no ways safe for him to enter into any conference with such a politic and designing prince, who would use all possible means to seduce him from that faith, which was professed and taught in Scotland earlier than in any other kingdom in Christendom. On the other hand, James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, next heir to the crown, used all his interest and endeavours to disappoint that interview, and defeat the designed alliance; so to disguise his true motive, he insinuated, that the match with the princess Mary would not answer the end of it, which was, to have an heir to the crown as soon as possible; for because of her childhood she would not be marriageable for a long time, and that the marriage of an infant was not at all adviseable in the case of a prince, who was already weary of a single life. It would be seen that his uncle's promises and performances were as contrary, as falsehood and truth ; in a word, that it was evident to all thinking people, that the king of England was chiefly moved to that match, that by it he might at any time more easily enter Scotland, to embroil the kingdom, and to contrive his pernicious designs. King James was so sensibly moved by those reasons, that he was over-persuaded to dismiss the English ambassadors, with acknowledgments of the great thanks he owed to his uncle Henry the Eighth, though in the mean time he did not give a positive refusal.

Immediately after, the Emperor Charles the Vth. dispatched his ambassador, Henry Godscallo, secretly from Toledo, to Edinburgh; the emperor had nothing more at heart at that time than to weaken France, which was the greatest obstacle to the progress of his victories, toward the compassing of which, it was most adviseable to endeavour to break the old alliance betwixt France and Scotland.

When Godscallo was admitted to the King's presence, he began his harangue thus-This is the peculiar advantage of illustrious virtue, that it engages even those who have not the happiness to be witnesses of it, to admire and love it; the reputation of your abilities has reached the ears of my master the Emperor, though unacquainted with your person, which has induced him to send me to you, as a proof of the great esteem he has of your merit ; upon that consideration he designs to honour you with his alliance, which he refused to other kings not inferior to you in power and valour, and for you he has reserved that favour. He offers you the choice of two persons, very dear to him, viz. Madam Mary of Austria, his sister, widow of Lewis King of Hungary, or of Madam Mary of Portugal his niece, the daughter of his own sister the Lady Eleanor of Austria, both descended from the Imperial EAGLE, who disdained alliance with any but with invincible hearts, such as yours is. Consider, Sir, that none of your predecessors, had ever such an honour done them, that a triumphant Emperor, who by his numerous and victorious armies, is a match for all the potentates of the earth, should court your alliance ; not that he expects any aid from you by this marriage, but his only inducement is, to satisfy the great inclination he has to love and oblige VOU.

This haughty and insolent speech had certainly provoked the King to answer him in his own way, it reasons of state and prudence had not hindered him ; so he practiced that modesty, which a great prince ought to observe in all his actions, and excused Godscallo's behaviour, and imputed it either to the genius of the nation, or to his education.

The King answered him very courteously, and told him, that his interest and that of his people were inseparably united, so that it was no wonder if he could determine nothing in a matter, on which the happiness or misery of his subjects very much depended, without the advice of his nobility and chief ministers of state; but would so soon as possible convene them, to know their minds in that matter.

After this the king set out for Stirling, where he summoned the estates of parliament to meet him ; when they were assembled, he communicated to them the emperor's proposals, which were debated publicly in parliament. The king then observed many, but chiefly the church-men, to be very inclinable to that match, as the best expedient to preserve the peace of the kingdom. Amongst whom the archbishop of Glasgow, a man of experience and piety, being warmed with zeal for the public good, made the following speech:

Sir, it is criminal for us, next to the worship of God, to account any thing dearer than the person of our king, and the good of our country; upon which two, turns the small happiness this mortal life of ours is capable of : the relation betwixt which is such

that we cannot watch for the safety of the one, unless we provide for the preservation of the other, whence it comes that we are sharers in the good or evil that befals our kings; and on the other hand, our calamities impair the strength of our sovereigns, and disarms their courage. Upon this consideration, when in the time of your minority, we your subjects felt so sensibly the wrath of heaven, and suffered both by foreign and domestic wars, which so dispirited us, that we were upon the point of leaving our native country, and the sepulchres of our forefathers, and to travel to other nations, where we might die in peace, if we had not been restrained by the hopes we conceived, that your being of age, would put an end to our troubles, and that then you would strengthen yourself with some honourable alliance, whereby we might be rescued from ruin. Now, when we are possessed of that blessing which we so long wished for, and when such a victorious and powerful prince as the emperor Charles the Fifth is desirous of your friendship, and offers you the choice of two fair and virtuous princesses of his family ; what can now hinder that happiness, on which depends your glory, and our safety? Your neighbour Henry the Eighth, is the declared enemy of your kingdom, and your conscience, and waits for an occasion to embroil the affairs of Scotland; and seeing he has miscarried in his designs to subdue our country; the prospect he has to sow his heresy amongst us, is some comfort to his malicious spirit. But so soon as he shall see you allied with the house

of Austria, he will abandon all his enterprises against you, and turn his designs another way. We observe many families in this nation already infected with this heresy, who upon this marriage, will either think of returning to the church, or of retiring to England. In a word, seeing this match is so visibly necessary for the support of your kingdom, and the cause of religion, therefore why should the discourses of those prevail upon you, who dissuade you from that alliance, either out of hatred to the Austrian family, or to promote their particular interests? How vain is it to be jealous, that the emperor designs to invade Scotland, and thinks by that match he shall have a pretence for such a design, seeing he has work enough nearer home for his victorious arms? If you delay the embracing of those offers, Henry the Eighth waits for an occasion to defeat that treaty, being enraged that you refused to marry his daughter; whose resentment may be dangerous at this time, when the kingdom is much weakened by a long minority, and former wars, and by the present parties and factions : Don't therefore, Sir, delay that work, which is so much for the glory of God, the advancement of religion, the support of your crown, and the peace of your subjects.

This discourse made some impression upon the king; the rest of the counsellors observing the king's inclination, were upon the reserve, and declined giving their opinion, either because they would not discover that their sentiments differed from his, or that it is dangerous to give advice to young kings in the affairs of their marraige; for if every thing do not answer their expectation, those who recommended that match, are sure to bear the blame; though frequently their pretended disappointment is rather to be attributed to their own inconstancy and fickle humour, than the unfaithfulness of their ministers. This reservedness displeased the king, who expected that their zeal for the good of their country, would have made them speak their minds freely; and having shewn his displeasure at their conduct, he peremptorily commanded Mr Thomas Arcskin the master of requests, a person of great experience, and candour, to declare his opinion about the matches proposed by the emperor. In obedience to the king's command, Mr Areskin made the following speech.

If the regard due to your majesty had not hindered me to speak upon this affair without your express commands, you should have known my sentiment this before time. The proposed alliance with the emperor, is extremely dangerous, and that the rather, because the bad consequences of it are not foreseen. None can deny that those offers by so great a prince are very much for your honour, notwithstanding which, you ought to consider the issue ; for frequenty pernicious designs lie hid under the colour of marriage. It is a long time, Sir, since ambition has banished true love and sincerity from the marriages of kings : for we see daily, that most princes have chiefly in their view, by such treaties, either their own interest, or the ruin of their new allies. You may be assured the Emperor is not so disinterested

in this matter as he pretends. His design is to draw you off from the French, your old allies, that he may the more easily attack you, when you are eugaged by articles to give them no assistance. It is visible to every body, that these many years he has had nothing more at heart than the destruction of France, the greatest hinderance of the universal monarchy he has projected ; his exorbitant ambition has no bounds ; for the end of one conquest, is but a plausible pretext to begin another. And if desart and barren places, and the very distant rocks of the sea, are not safe from his arms, you have no reason to think, but that he will also pretend some quarrel that he may begin a war with you : for ambition is a savage beast which spares none; and frequently the nearest relations are most exposed to its fury. This obliges the father to have a watchful eye over the son, and frequently the ties of nature is not strong enough to restrain the son from robbing his father of his crown; and what may then be expected in the case of a more remote relation ? Therefore you have no reason to trust in that alliance with the Emperor; for reasons of state, and his own convenience, will certainly determine him more than alliances, or any other consideration. His pretended love to you is not so much the reason of that proposal (which he would be glad to have you believe), as his design to make a party in your kingdom, to entice your officers to desert your service, to disunite you from your ancient friends, and to sow the seeds of faction and division amongst your subjects, that when a fit

opportunity shall offer, he may wrest the sceptre out of your hands; which he would never have attempted, if you had not entered into treaties and alliances with him. And suppose his designs are not so bad, his conduct in this matter shows, that he is afraid least you should reject his alliance, seeing he gives you the choice of two princesses, both of his blood, that you may be the less excusable if you refuse his offers. What treatment may you expect from him after the marriage, when already, though there is no tie nor treaty betwixt you, his ambassadors propose hat affair with such haughty insolence, as if that you alone, and not the emperor, were to have honour by that alliance ? We all know that Eagle which Godscallo boasts of, is the arms of the empire, which being elective, if merit and valour gave as good a title to it as intrigue, solicitation, and cabals, you might bid as tair for it as himself. It is sufficiently apparent, that marriage instead of being advantageous to you, will make all your neighbours jealous of you, and your allies suspicious, without any real assurance of assistance from him in your greatest necessity ; and when you are attacked by your enemies, any aid you can expect from him will always come too late, whatever timely notice you give; his troops would no sooner land in your kingdom, but you must expect the same plunderings and ravages from them as from an enemy. And how ridiculous is it to fancy, that the Catholic Faith professed in Scotland, shall receive any support from that alliance? as if the Scots wanted to learn religion from them, who received

the Christian Religion long before the Spaniarda. Their lives are neither so exemplary, nor their eloquence so perstading, that we are in any want of their instructions : there are many princes in Europe whose alliance is more for your interest, for which I hope, Sir, you will reserve yourself; the Emperor's proposals flowing from such a selfsh principle, can never advance the honour of God : and how can you expect any advantage by it, seeing it will infallibly engage your person in constant dangers ? And little satisfaction can your subjects reap from it : because your marriage will be so far from putting an end to their miseries, as they hoped it would, that it will only serve to encrease them.

