
MISSIONS
OF
DE LA
BROSSE

THIRD
SERIES

Scottish
History
Society



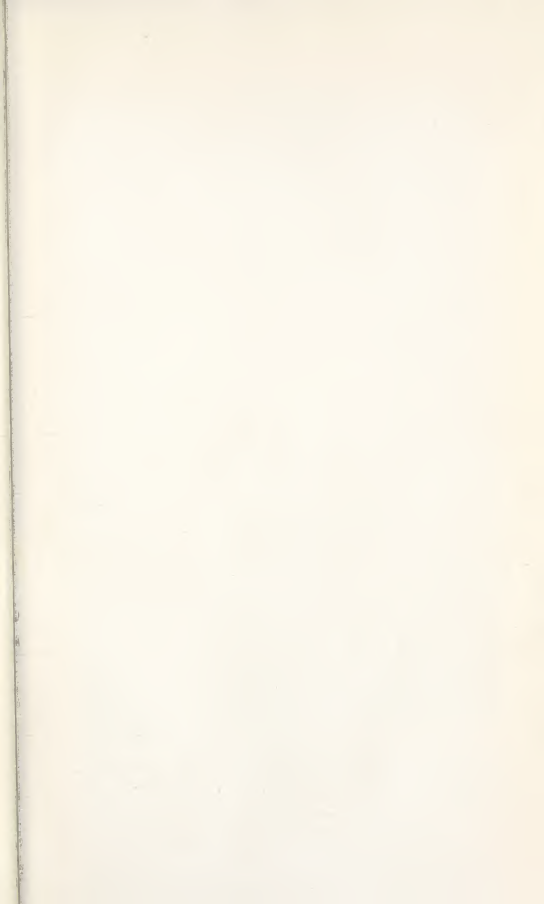
~~Ref. 54.~~
SCS. SHS. 117



PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY
THIRD SERIES
VOLUME
XXXVI



TWO MISSIONS OF
JACQUES DE LA BROSSE



TWO MISSIONS OF JACQUES DE LA BROSSE

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND
IN THE YEAR 1543

AND

THE JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE OF LEITH, 1560

Edited by

GLADYS DICKINSON, B.A., L. ès L.



EDINBURGH

Printed at the University Press by T. and A. CONSTABLE LTD.
for the Scottish History Society

1942



Printed in Great Britain

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xi
INTRODUCTION TO THE DISCOURS.	3
DISCOURS	16
INTRODUCTION TO THE JOURNAL	51
JOURNAL	56
INDEX	181

PREFACE

THE two documents here printed deal with the diplomatic and military missions of Jacques de la Brosse to Scotland in 1543 and 1560.¹

The first document, *Discours des affaires du Royaume descosse*, is printed from MSS. fonds français No. 17890, folios 29-34, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. A second version of the *Discours* also appears in the same collection, in MSS. fonds français No. 17330, folios 1-7; but a comparison of the two manuscripts clearly indicates that the version in No. 17330, with its alterations, erasures, and additions, is merely a rough draft of that in No. 17890. The *Discours* is a report, written jointly by the two envoys, La Brosse and Ménage.² The style of the final version suggests the work of the lawyer Ménage; and if that is so, the additions to the draft, which are in a different hand, may be the work of the soldier La Brosse. Be that as it may (and the inference is conjectural only), the additions and corrections to the draft are of interest and importance. They have accordingly been printed in full in the notes to the text. In this way it is possible to see how the amended version of the *Discours* took shape.

This method of presenting our document (as opposed

¹ In the title to the *Discours* he describes himself as 'seigneur de la Brosse, eschansson du Roy'—i.e. 'cupbearer.' The *Diurnal of Occurrents* (p. 28) calls him 'M^r Cowpar.' For a useful biography of La Brosse, see Jules de la Brosse, *Histoire d'un capitaine bourbonnais au XVI^e siècle, Jacques de la Brosse*. (Paris, 1929.)

² In the title to the *Discours* he describes himself as 'docteur es droictz, seigneur de Caigny, conseiller du Roy.'

to the alternative method of printing the draft in an appendix), while making one comparison easy has made others more difficult. Had the notes been further extended to include, for comparative purposes, references to other contemporary accounts, they would have become overburdened. Accordingly, in the editing of the *Discours* the more important comparative notes have been included in the Introduction, which provides a brief survey of the historical background of the ambassadors' report.