This discourse pleased the king so well, that he was resolved immediately to give an audience of leave to the ambassador, wherein he told him, in a few words, you may acquaint your master the Emperor, that I am very sensible of his affection by the offers he has made me : and that he conquers as much by his civilities as by his arms. The kind offers of his alliance has so gained upon me, that none of the princes of his own house, can be more ready to please him than I am; but I hope he will excuse me, if I do not presently embrace these obliging offers; because I am not yet disengaged from the match proposed by the king of England before your coming to this country. I desire you to assure the Emperor, that upon all occasions I shall testify the sense I have of this great favour.

Scarcely had Godscallo left the kingdom, when Christiern II. king of Denmark, sent to him, to know if he were content to marry either the lady Dorothey, his eldest daughter, or the lady Elizabeth of Austria, the Emperor Charles Vth's Sister ; notwithstanding she had been pre-contracted to Frederick, elector palatine of the Rhine ; for this king had more regard to his interest than to his promise. The beauty, and other accomplishments of this lady were such, that king James had certainly consented to marry her, if he had not been unwilling to displease the Emperor who was guarantee of the traty of marriage betwits ther and the elector.

Whilst those designs, which heaven blasted, were contriving against France, Francis I. on his part neglected nothing that was necessary to preserve the ancient alliance with Scotland ; and King James, on his part, to show the affection he had to France, resolved at last to match with some of the royal family of that kingdom, from whence he could expect the surest assistance when his affairs wanted it. For this end he sent his ambassadors to France, viz. James Earl of Murray, his bastard brother, William Stuart, bishop of Aberdeen, John Areskine, and Robert Reistz, to negotiate a marriage betwixt him and the Lady Magdalen of France; the French King received them courteously, but was greatly at a loss what to do in that matter, seeing the design of the marriage was to tie the two kingdoms together by a more close alliance : he was afraid that both their enemies would make use of that match as a handle

to disunite them, because King James could not promise himself any children by his daughter, who was a sickly lady, so in the end would rather prove the occasion of indifference betwixt them; Francis therefore proposed to the ambassadors a match betwixt their master and the Lady Mary of Bourbon, the daughter of Clarles duke of Vendosme; the ambassadors refused to treat about it without instructions from King James, so desired time to acquaint him with the proposal, and to know his pleasure.

Now whilst King James waited for news from his ambassadors, his kingdom being then in perfect peace, this active prince not loving to stay long in one place, resolved, under colour of visiting his ports and havens, to sail round his kingdom, even to the Western Isles, that he might constrain some gentlemen there to be better subjects, who, living at a great distance from the court, and that in places naturally fortified and strong, thought that they might be dispensed with as to any obedience to their sovereign. Upon his arrival hc ordered the building of two forts, the one upon his own charge, the other at the expence of the bishop of the Isles, to curb the violent and ungovernable temper of the inhabitants ; after that he had obliged the principal men of those Isles to come and swear allegiance to him ; those who had continued in their duty, had liberty to return home, only they were to pay yearly some small taxes to the king; those who had been rebels, were either forced to give hostages for their good behaviour for the future, or to follow his majesty, who sent some

of them to the castle of Edinburgh, and the rest to Dumbarton, which John Stuart, Lord D'Aubigny, had delivered to him a little time before by order of the King of France; for till then it was garrisoned by Frenchmen.

This voyage being happily concluded, when the king was come to Edinburgh, he received letters from his ambassadors, in which they acquaint him with the kind reception they had received at the court of France; for the French King told them, that he should be glad of the honour of that alliance, but only was sorry that his eldest daughter was sickly, his other daughters were too young, and at present there were none of his relations that were worthy of the honour, except the Lady Mary of Vendosme, an admirable and charming princess of the blood royal. They said, they could not give any answer to that proposal, because they were limited by their instructions. This account of affairs made the king very melancholy; sometimes he doubted least some selfish views in the Earl of Murray, and the Bishop of Aberdeen, might incline them to embarrass that match : at another time, the confidence he had in John Areskin, and Robert Reistz, made him easy; because he was sure they would not betray the trust reposed in them, but would use all possible application towards the accomplishing the desired match ; notwithstanding, to prevent delays, and considering that the great reason why the matches of most princes are so unhappy is, because they never see their queens before marriage; he determined to

go over to France, and to court in person; but the great heats at that time obliged him to defer his voyage till they were a little abated.

In the mean time, he observed that the opinion of Luther encreased extremely in Scotland, and believed it was his duty utterly to extirpate the protestant religion, least if he delayed that necessary work, as he supposed, it might in the end supplant and banish popery, which he accounted the foundation of his authority; some took the freedom to tell him, That heresy was a scourge sent from heaven upon the souls of men for the punishment of their sins, and that all persecution was in vain, seeing the distemper was within the soul, which could not be reached by any human means; for it belonged only to God to move and convert the mind : So that methods of argument, and gentleness, were more likely to gain upon the spirits of men, than those of persecution, rage and fury, seeing error was the effect of human frailty; that after he had used rational means of conviction, he ought to wait for the blessing of God upon such laudable endeavours : So that the least he could do in that case was to grant a toleration to the protestants. Others on the contrary spake thus to the king : That it was impious to suffer a plurality of religions, which was contrary to the unity of the divine nature ; that God would be worshipped with one heart, and after the same uniform manner; the tranquillity and peace of kingdoms could not be firmly established, where the true way of worshipping God was not fixed and determined, without any toleration granted to hereticks; otherwise the persons of kings would be in perpetual danger: For when the quarrel of religion has divided your subjects into factions, and enraged them against each other, bigotry shall so prevail upon them, that they shall be regardless even of death itself, every day your sacred person shall be in danger from some desperate devotee, who shall think it his duty to be your sworn enemy, because you are not. of his belief. What is more frequent than murder and assassinations where different sects prevail ? For each is persuaded that the truth is only to be found with their party, they think that the eause of religion will bear them out, in killing those whom they account blasphemers of God : But on the contrary, where the same religion is unanimously professed, the subjects are more governable and peaceable, and more observing and obedient to the laws of their sovereigns. Nothing ean so effectually unite the affections of your subjects, or so forcibly dispose them to a continuance in their duty to your majesty, and prevent rebellion, than an uniformity in worship and doctrine ; this should oblige you to defend the Catholic religion, seeing the crown, and it, have inseparably been conveyed to you from your ancestors : And if kings will not allow that any should share in their dignities but themselves, neither is it tolerable that the service and worship of God should be profaned and deserted. In fine, though it is reasonable to make serious addresses to heaven, that God may be pleased to root out heresy out of the hearts of men : yet whilst we wait for that blessing from above, it is necessary, in the mean time, to make use of the secular arm to chastise the ring-leaders of heresy, that the fear of punishment may preserve the minds of your people from the infection of error.

Those reasons prevailed upon the king, upon which he published severe and rigorous laws against all protestants within his dominions, and established a court of inquisition, the judges whereof were to make strict search for all those that professed the new religion; many were discovered, who were cruelly put to death, the king hoping that those severe measures would certainly extirpate the protestant religion.

During those cruelties, Henry the eight, who had renounced all obedience to the pope, and had embraced the doctrines of Luther, sent the bishop of St. Davids to his nephew, king James, with books printed in England, which contained an account of the principles of the religion then established there. He hoped that by the reading of them king James would be persuaded to disown the Pope's authority. In his letters he earnestly entreated his nephew to read those books carefully without prejudice, which he refused to do, till he had first got them to be examined by learned and religious men, who upon perusing them, reported, that they contained nothing but lies and impostures, and heartily thanked God that his majesty had escaped that snare which his uncle had laid for him, and that he would not polute his eyes with the reading such dangerous books.

At this time robberies were so frequent upon the highways, that all business and trade was at a stand ; this was owing to the negligence of the sheriffs, who suffered robbers and thieves to escape unpunished. To put an end to those disorders, the king established a Justiciary Court at Jedburgh.

The king now being uneasy with impatience, because his ambassadors were not like to conclude the marriage with that dispatch he wished for, notwithstanding the inconveniences of the season resolved to sail for France, and having given orders that a fleet should be ready, he went aboard at Leith, together with the great ministers of his court, without owning whither he was bound ; manythought he designed to go into England to visit his uncle, and now repented, that the former year, he refused an interview with that king ; they were scarcely got out of the haven, when a storm began to rise, and the wind turned contrary : upon this the pilot asked theking which way they should steer their course? He answered, Whither you please except to England. This convinced them all that the king designed for France, which was impracticable at that time, because of the contrary winds; which, when the King understood, he chose rather to sail round the coasts of his kingdom, and try if they could have better passage by St George's Channel, than to put in again at Leith ; neither did that succeed, for still. the storm encreased, which made those who attended him bethink that it was safest to return home, and not expose their King's and their own life, to visible danger, and that it was fool hardiness to struggle with the unrelenting winds and waves ; that there was no need for such haste, and that they might lie in some harbour till the storm was over, without any prejudice to the king's affairs ; so whilst the king was asleep they tacked about, and sailed for the coast of Scotland. When the king awakened he was in a great rage, and never pardoned those who advised the sailing back to Scotland. He blamed Sir James Hamilton chiefly for this, whom he hated before, because he killed the earl of Lennox. Sir James's enemies, to inflame the king the more against him, suggested, that he was very far from being a dutiful subject; that all his pretences of loyalty were only hypocrisy; for his only design in accompanying his majesty was to defeat the design of the voyage.

When the bad weather was over, the nobility who were with the king, in complaisance to his majesty, desired him to think of sailing with the first fair wind, which he did and setting sail from Scotland on the first day of September,—he landed at Diep ten days after, and went incognito to Vendosme, to see the lady Mary of Vendosme, where he was satisfied thatshe was an excel ent and well accomplished princess, and that fame had not been too favourable to her; but seeing he had had the choice of three princesses, all daughters of kings, he thought he could not in honour marry one of a lower degree; so he left Vendosme, and had still the disposing of his own heart, notwithstanding the charms of that fair lady, and went straight for Paris to meet with the French king

whose coming was a surprisal to the court ; the king, who knew nothing of it till about two hours before he saw him, immediately went to meet him and welcome him to Paris, being accompanied with all the nebility then at court, and received him with all that grandeur and honour that king James could desire. He had not been long at Paris before the lady Magdalen owned that she loved him : He desired the king her father to agree to the match, and said, he hoped that the change of air, and more years, would confirm her in perfect health, and doubted not but he should have children by her. The French king consented to the match, and told him, there was nothing that he could deny the king of Scotland : so the marriage was solemnized with all the pomp and ceremony imaginable.

Some days after, the present posture of affairs obhiged the two kings to take leave of each other; at parting they gave all possible assurances of mutual and perpetual affection and friendship, for at that time the imperialists ravaged Piedmont and Picardy, and king James was afraid least Henry the eighth might embroil his affairs in his absence : So king James and his queen set out for Scotland, having with them a great number of French ships ; when they arrived in Scotland, they were received with the universal joy of their subjects, but as in human life, our gladness is still allayed with sorrow, so this joy was short lived, and was interrupted by the great grief occasioned by the death of the young queen, who lived only six months after her landing in Scotland ; for the sea air, and the fatigue of the voyage, had

occasioned her sickness. There was such an universal and real grief over all the kingdom, upon the news of her death, that to testify the sense the court, and other persons of note had of the great loss, they went into mourning; which was the first time that ever that custom was used in Scotland.

After the funeral ceremonies were over, King James was more desirous than ever of children, and was unwilling to live any time a widower, he cast his eyes upon the Lady Mary of Lorrain, sister to Francis duke of Guise, a famed general, and the widow of the duke of Longueville; for the charning virtues of that lady had made a mighty impression upon his heart during his stay in France.

Whilst the ambassadors were a going to France to desire the lady Mary of Lorrain in marriage for the king, he was alarmed with many false accusations of innocent persons, as if guilty of plots against his life ; the first remarkable person who suffered by the villany of those informers was one John Forbes, a young gentleman of great courage, and of a good family, but had always lived a vicious and scandalous life, which made people believe the more easily that one of his character would stick at no crime : he had been managed of a long time by one Strachan, a wicked fellow of a mean birth, who was a sharer in all his debaucheries: Forbes found by experience, how dangerous the society of villains is. This Strachan, besides his other vices, was a covetous wretch, he demanded from Mr Forbes some gift which he could not conveniently grant : upon which refusal, Strachan

was so displcased that he meditated revenge, became his enemy, and to compass his malicious designs more effectually, he went to the earl of Huntly, Mr Forbes's mortal enemy, where they jointly contrived his ruin. They accused Mr Forbes that of a long time he had a design to murder the king ; they hired knights of the post, who were evidences against him, who swore, that then he waited only for a fit opportunity to assassinate his majesty. Though those witnesses were men of bad characters, and their evidence did not prove the impeachment, nevertheless he was found guilty, and condemned to death; for the judges thought that the very intention to kill the king deserved it. But God permitted him to come to that untimely end, as a punishment for his former sins; for though iniquities are not immediately chastised, yet at length men's sins find them out, and when they are most secure, and least expect the wrath of heaven, they fall into snares which complete their ruin.

The judges found Strachan guilty of misprison of treason, because he had so long concealed such a horrid crime, which they thought he would not have done if he had not been equally guilty in the plot; but though he deserved death more than Mr Forbes, yet all his punishment was only banishment : he retired to Paris where he followed still the same dissolute debauched way of living. King James, for reasons best known to himself, was sorry for Mr Forbes's death when it was too late, because he thought he might be useful in some secret services; for had men are as necessary in the body-politic, as had humours are in the body natural: to testify his concern he made his second brother a gentleman of his bed chamber, and married the third to a great fortune, and gave him back his brother's estate, which was forfeited.

This punishment was immediately followed by another very lamentable one, if we either consider the quality of the persons accused, or the nature of their pretended crimes; but most of all deplorable for the too great severity of the punishment.

Jane Douglas, the sister of Archibald earl of Angus, who then lived an exile in England, was the most renowned beauty of Britain at that time; she was of an ordinary stature, not too fat, her mein was majestic, her eyes full, her face was oval, and her complexion was delicate and extreme fair. Besides all these perfections, she was a lady of a singular chastity, as her body was a finished piece, without the least blemish, so heaven designed that her mind should want none of those perfections a mortal creature can be capable of; her modesty was admirable, her courage was above what could be expected from her sex, her judgment solid, her carriage was gaining and affable to her inferiors, as she knew well how to behave herself to her equals: she was descended from one of the most honourable and wealthiest families of Scotland, and of great interest in the kingdom, but at that time eclipsed; she was married to John Lion, Lord Glammes, a discreet, and valiant nobleman, who died in the bloom of his

youth, and left a son behind him by their marriage : she continued a widow some years after. During which time, several of the best families of the kingdom courted her; but a gentleman named Archibald Campbell, had the honour and happiness to gain her love, he had a good estate, and was of a good family, and commanded the third squadron of King James's army. Now this gentleman, who equally admired her beauty and virtue, made his addresses to her with all possible respect, at length she owned she loved him, so they were married to both their satisfactions.

William Lion, a near relation of her first husband, and one of her former suiters, not being able to stifle his former flame, nor dissemble his rage and discontent for the loss of her, became almost frantick upon this disappointment; and though he was so unhappy as to lose her, yet he did not forbear his addresses, hoping still, that in recompence of his painful attendance, she would grant him some favours.

This beautiful lady repulsed him with disdain, and told him, that the reason why she formerly treated him with civility, was more owing to his relation to her last husband and to her son than to any regard to himself; but now, seeing he had designs upon her honour, she hated the sight of him; for he might be assured that she would never comply with his criminal and brutal desires.

This resolute and virtuous refusal distracted him, and not knowing what to answer, sometimes he complained of her severe virtue ; at another time he told her, the great love he had for her was the occasion of his addresses: he blamed her also for her ingratitude, as if in complaisance to him, she ought to throw away all regard to chastity; in fine, he told he had lost all his time and endeavours: this interview was spent in complaints, intreaties, reproaches, and threatnings; after which he departed and never visited her more. From that time his love, or rather lust, was changed into rage and revenge, his thoughts were divided whither he should kill her himself, or contrive some plot against her life; the first seemed unworthy of his courage, whereas the latter required very nice conduct, and too long a delay, seeing he was enraged to that degree, that he thirsted for present revenge; but at last the latter carried it.

So the passion of love being succeeded by that of vengeance, he was brooding over his resentment for some months, at last he lights upon one of the blackest contrivances that hell could suggest, viz. he accused this lady, her son, her husband, and one John Lion, an aged priest, and his own near relation, as guilty of a design to poison the King. This was the most unlikely thing in the world, if we consider the characters and conversation of the persons accused, who lived for the most part in the country at a great distance from court, and seldom had an occasion of seeing the King ; however upon this, those innocent persons were apprehended and imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh, and their goods were seized, with a strict charge to the judges of the justice court to proceed to their trials.

William Lion the accuser, who had the car of the jealous King, used all his Rhetoric to aggravate that matter, and that he might dispose the king to treat them with all possible cruelty, he represented, that the family of Douglas had always been dangerous and troublesome to his predecessors, and even to himself and his kingdom; and reminded him of the insolent behaviour of Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus, the brother of the prisoner, in the time of his Majesty's minority, whose practices were so pernicious, that by a public decree he was banished the kingdom as a disturber of the peace of his native country ; that since that time he was become the subject of Henry king of England, his Majesty's enemy, and was now the incendiary betwixt the two kingdoms, and advised all the inroads that were made from England upon Scotland; and that seeing he could not be restored to his honours and fortune, without great difficulty, revenge incited him to plot all the mischief possible against the king's person ; and who could he employ for compassing such wickcd designs more fit than his own sister, who was obliged to secrecy by the ties of blood ? that he engaged her in that conspiracy, thinking that her sex, character, and birth, would make her the less suspected; therefore if his Majesty had any regard either to his interest or safety, it was necessary to extreminate that race which produced nothing but monsters of rcbellion, and especially that woman, whom if he spared, he would put it her power to accomplish her wicked designs.

This discourse found too easy a belief with the king, who was naturally jealous and suspicious, and was wholly ignorant of the hatred which William Lion bore to that Lady; upon which he ordered that they should be put upon their trial in all haste, so that small regard was had either to their characters, birth, or defences they made. Before the judges gave sentence, this Lady was brought to the bar according to custom, that they might hear what she could say for herself: She knew well enough that her misfortunes proceeded from her near relation to the Earl of Angus. When she had answered to all the questions which the judges asked, with the greatest courage and boldness imaginable, she delivered the following speech :

" Those who hate the merit of my brother are enraged because he is not in their power, that he might fall a sacrifice to their malice, and they now discharge their spite upon me, because of my near relation to him; and to gratify their revenge with my blood, they accuse me of crimes, which, if true, deserve the severest death. But seeing it is the only prerogative of God to punish men or women for the faults of others, which belongs to no judge on earth, who are obliged to punish every one according to their personal crimes, you ought not to punish in me the actions of my brother, how blameable soever; above all, you ought to consider if those things I am accused of, have the least appearance of truth imaginable; for what gives the greatest evidence either of the guilt or innocence of an impeached person, is

their former life. What fault could any hitherta hay to my charge? Did any ever reproach me with any thing that is scandalous? Examine I intreat you my former conversation, vice hath its degreesas well as virtue, and none can attain to a perfection in either, except by long use and practice; and if you can find nothing reprovable in my conduct, how can ye believe that I am arrived all of a sudden to contrive this murder, which is the very height and perfection of impiety ? I protest I would not deliberately injure the most despicable wretch alive ; could I then make the murder of my sovereign, whom L always reverenced, and who never did me any wrong; the first essay of my wickedness? None are capable of such damnable and unnatural actions, except two sorts of persons, viz. those of desperate fortunes who are weary of their lives, or those who are hurried into them by revenge ; my birth, and manner of life, puts me beyond the suspicion of the first kind ; and for the latter, seeing I was never injured by the king, how can I be suspected to thirst for any revenge ? I am here accused for purposing to kill the king, and to make my pretended crime appear more frightful, it is given out, that the way was to be by poison, With what impudence can any accuse me of such. wickedness, who never saw any poison, nor know I any thing about the preparation of it ? Can any say they ever saw me have any of it ? Let them tell where I bought it; or who procured it for me. And though I had it, how could I use it, seeing I never came near the king's person, his table, nor palace ?

country, at a great distance from the court ; what opportunity could I ever have then to poison the king ? You may see by those circumstances, which give great light in such matters, that I am entirely innocent of those crimes I am charged with : It is the office of you judges to protect injured innocence : but if the malice and power of my enemies be such, that whether innocent or guilty. I must needs be condemned, I shall die chearfully, having the testimony of a good conscience; and assure yourselves that you shall certainly find it more easy to take away. my life, than to blast my reputation, or to fix any real blot upon my memory. This is my last desire of you, that I may be the sole object of your severity, and that those other innocent persons may not share in my misfortunes; seeing my chief crime is, that I am descended of the family of Douglas, there is no reason that they should be involved in my ruin ; for my husband, son, and cousin, are neither of that name, nor family. I shall end my life with more comfort if you absolve them, for the more of us that suffer by your unjust sentence, the greater will beyour guilt, and the more terrible your condemnation when you shall be tried at the great day by God. who is the impartial judge of all flesh, who shall then make you suffer for those torments to which we are unjustly condemned."

This admirable speech which was spoken with such boldness and manly courage, astonished the judges extremely, and when they had reasoned upom what she had alledged in her own defence, they determined, before they gave sentence, to send two of their number to the king, and to represent to him, that though the witnesses had proved the articles of impeachment, and that according to the law of the land upon this evidence she deserved death, yet upon a serious consideration of the whole circumstances of the matter, they could not perceive the least probability of her guilt: They were afraid least the rigour of the law in this case should prove the height of injustice, therefore they wished rather that equity. and mercy should take place, it being more safe to absolve a criminal, than to condemn an innocent person; that time alone could discover the truth of the matter, by making known the character of those witnesses who had sworn against her, whether they were men of honesty, or had been bribed to accuse her; that nothing was so adviseable as to delay the whole affair for some days, which could be no danger to the king, seeing those persons were not to have their liberty; but whenever they could perceive any presumptions of their guilt, they should not escape justice : as for themselves they were tied. up to the formalities and letter of the law, it belonged only to his majesty to temper and moderate the severity of it by his clemency, upon which account. they addressed themselves to him, seeing in such cases wherein the life, honour, and estates of persons of distinction are concerned, all possible caution isnecessary ...

The king, who was naturally merciful enough, had vielded to this reasonable request, if Lion, who had contrived that hellish plot, and was afraid if they had escaped, his wickedness would be discovered, had not prevailed with the king to give this answer to the judges: that the exercise of justice was a considerable part of the royal dignity, which he had entrusted them with when he made them judges; that it belonged to their office to preserve the innocent, and punish the guilty; that the book called Regiam Majestatem, contained all the forms and rules which ought to determine them in such cases ; wherefore he gave them full power to proceed in that business according to justice, and the laws of the land; and said, he knew of nothing that could hinder them from doing their duty like men of honour.

Upon receiving that answer, those that were sent to wait upon the king, returned to the Exchequer, where the court of justice then sat, and reported to the rest of the judges, what the king had given them in charge, upon which the judges gave sentence against that lady, which was, that she was to be led out to the place of execution, and there to be burnt alive till she was dead. A little time after the sentence she was delivered into the hands of the excentioner, to be led out to suffer; the constancy and courage of this heroine, is almost incredible, which astonished all the spectators: she heard the sentence pronounced against her without the least sign of concern, neither did she ery, groan, or shed a tear, hough that kind of death is most frightful to human

nature. When she was brought out to suffer, the people who looked on could not conceal their grief and compassion; some of them who were acquainted with her, and knew her innocence, designed to rescue her; but the presence of the king and his ministers restrained them : she seemed to be the only unconcerned person there, and her beauty and charms never appeared with greater advantage than when she was led to the flames, and her soul being fortified. with support from heaven, and the sense of her own innocence, she outbraved death, and her courage was equal in the fire, to what it was before her judges ; she suffered those torments without the least noise, only she prayed devoutly for divine assistance to support her under her sufferings : thus died this famous lady with a courage not inferior to that of any of the heroes of antiquity.

The day following her disconsolate husband, designed to make his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, was let down over the walls by a cord, which happening to be too short, he fell upon the rocks, where he was dashed to pieces. The king was very sad upon hearing of that Linon the old priest should have his liberty, because his great age made him incapable of any such designs; as for the young Lord Glammis, though his childhood was sufficient proof of his innocency, yet he was kept still in prison, from, whence he was not released till after the king's death.

Those who make any reflections upon the tragical

history of this unfortunate lady may observe, that great beauty frequently exposes women to danger, and often proves a snare and eurse, rather than a blessing; seeing most men who behold them become passionate admirers of them, whereas it is only in such virtuous lady's power to make one man happy ; the other less fortunate rivals, missing that bliss they impatiently longed for, sometimes their disappointed love degenerates into revenge and fury, which proves the cause of great misfortunes to those beautiful females.

William Lion, after this virtuous and incomparable lady had fallen a victim to his fury, whenever he began to think cooly upon the wickedness he had done, was so filled with horror, that he was not able to endure the lashes of his awakened conscience; he lamented when it was too late, that his malice had occasioned the loss both of the lives and fortunes of those who were his near relations; so that having confidence in the king's mercy, he confessed the whole matter secretly to him. The king abhorring such frightful wickedness, banished him from the Court, and designed his punishment should be answerable to his guilt; but affärs of greater concern which happened immediately after, made the king forget that matter.

At length the king heard from his ambassadors, Cardinal Beaton and Robert Maxwell, then at the Court of France, that his marriage was concluded, very much to the satisfaction of the French king, and all his court, and that they designed to set out in a little time from France, and to bring with them the Lady Mary of Guise; from that time he thought of nothing but of his amours, and of making preparations for his queen's honourable reception.

Monsieur d'Annebault, admiral of France, was ordered to wait upon her from the Court to Diep, with a great number of the nobility of the best quality in the kingdom, where she went aboard about the beginning of June 1538. A great number of French ships conducted her to Balcomy in Scotland, where the Earl of Murray and other Scotch noblemen were sent to wait upon her; after she had stayed there some days, and had taken leave of the French noblemen who attended her, she was brought to St Andrews in great state, where the marriage was solemnised with all possible rejoicing.

The great merit of the new queen was so remarkable, that she was admired and loved by all her subjects; her prudence, and love to the king, gained his heart entirely, and to complete his happiness, she brought forth a son the first year of their marriage, at St Andrews; and the next year she had another son at Stirling, upon which the king admired her to that degree, that he advised with ther in all affairs of state : she was a lady of great wit, and was reputed a princess not inferier to any at that time, either for beauty, courage, or prudence.

Hitherto all things went well with King James, who was arrived to that height of prosperity, that he had nothing to wish for; having children by his marriage, was loved by his subjects, and feared by his enemies : but frequently adversity is nearer prosperity than we expect ; thus it was with this king, for all of a sudden he experienced the reverse of fate, and was immediately attacked with so many and various troubles, that whenever he thought to disengage himself from any of them, he was overpowered with new ones which defeated all his endeavours.

The first mortification he met with, proceeded from his bad conduct, which lost him the affections of his subjects; for when he saw he had two sons, and that there was no fear he should want heirs to succeed him in the throne, he began to undervalue his nobility, and upbraided them with want of courage, and that they had degenerated from the valour and military bravery of their ancestors : he reminded them of the dishonourable defeat of Floddon, where they gave small proof of their regard to the king his father, or concern for the honour of their country : he told them, if they were willing, he had an inclination to revenge his father's death upon Henry the Eighth, and to retrieve the ancient reputation of the kingdom. He found them not very forward to engage in any such matters ; for those reproaches had so much alienated their affections from him, and enraged them, that they deserted his service, when he had most need of their help : for of all things, what can more highly provoke haughty spirits than disdain ?

The kingdom was then at peace, the Protestants, who were at that time a very numerous body, and increased daily, were so displeased with what they suffered upon the account of their religion, that they had certainly taken up arms to get their grievances redressed, if they had had any nobleman of note to head them. The king knew that well enough, but his affairs were then so embroiled, that he was obliged to dissemble his pleasure at them, and waited till he had extricated himself from his present difficulties, as a more fit season to mortify them; his treasury was then very much exhausted because of his extraordinary expence, by his marriages, and his many new buildings, so that he wanted money extremely ; the most ready way was, either to lay a tax upon the clergy, or upon the nobility ; both of them desired to be excused from that hardship, and enlarged upon their own poverty, and the riches of the other estate.

Now Henry the Eighth, who had not forgotten that he had been affronted by King James, who refused to marry his daughter, and to have an interview with him, was determined to try if he could by subility persuade him to meet him in England, otherwise, upon refusal, he should have a specious colour for beginning a war : he sent his ambassador to King James, to desire him to come to York, where he would meet him, and that they might confer friendly together about affairs that related to the peace of both their kingdoms, and conclude a lasting peace ; for what could be more for both their glory, than to put a period to the ancient hatred and animosity betwixt their two kingdoms, which had occasioned the effusion of so much Christian blood ? that instead of those national and hereditary quarrels, a firm and sincere friendship might be established betwirt the two crowns.

Many of the peers of the kingdom, and who had great interest with the king, were Protestants, and used all possible arguments to persuade him to go and see his uncle, who, they assured him, had then all the inelination imaginable to receive him with the utmost demonstration of love and friendship; there was not the least eause of fear that his person would be in any danger, for they had all the reason in the world to believe that that interview would procure a well-grounded peace betwixt the two kings and their subjects. But what above all things made them long for that meeting was, that they knew that Henry the Eighth was a prince of a very moving eloquence, so they hoped their king would be gained upon to ehuse the King of England for his ally, rather than any other prince, and hoped he might be induced by his unele to make a change of religion in his kingdom, as he had began to do in his.

But upon the other hand the elergy foreseeing how much that interview threatened the downfall of their authority, employed the utmost of their skill to defeat it; for they told the king, they were assured that toleration to the Protestants would be the least effect of it. To dissuade the king they used all the arguments which they had employed upon a like oceasion, " that his Majesty was not to trust to safeconducts, seeing Malcolm, and William his brother, both Kings of Scotland, by trusting to such securities, had lost their liberty, and were made prisoners by Henry the Second of England ; and carried to Guyenne where the English were at war with France, that he might oblige them to renounce the old alliance with that kingdom. The misfortunes of his predecessor King James the First, might teach him caution and wisdom in such affairs ; and if his uncle had broke his engagements to heaven, and was an apostate from the truth, what human tie could bind him ? Those considerations might prevail with his majesty to avoid the snares of his enemy : but if his uncle should be so enraged with this refusal that it should be the occasion of a war with England, they promised him as much money as should be necessary to defray the charges of it ; besides, they promised to pay him yearly 30,000 crowns, and if at any time his affairs required more money, then they would willingly contribute as far as their revenues would go for his assistance : provided his majesty would allow the laws to be put in execution against those who had scandalously renounced all obedience to the holy see, and despised its ordinances, and now avowedly professed Lutheranism : they desired his majesty, as the only way to stop the course of that, growing mischief, he would allow them to seize the goods and estates of those who should for the future be convicted of that heresy, which they thought would amount to an yearly rent of 100,000 crowns, which they said might be annexed to the king's revenue; so they hoped his majesty would appoint.

such judges as were men of courage and resolution, and would go through stitch with such a godly work.'

The king was so sensibly touched with this address from the elergy, that he laid aside all thoughts of an interview with his uncle the king of England, not so much upon the account of the money they offered him, as to please the Queen, who declared, that she was averse to that journey, because the danger of it overballanced any prospect they could have of advantage; she knew that the king did not love his uncle, neither could he disguise his aversion, so feared that his open and frank temper would widen the breach betwixt them.

He made Sir James Hamilton, bastard brother of the Earl of Arran, judge of this court of inquisition, which was to be erected. This choice mightily pleased the Churchmen, because he was a declared enemy to the Protestants, and his interests were inseparable from those of the clergy. This commission proved his ruin ; for the Protestants perceiving how dangerous an enemy he should prove, for that now his malice was armed with power; they laid a trap for him which he could not escape : James Hamilton brother of Mr Patrick Hamilton who suffered for the Protestant Religion, after he had been a long time Sheriff of Lithgow, he was obliged to flee from Scotland, because he was of his brother's Religion ; when he had been a considerable time abroad, he got liberty from the king to return for some time to settle his affairs : notwithstanding which, he could not think he

was safe whilst Sir James Hamilton was President of that new inquisition, who though his near relation, was his mortal enemy, because when he was Sheriff, he had given a cause against him ; he knew that Sir James never forgave what he believed was an injury, and would now colour his revenge against his enemies, by the all-atoning name of zeal for the Catholic Faith. And now an seeing after-game was dangerous, this gentleman designed to be beforehand with him, upon this he sent his son to the king, who was then in Fifeshire, to warn him, that now there was great necessity for his majesty to take care of his person, for Sir James Hamilton corresponded secretly with the Earl of Angus, and that he only waited for a convenient time to put his wicked designs in execution; for whenever he could nick the time when his Majesty was alone, or had few attendants, then he would enter his chamber and assassinate him. The king, who never was regardless of any thing that was proposed for the safety of his life, dispatched that young gentleman to Edinburgh. and gave him his ring which was well known to his Ministers, as a token of the truth of the message; he told them the king ordered James Lermont, his master of the household, James Kirkcaldy, the Treasurer, and Thomas Areskine master of requests, to meet in the Exchequer, that the young gentleman the bearer would acquint them with the treasonable designs of Sir James Hamilton, which they were speedily to prevent.

3.

Those Judges, who could not dispense with their obedience to the king's positive commands, went immediately to Sir James's house, where they arrested him, and committed him to prison in the Castle of Edinburgh, and in the mean time drew up the articles of impeachment against him. The Churchmen were persuaded that this accusation was a contrivance of the Protestants, to ruin the inquisition, which began then to be hard upon them; upon which account they undertook the defence of the prisoner, went to the king, and most earnestly desired him to give no credit to those calumnies Sir James was charged with, who had always been a faithful and obedient subject to his Majesty. They most humbly begged that he might be eularged, and sent back to the exercise of his office. Lermont and Kirkcaldy, being apprized how eagerly the clergy defended the prisoner's cause, were mightily troublcd ; on the one hand they knew that the king was naturally inclined to mercy, and was too much directed by the counsels of churchmen; on the other hand, they knew if Sir James regained his liberty, he would never forgive the affront they had done him ; for he was a man of great interest, factious, and revengeful, and their known love to the Protestant Religion, would give him the best handle imaginable to work their ruin.

To provide for their safety; they went to the king, and enlarged not so much upon the prisoner's guilt, or the circumstances of it, as upon his dangerous and wicked temper, that he was bold, outrageous,

and powerful, and would never forget the scandal of his imprisonment, but would think of nothing but revenge, if he were freed from prison before he was tried: those hints determined the king to lay asidehis journey to Seatoun, and to go to Edinburgh. On the day appointed for the trial, the king came to the court of justice and sat there in person ; the prisoner was brought to the bar, and had liberty to make his defence in the most full manner he could ; after thisthe king went out of the court, probably to shun any petitions that might be made for his life, or lest his presence might hinder the Judges from speakingtheir minds freely, seeing it was a matter that concerned the safety of his own person : he ordered the Judges to continue the trial till it was ended, and told them he gave them all power to do justice according to their consciences, and to the laws of the kingdom : so upon the proof of the articles of impeachment Sir James was found guilty, and was condemned to be hanged and quartered, and his quarters to be fixed upon the gates of the city. Few lamented his death except his relations; for his actions had procured him very many enemies, because he stuck at nothing to advance his own interest.

From that time there was an entire change in the temper and nature of the king, so that all at once he became morose and chagrin to that degree, that he was uneasy both to himself and others; he was displeased with every thing, and abandoned himself so nuch to melancholy, that he avoided all recreations = but any scandalous discourse that concerned the nobility, was the only conversation that pleased him.

The cause which was assigned for this melancholy of his, was his superstitious observance of dreams, which he always explained to be the presages of some future dismal event. It is one of the most remarkable misfortunes of mankind, who for unaccountable apprehensions, torment themselves with what is-past, are perplexed for what is to come, and not satisfied with their present troubles, make use of the night, which was designed for their rest, to increase their misery, and to afford them new materials of affliction.

Amongst all his dreams, none tormented him more than this; he dreamed the night after the execution of Sir James Hamilton, that he entered his chamber, and with a sword cut off his two arms, and threatened he would return and take away the remains of his life; upon which he disappeared. The king awaked in a great surprise, continued thoughtful, and was persuaded that that dream which he could not get out of his head, was an omen of something very afflicting, which was very near at hand ; this he found too true, for not long after, he had the sad news that both his sons died the same day, and the same hour, the eldest at St. Andrews, and the other at Stirling. This was a very great loss, but he bore it patiently because the Queen was then with child, who dissembled the sense she had of that affliction, and endeavoured by all means to comfort the king, whom she endeavoured to dissuade from having such a regard to dreams, which above all things impaired his health ; for that end she employed the assistance of two learned divines and philosophers who werethen at court, if possibly by argument, they could cure the wounded imagination of the king, and persuade him that dreams are nothing but delusions. When the question was stated, whether we ought to give any faith to dreams or not, they were not both of the same opinion :

One of them said, that God by dreams used to give men notices of what was to come, and though sometimes they appear very obscure and unintelligible, yet the event, which is the best commentary upon them, discovers their truth ; dreams are generally big with mysteries, the unfolding of which belongs. only to those, to whom heaven has imparted that gift; and if any object that they are frequently false, that mistake proceeds from our ignorance of them, and frequently because persons who are unacquainted with such high secrets, undertake to explain them : besides, that God for very wise reasons reveals himself to mankind during their sleep, because then the soul is most free from the noise, hurry, and confusion of the senses ; and as that time is most susceptible of his holy inspirations, as the scriptures informs us in the case of Abimelech, Laban, Judas Machabeus, Nebuchadnezar, St John, the three wise men, and others who were all instructed from above in dreams; likewise those surprising arts which Bezaleel and Aholiab excelled in, were more frequently infused into them when asleep, than when they were awake.

The other learned man on the contrary maintained, that it was only an error of an old date that had seduced several great men, to believe that dreams contained any heavenly mystery, seeing they were to be accounted for in a natural way : for they had, their rise partly from the constitution of men, and partly from the active nature of men's spirits, even in the time of rest, when they cannot use the senses and organs of the body, which are then fast bound up by sleep : the mind is obliged to sport itself in the imagination, where there is a medley of ideas relating to different objects, by the blending of which together, it creates chimeras that never did exist, and are impossible ever to be; and sometimes the soul diverts itself in the memory, where are imprinted the ideas of things that have struck our senses, or the traces of things which we have done, or design to do; if the mind happen then to be in any violent passion, the ideas of the imagination are jumbled, with those of the memory, the dreams which proceed from such a confusion are uncapable of any meaning; so it is profane to attribute them to the holy spirit. How foolish is it to imagine that our dreams are more capable of infallibility and intercourse with heaven, than our thoughts when we are awake, which are frequently then engaged in deep and rational meditations? How unworthy of God is it to fancy he is the author of dreams, and that by them he warns us of things that are to come, when of a hundred thousand of them we shall scarcely find one that can have any meaning at all; the rest are only chimeras which have no signification : this

would prove quite otherwise, if they were from God, who never does any thing in vain; for, all his gifts answer the ends they were designed for ; so those inspirations which proceed from the omniscience of God, must of necessity be intelligible : for God who is infallible, never produces effects contrary to his own perfections. How ridiculous is it to imagine that God who is light, truth, and order, is the author of dreams, which are full of obscurity, lies, and confusion? In vain it is to support that opinion from the authority of the holy scriptures, seeing it is expressly forbidden in Leviticus to observe dreams; further, a regard to dreams and vain delusions has been the occasion of the miscarriage of many actions. He owned that great secrets had been discovered in the night by revelation, which is the peculiar favour of God; but not at all by dreams, which have nothing to do with inspiration : that it was an improper way of speaking to call those visions in the night which appeared to Abimelech, Solomon, and other holy persons, by the name of dreams, seeing the former are prophecies full of high and holy mysteries : in fine, it was great weakness to be moved by dreams, or to give any credit to them.

The king listened to this discourse with great attention; but when he compared his dream with the loss of two sons which followed upon it, and whom he thought were represented by his two arms, nothing could hinder him from believing them.

At this time there was neither certain peace nor open war, betwixt England and Scotland; for Henry the eighth was enraged to see that his nephew slighter him, this made him give secret orders to his garrison on the frontiers to make inroads upon Scotland ; when king James saw that such grievances and injuries were not at all redressed, he began to review his troops, be cause he was assured that in a little time a war would begin betwixt the two kingdoms: upon which he made the earl of Murray, his bastard brother, Lieuten ant General of his army, and gave all the necessary orders for putting a stop to the incursions of the enemy. In the mean time, whilst both kings were making preparations for war, king James desired by fair means to compose the differences between his uncleand himself; for that end he sent James Lermont to wait upon king Henry at Newcastle, to excuse his not coming to York according to his uncle's desire, because then the circumstances of his affairs were such, that it was not safe for him to leave his kingdom ; that there was no reason why the king of England should be angry with him upon that account : that it was unjust for him to suffer his army, even in the time of peace, to invade his kingdom, and lay his subjects under contribution, and besides to treat them with all possible cruelty. Mr Lermont was to ask reparation for those wrongs.

During Mr Lermont's absence, the king ordered George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, to the frontiers with a squadron of light horse, to oppose the English army if they entered Scotland; but he did nothing that was considerable, because he was very far inferior to the encmy in number, whose forces encreased dai-

ly. The English, in the view of Huntly, marched towards Jedburgh to take it by assault, where they expected good plunder ; but the Earl of Hume, who had raised 400 horse in great haste, opposed their march, and disputed every foot of ground with them ; and after a bloody fight of three hours, Hume's party perceiving Huntly's troops riding up to them, thought they were coming to reinforce the English army, upon which they retired in good order, with the loss of few of their men, but several were taken. All this time Henry the Eighth amused Lermont with promises that he would give full contentment to his nephew, till his army was ready to march, which he ordered Lermont to accompany to Scotland, lest otherwise he might give warning to his master, whom he designed to surprize before he was prepared to encounter him.

When the King was informed of the march of his i enemies, not being then ready to take the field, to gain time, he sent John Areskine to York, to the Duke of Norfolk, who was lieutenant general of King Henry's army, to domand the reasons of that invasion ; that if he had done any injustice to the King of England he was willing to make reparation, seeing war would be to both their losses. The Duke detained Areskine till his army came to Berwick, and would not suffer him to go into Scotland, though Areskine saw there was no hopes of peace, he got no positive answer from the Duke: the design of this was, that King James, expecting peace, might not be in readiness to resist him when he entered Scotland.

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The King being informed by his scouts, that the English army was within fifteen miles of the borders, he encamped the body of his army near Falla-Church, and ordered the Earl of Huntly to march before with 10,000 men to meet them; but he did nothing that was remarkable.

Though the Scotch army was out-numbered by the English, yet the King sought all occasions to bring it to a battle; but could not persuade his nobility to be willing, which highly enraged him, and to gain, if possible, upon them, he made the following speech:

Shall it ever be said that the nobility of Scotland have abandoned the service of their king, in the sight of the enemy, and when the two armies were ready to engage? Is it possible that you who have courted opportunities to show your bravery, that you now shall lose this occasion which offers, where you may purchase new laurels ? how unlike are you to those brave warriors, your predecessors, whose arms and names you bear, who were regardless of their lives when honour and the defence of their country invited them to war ? if the danger of your king is not argument enough to persuade you, let the safety of your native country move you, which is in danger of suffering all the inconveniencies of being the seat of the war, seeing your birth, your wives, and children, oblige you to spend your blood in their defence .: what have you to fear from the English army which is marching against you, seeing they are only new levied men, and undisciplined, which I could undertake to disperse with those of my household; but Lammore afraid of those amongst you, who are not determined as yet if they shall assist me in the time of theengagement; you ought to remember it was always a fixed principle with your worthy ancestors, that life is a punishment to those who have lost their honour. Rouse then your courage, and suffer not victory to escape us, which shall certainly be ours, if you discover any bravery at all upon this occasion; otherwise I shall publish your ingratitude, and leave it to posterity to judge whither cowardice or treason, has the greatest share in your thus deserting the service of your king.<sup>3</sup>

The king could not moderate his wrath, though. many of the nobility represented, that they had acquired reputation enough, in that with so small a force, and levied in such haste, they had stopt the progress of their enemies powerful and numerous army, which had been so long a preparing, and which designed no less than to over-run the whole country, which though it had been eight days on the frontiers, yet never durst advance one mile within it, they were not sensible that they had degenerated from the valour and merit of their forefathers, and should never give occasion to the king either to doubt of their courage or fidelity. But they desired his majesty to consider how dangerous it would be, both for his person, and kingdom, to hazard a battle at such an unfit time; he ought to remember Flodden Field, where rashness contributed more than any thing to the defeat, and lost the life of his father, and exposed their country to the mercy of his enemy: if he would be graciously pleased to listen to the advice of his faithful servants, and would suffer his affairs to be managed with patience, they could promuse him a sure victory.

It soon appeared that the advice of the nobility was very fit at that time ; for the Duke of Norfolk leaving Berwick, had entered Scotland, and crossed the river Tweed at Kelso, and did not think there was any Scotch army to oppose his march : but when news came to his camp, that King James was not six miles distant from him, with a considerable army and designed to give him battle, this unexpected account of matters so terrified his soldiers, a great part of which followed more upon the account of plunder than for fighting, that they repassed the river in great disorder, leaving behind them their arms and baggage, and returned to their houses. Huntly, who knew of this, made no advantage of that disorder, and did not pursue them ; so, from that time the king hated him. The Lord Maxwell, who earnestly desired to recover in the king's mind a good opinion of his nobility, came and proposed to his majesty, that if he would give him the command of 10,000 men, he would enter England by the way of Solway, which diversion would divide their enemies force, and doubted not but he should do some action that should please his majesty. This design was very like to turn to a good account, if it had not been ruined by the king's implacable aversion to the nobility ; for the king, after he gave the command to Maxwell,

a wise and experienced general, who detached a body of 10,000 men from the army, he then gave also a secret commission in writing to a young gentlemen, called Oliver St Clare, of no great family, and above all, who had no experience in any such matters, which strictly commanded all the army to acknowledge him for the king's lieutenant general, which commission Oliver was not to open till the two armies was about to engage ; his design in this was, that if that army routed the English, the nobility might pretend no share in the victory, whose pride above all things he desired to mortify. Maxwell passed the Solway, and was about to enter England, when there appeared on the top of a hill about 1500 of the enemies horse, about two miles from his army, and was then about to pursue them, when St. Clare, according to the king's orders, is presently mounted on crossed pikes, that, he might be seen by the army, and has his commission read with a loud voice : this unexpected turn of affairs, provoked all the soldiers so much, and especially Maxwell, that immediately they broke their ranks, and refused to obey the new general ; so confusion now prevailed instead of their former good order. The enemy perceiving this, improved it to their own advantage, and were resolved to attack them immediately whilst in disorder, before they were determined either to fight or retire; they charged them with great fury and a loud cry, whilst their suttlers, baggage, and servants, horse and foot

were all mixed together: few soldiers were killed in this encounter, but many were made prisoners. The news of this scandalous defeat when brought to the king, who was near at hand, almost distracted him; sometimes his thoughts was full of nothing but revenge against those who would not acknowledge St. Clare their general; at another time he was racked with indignation and shame for that scandalous misfortune, and resolved to levy a new army, and either to rout his enemies, or to lose his life.

But the prudent Queen, who perceived that the king was distempered with melancholy and chagrin, and that the present bad posture of affairs required a peace, she procured a truce by the mediation of the Earl of Angus, who for that good service, had liberty granted him to return into Scotland.

Upon the disbanding of the army the king came to Stirling, whether the Queen came also, and was brought the bed of a daughter called Mary, who was Queen of Scotland after her father's death; this was a considerable comfort to them in their late troubles: but the long watchings, the constant perturbation of mind, and grief which he had suffered for about four months, had so weakned the king, that at length he was taken with a loss of appetite, which hindered him from taking any nourishment, and that occasioned his death.

He was a comely prince, of an ordinary stature, but strong to a wonder; he was naturally a man of great abilities, of a penetrating judgment, and had made a greater figure in the world, if those gifts of nature had been cultivated by a good education; but it was the unhappiness of that time, that learning was thought unbecoming a great man: he was gracious, a lover of justice, and punished thieves severely: he could endure much fatigue, and suffer troubles with a great evenness or temper; the poor had as easy access to him as the great; but withal he was very much given to his pleasures.

Thus died King James, the fifth of that name, December 31, 1542, more hy grief than sickness, being in the flower of his youth, thirty-three years of age, after he had reigned thirty-two years.



#### THE

# NAVIGATION

OF

# KING JAMES V.

ROUND

# Scotland,

THE

ORKNEY ISLES.

AND THE

HEBRIDES, OR WESTERN ISLES.

UNDER THE CONDUCT OF THAT EXCELLENT PILOT ALEXANDER LINDSAY.

Methodized by Nicholas & Arville, the Chief Cosmographer to the French King.

DONE FROM THE FRENCH ORIGINAL, PRINTED AT PARIS, 1583.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR, 1710.



## (83)

The names, length and breadth of the Orkney Isles.

	Miles.	Miles.
Frank & S. M. C. Market &	Length.	Breadth.
Pomona	32	4, 5, & 6,
Swinna,	8	2
South Ronalsha, .	6	4
Burra,	1	1
Lambholm,	1	1 8.77
Swethay,	17	15
Flotta,	112	14
Waes,	10	8
Faira,	1	N IN
Westra,	7	21
Eda, · · ·	5	4
Sanda,	10	4, 8: 5
North-Renalsha,	2	1,00.5
Stronsa,	6	4
	6	4
Schapinsha,	0	0
Elgyne Holm,	0	0
Ewe,	0	
Inhallo,		0
Rousa,	6	4
Egilsha,	2	1
Gairsa,	2	1
Cowlensay,	1	05
Damsey,	01	1
Ноу,	6	4
Pappa of Stronsa,	0	0
Gairsa,	0	0
Pappa Westra,	0	0
Cowna,	0	0

The middle of the Orkney-Isles lies in Lat. 61. Min. 40. and Long. 30.

### ( 84 )

#### The Courses of the Tides from the Haven of Leith.

At Leith when it blows, the tides run S. S. W. and N. N. E.

From St Abb's-Head to the river of Humber, for two miles distance from the shore, the tide runs W. S. W. and E. N. E. at seven miles distance from land it is from E. to W.

#### The Flowings and Ebbings of the Sea from Leith to the River Humber.

From Leith to St Abb's-Head, when the moon is S. by W. it is full sea.

From Bamborough to the point of Flamborough, when the moon is W. by S. it is full sea.

From Hamborough to the river Humber, when the moon is E. or W. it is full sea.

#### The Courses from the Haven of Leith to the River Humber.

In sailing to the north, betwixt Leith and Kinghorn, the course to the Bass must be N. by E. and S. by W.

From the Bass to St Abb's-Head the course is

E. S. E. and W. N. W. St Abb's-Head, the Holy-Island, lies S. by E. and N. by W.

The course from the Holy-Island, amidst the staples, till you have passed the place called Pluk, and that called Suagmonde is S. S. E. And when you are straight within the channel, betwixt the Pluk and the Gouldstone, the castle of Bamborough will then be to you S. S. W.

From Suagmonde through the channel, betwixt Byndelness and Fern-Island, the course is E S. E. and sometimes S. E. by E. Byndelness and Hontliftrth lye S. E. by S. and N. W. by N.

From St Abb's-Head to shun the danger of the staples, the course must be E. S. E. The point of the W. of staples and Flamborough-Head lie S. E. by S. and N. W. and by N. Flamborough-Head and the river Humber lye S. S. E.

The distances from Leith to the Humber.

From Leith to St Abb's-Head 60 miles. From St Abb's-Head to Bynidelness 80. From Byndelness to Flamborough-Head 110. From Flamborough-Head to the Humber 40.

The havens, soundings and dangers, from Leith to Humber.

If you would stay in the road of Leith, cast an-H chor at N. W. or at W. N. W. straight against the town of Leith, and you shall have seven fathoms water at full sea, and three and a half at low water.

The first danger is called Staples, and lies N. E. from Bamborough, at a mile distance from the shore.

Out from Blyth, not far from the shore, lie the Souves and the Grises, which are two great dangers, six mile N. from Flamborough-Head.

At Whitby, one mile from the shore, lies a rock, called Whitby-Rock.

At the entry of the River Humber there is a danger called Stony-Bank, and on the S. a sand-bank, called Bull, don't come within seven fathoms of Stony-Bank.

The Courses of the Tides from the Haven of Leith, to Dungsby-Head in Ciathness.

From the road of Leith to the Isle of May, the tide runs S. S. W. and N. N. E.

From the point of the Fife, to the point called Red-Head along the coasts of Aberdeen to Buchaness, the tide runs S. S. W. and N. N. E.

From the coast of Aberdeen and Buchanness to Dungsby-Head, the tide runs S. and N.

The Flowings and Ebbings of the Sea, from Leith to Dungsby-Head.

Betwixt Leith and Kinghorn, when the moon is S. by W. it is full sea. At the point of Fife, when the moon is S. W. a little to the S. it is high water.

At Dundee, when the moon is S. W. by S. it is high water.

From Dundee to the point called Edde, on the coasts to Aberdeen, when the moon is S. by W. it is high water.

In the road of Murray, when the moon is S. by W. it is full sea.

At Inverness, when the moon is S. by W. it is full sea.

Along the coasts of Cathness, when the moon is S. by W. it is full sea.

At Wick in Cathness, when the moon is S. and by S. E. it is full sea.

The Courses from Leith to Dungsby-Head.

From the road of Leith to Inchkeith, the course is N. N. E.

From Inchkeith to the Isle of May, the course is N. E. and by E.

From Inchkeith to the point of Fife, the course is N. E. and by E.

The Isle of May, and the point of Fife, lie S. and N.

The point of Fife, and Red-Head, lie S. by W. and N. by E.

From the point of Fife, to the mouth of the river Tay, the course is N. by W.

The point called Red-Head, and Montrose, lie S. and N.

The coast of Aberdeen, Buchaness, and Torrisness, he S. S. E. N. N. W.

Buchaness and Torrisness, lie S. E. and N. W.

From Torrisness to Bamf, the course is W. by S.

From Bamf to the mouth of the river Spey the course is W.

From the coast of Murray to Inverness, the course is W. S. W.

From Torrisness to Cromarty, the course is W.

Buchaness and Dungsby-Head lie S. E. by S. and N. W. by N.

The Distances from Leith to Dungsby-Head.

From Leith to Inchkeith 4 miles. From Inchkeith to the 1sle of May 20. From the Isle of May to Fifeness 6. From Inchkeith to Fiseness 29. From Fifeness to the mouth of the river Tay 11. From the point of Fife to the Red-Head 19. From the Red-Head to the coast of Aberdeen 33. From the Red-Head to the coast of Aberdeen 33. From the coast of Aberdeen to the mouth of the small river called Ethan, or Ellone, 11. From Aberdeen to Buchaness 40. From Buchaness to Torrisness 20. From Torrisness to Bamf 20. From Bamf to the mouth of the river Spey 19. From the mouth of the river to Inverness 38. From the mouth of the same river to Cromarty 40. From Buchanness to Cromarty 100. From Buchanness to Tayne 70. From Tayne to a mountain called Urd 50. From Urd to the point of Ness 24. From the point of Ness to Dungsby-Head 12. From Buchanness to Dungsby-Head 120. From Leith to Dungsby-Head 280. From Leith to Wick 146.

#### The Havens, Soundings, and Dangers, betwixt Leith and Dungsby-Head.

If you would pass Fifeness, you must notice a danger called Carwick, which lies E. N. E. from the coast; the best way to avoid it is to have the steeple of Crail in your view.

If you would put into St Andrew's, cast anchor a mile from the town, where you shall find a good bottom and seven fathoms water.

If you would enter Dundee, keep the north side of the church upon the bar, and on the N. W. straight over against Brouchty, because there is a dangerous sand called Brumlaw.

Betwixt Fifeness and Red-head, 12 miles to the E. S. E. of Red-head, there lies a danger called Inchcop. If you would enter the haven of Montrose, hold to the south side of that entry, so you shall shun a bank of sand.

Upon the coast of Aberdeen, not far from the shore, lies a rock called the Girdill; if you would enter the harbour take three quarters of the tide with you, because there lies a dangerous bank of sand in the mouth of the river.

Above Aberdeen, twelve miles north, there is a river called Ethan, or Ellan, where is a safe harbour for small ships.

On the coast of Buchan, six miles north from Slanis, not far from the shore, there are dangerous rocks called Buchan-briggs.

Likewise on the coast of Crouden, middle way betwixt Buchan and Torrisness, three quarters of a mile from the shore, lie very dangerous rocks, called Ratry-Brizes.

On the coast of Philorth there are others, called Philorth-Briggs.

Along the coast of Murray there are many good roads for ships from ten to sixteen fathom of water.

The bay of Cromarty is the best haven in Britain; whatever winds or storms blow, ships can enter it at all times with the tide.

If you would enter the harbour of Tayne or Dorneck, take the point of the bank of sand, which lies at the mouth of the haven on the N. W. side.

From Taberthpes to the east of Dorneck, for three miles along the coasts of Sutherland, to a place call-

ed Urd, there are safe roads in all winds, except the E. S. E. and S.

The Courses of the Tides from Dungsbyhead in Cathness, to the Mule of Kintyre in Argyleshire.

Betwixt Dungsby-head and the point of Whiniknap, the tide runs S. S. E. and N. N. W.

Betwixt the Orkney Islands and Shetland, the tide runs S. E. and N. W.

Betwixt the point of Whiniknap, and the point of Wraith, along the coasts of Cathness and Strathnaver, the tides run E. S. E. and W. N. W.

From Loch-bayne to Gairloch and Loch-tersiurde, the tide runs N. by E. and S. by W.

Betwixt Roura and Kylarke, along the coasts, the tide runs E. and W.

From the Isle of Lewis and Barra, the tide runs E. and W.

From Kylra to Ardemurthen, by the Isles called Egg, Rum, Muck and Canna, the tide runs E. and W.

From Ardemurthen to Colmkill, along the coasts of Mule, Cardemburgh, Coll and Terray, the tide runs N. by E. and S. by W.

From Lochaber, along the coasts, among the Isles of Kerera, Lung, Coill, Sarbay, Dura, Oronsay and Cowlaus, the tide runs E. N. E. and W. S. W.

In the road of Ila, the tide runs S. and N. with great force.

Betwixt Ila and the Mule of Kintyre, the tide runs S. by E. and N. by W.

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The flowings and ebbings of the tides from Dungsby-head to the Mule of Kintyre.

In Pictland-frith and the Isles of Orkney, when the moon is S. E. by S. it is full sea.

Betwixt Arwhitin and the Stoir of Assin, when the moon is S. S. E. it is high water.

From the Stoir of Assin to Loch-Byrney, and by the coast of Lewis, when the moon is S. by E. it is full sea.

From Lock-Birney to Kilark, and Kilra, along the coasts of Sky, Wist, and Barra, when the moon is S. it is full sea.

From Ardemurthen along the coasts of Mnll, Coill, and Terray, when the moon is S. by W. it is full sea.

From Mull along the coasts of Lorne, and the Isles of Cauway, Loung, Cewill, and Scarba, when the moon is S. W. by S. it is full sea.

In the road of Ila, it is full sea when the moon is S. W.

From Ila, along the coast of Knapdale and Kintyre, to the Mule of Kintyre, it is full sea when the moon is S. W.

#### The Courses and distances from the point of Dungsby to the Mule of Kintyre.

From Dungsby-head, to the point of Mey upon the coast of Cathness, five miles, the course N. W. From the point of Mey to the point or Cape of Whiniknap six miles, the course is N. W. by W.

From the point of Whiniknap to the point of Hobrune six miles, the course W.

From the point of Hobrune to Braminsness, three miles, course W.

From Braminsness to Arquhitin, two miles, course W.

From Arquhitin to Fairhead, fifteen miles, course W.

From Fairhead to the Stoir of Assin, fifty miles course S. S. E.

From Assin to Roura, thirteen miles, course S. S. W.

From Roura to Lochbyrne, eight miles, course S. S. W.

From Lochbyrne to Lochow, thirteen miles, course S. S. W.

From Lochow to Gairloch, or Loch Ultertown, six miles, course S. S. W.

From Lochultertown to Brintilland, eight miles, course S. S. W.

From Brintilland to Kylark, fifteen miles, course S. E. by E.

From Kylark to Kylra, three miles, course E.

From Kylar to Ardemurthen, thirty-three miles, course S. S. W.

From Ardemurthen to Lismore, within the mouth of Lochaber, twenty two miles, the course is S. E. by E.

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From Lismore to Lochspell, ten miles, course S. S. E.

From Lochspell to Collansa, thirty-two miles, course S. S. W.

From Collansa to the road of Ila, ten miles, course S. by E.

From the road of Ila to the Mule of Kintyre, fourty-six miles, course S. by E.

From the south point of Dura to Lochtarbat in. Knapdale, fifteen miles, course E. by S.

The dangers, soundings and havens, from Dungsby-head to the Mule of Kyntyre, upon the coast of Scotland, and amongst the Isles.

Within the middle of Pictland-firth, betwixt Dungsby-head, and the Orkney Islands, there is a dangerous place when it is low water, it is called the Barr; to avoid it, the course must be N. W. of Dungsby-head, til. you come to the N. by E. of Stroma.

On the north end of Stroma, there is a very damgerous place called Soule, occasioned by the meeting of four or five contrary tides, where is a considerable eddy or whirlpool, which makes a deep and roaring gulf, the middle of which is very dangerous for all sorts of ships.

Betwixt Swynna and Ronaldsa, there is a very dangerous tide called Crelis. Half a mile from the point of May, there are dangerous rocks called the Beard of May.

If you would put in at Orkney, cast anchor S. or S. W. of Kirkwal, in the road, where you will find ten or twelve fathoms of water.

Betwixt Ronaldsay and Glomnysholm, there is an excellent Road called St Margaret's Hope.

Betwixt the point of Whiniknap, and the point of Sobrynne, there is a safe road called Scarbster.

From Scarbster towards the west, thirty-two miles in the Isle Martin, within the mouth of Doung, there is a good road, whatever winds or storms blow.

From Theure twelve miles to the west, there is a good road called Howipe.

There is another good road not far from the former, called Harriford, where ships may ride safely at anchor.

At the Isle of Coune, four miles west from Arquhitin, there is good anchorage for ships.

Also at the Isle of Ande, seventeen miles from the Stoir of Assin, likewise within the mouth of the straight of Kyle, and in the mouth of the Lochbyrne, Loch-hero, and Gairloch.

On the coast east from Benissa, and the E. N. E. part of Sky, and the Isles of Rona, Raarsa, and Scalpa, there is good anchorage

On the east side of Lewis, four miles from the shore, there are two isles, called Illen and Schaw, where there is shelter against all winds, except the S. E. If you would ride betwixt Burntisland and Kylark, hold to the east of the road over against the Castle of Stroma, where is eighty fathoms of water; and on the west side you find no bottom.

Kylra is a straight passage, where is a dangerous tide; if you put into the road of the Mule, overagainst the Castle of Arroisse, you shall find fafe anchorage of ten and fourteen fathoms of depth.

Kylark is also a straight passage; betwixt Kylark and Kylra there is a good road.

If you cast anchor at the Castle of Dewar, you shall find twenty-eight fathoms of water.

There is a good road against all winds, in the place called Calzow.

From the Mule to the road of Ulway, and also in Lochspell, and Isles of Carnera, Cywil, Lenyng, and Swinnay.

Betwirt Scarba and Dura there is the most dangerous tide in Europe, because of contrary tides which encounter there, and run betwirt the Mule of Kintyre and Ila, and passing through a strait channel, it runs with such violence upon the coast of Scarba, that it is thrown back upon the coasts of Dura, with a frightful noise: In returning it makes a deep and roaring whirlpool, which hinders all ships to enter; if they unluckily get in there, they are in great danger of being dashed in pieces; but the safeat time to pass that place, is either when the water is at the highest or at the lowest .ebb. This passage is commonly called Correbrekin.

The Tarbat of Dura is a good anchorage for ships,

( 97 ) as also the road of Ila, except that the tide runs with a strong current.

#### The Courses of the Tides from Kintyre to the Mule of Galloway.

At the Mule of Kintyre, and in the current betwixt the Mule, and the Isle of Rathleyn, the tide runs S. E. and N. W.

From Kintyre to the Point of Arglas, the tide runs N. N. E. and S. S. W.

At Sanday, the tide runs S. S. E. and N. N. W.

From the Ilse of Sanday along the coasts of Arran, Bute, and Camraise, to the mouth of the river ©lyde, the tide runs S. by E. and N. by W.

From Sanday to Loch-Reyan in Galloway, the tide runs S. E. and N. W.

At the Mule of Galloway, the tide runs S.E. and N. W.

On the coast of Galloway, the tide runs S. by W. and N. by E.

At Solway, the tide runs E. S. E. and W. N. W.

The Flowings and Ebbings of the Sea, from the Mule of Kintyre, along the Coasts of Carrick and Galloway, to the river of Solway.

At the Mule of Kintyre, when the moon is S. W. it is full sea. On the coast of Arran and Bute, when the moon is S. it is full sea.

From Irvine and Ayr, along the coast of Carrick, when the moon is S. by E. it is full sea.

At the Mule of Galloway, when the moon is S. it is full sea.

From the Mule of Galloway, along the coast to Solway, when the moon is S. by E. it is full sea.

#### Distances and Courses from the Mule of Kintyre to the River of Solway.

From Kintyre to Sanday, twelve miles

From Sanday to Arran, thirteen miles, the course is N. E.

From Arran to Bute, eight miles, the course is N. N. E.

From Bute to Dumbarton, nineteen miles, the oourse towards the N.

From Bute to Ayr, fifteen miles, course is E.S.E.

From Ayr to Loch-Reyan, forty miles, course S. W.

From Loch-Reyan to the Mule of Galloway, fifty four miles, course S. E.

From the Mule of Galloway to St Ninians, fourteen miles, course E. by N.

From St Ninians, alias Whitehorn, to the river of Crey, twelve miles, course N.

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From Crey to the river Dee, or Dii, eighteen miles, course E.

From Dee to the river of Nith, twenty-three miles, course W.

From Nith to the river of Annan, eight miles, course E. by N.

From Annan to the river Esk and Carlisle, thirteen miles, course E. by N.

#### The Harbours, Soundings, and Dangers between Kintyre and Solway.

On the coast of Arran to the isle Lamlach, you shall find good anchorage for all ships: and in that place there is another good road on the north side of Arran, at all times, which is called the Loch of Reunsay.

If you would enter the mouth of the river of Ayr, take three quarters of the tide with you; for the low water is dangerous, because the bottom is hard, and full of fint stones.

In Loch Reyan is a good harbour for all kinds of ships.

If you would ride at anchor at Wigton, steer to the N. upon the coast of Whithorn, till you come to the mouth of the river C. j, then cast anchor near the town within the mouth of Blaidnoch.

If you would enter the haven of Kircudbright, take half tide with you. If you would enter the river of Nith take the full tide, that you may shun a bank of sand which lies in the mouth of the harbour.

From the Mull of Galloway and the Isle of Man, when the moon is south it is full sea.

From the Isle of Man, to the road over against Arglas in Ireland, when the moon is south, it is full sea.

From the Mule of Galloway to the Isle of Man, twenty-four miles, the course is S. E.

FINIS.