Our second document, the *Journal*, by an unidentified author, is printed from *Mémoires et documents, Angleterre*, rég. 15, folios 154-182, in the Archives of the Foreign Office, Paris. The mistakes and corrections made in the text show that it is a copy only ; the original *Journal* has not been discovered. Father Pollen, in his Introduction to *Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots*,¹ conjectures that the originals of the documents in this Register, dealing chiefly with the affairs of Mary of Lorraine, may have been brought to France when the body of the Regent was transferred there after the Treaty of Edinburgh in June 1560. This would certainly be one explanation of the fact that all the copies in the Register are written in a French hand on French paper. In the same place, Father Pollen mentions, in particular, a diary of the fighting around Leith, and concludes : 'The whole manuscript deserves to be printed.'

This diary—our *Journal*—is now printed for the first time. In the case of the *Journal*, however, where we have only the one manuscript, it has been possible to provide a full critical apparatus in the notes to the text, giving references there to other contemporary accounts both Scottish and English. There was thus no necessity to

¹ Scottish History Society, First Series, vol. xxxvii. (1901), p. cxxxviii.

include in the Introduction to the *Journal* any account of the background of the events it records, and this latter Introduction is therefore appreciably shorter than that provided for the *Discours*.

It may be that in editing our two documents in this way there emerges an apparent lack of balance between the two Introductions; but it seemed the best method of securing our main purpose—to enable the reader to appreciate with greater ease the true value of each document.

In both documents some of the corrupt forms of place-names and personal names could not be identified with certainty. Where they could be identified, the modern equivalent has been given in square brackets in the text. Notes on unusual French words and on textual difficulties have been added in small type at the foot of the page and continued where necessary on the page opposite.

Finally, I would like to express my indebtedness to Mr. H. M. Paton, Curator of the Historical Department, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, to Mr. J. Beveridge, Editor of the Register of the Privy Seal, and to my brother, Dr. W. Croft Dickinson, for much help willingly accorded in various aspects of my work.

G. DICKINSON.

ST. ANDREWS,

October 1941.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A.P.S.</i>	. . .	<i>Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland.</i> (Record edition.)
<i>Accts. Treas.</i>	. . .	<i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.</i>
Cameron	. . .	<i>The Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, 1542-1560.</i> (Scottish History Society.)
<i>C.F.E.</i>	. . .	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth.</i> Vol. ii. 1559-1560 ; vol. iii. 1560-1561.
<i>Diurnal</i>	. . .	<i>Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, 1513-1575.</i> (Bannatyne Club.)
<i>Henry VIII.</i>	. . .	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.</i> 1509-1547.
Holinshed	. . .	<i>Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland.</i> 1577 edition.
Knox, <i>Hist. Ref.</i>	. . .	<i>History of the Reformation in Scotland, in Works,</i> vols. i. and ii. (Wodrow Society.)
Leslie	. . .	<i>The Historie of Scotland.</i> (Scottish Text Society.)
Paris	<i>Négociations sous François I.</i> (Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (1ère série).)
Pitscottie	. . .	<i>Historie and Cronicles of Scotland.</i> (Scottish Text Society.)
Rymer	. . .	<i>Fœdera.</i> 1712 edition, folio.
<i>S.H.R.</i>	. . .	<i>Scottish Historical Review.</i>
<i>Spanish Calendar.</i>	. . .	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Spanish.</i>
Stow	. . .	<i>The Annales of England.</i> 1605 edition.
Teulet	. . .	<i>Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse, au xvi^e siècle.</i> 1862 edition.



DISCOURS DES AFFAIRES DU
ROYAUME DESCOSSE

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIRS OF
SCOTLAND IN THE YEAR 1543 BY
JACQUES DE LA BROSSE AND
JACQUES MÉNAGE

INTRODUCTION TO THE DISCOURS

THE interest and value of the *Discours des affaires du Royaume descosse* lies in its account of the state of Scotland, social, military and political, in the autumn of 1543.

With the rout of Solway Moss and the death of James v. Scotland faced a crisis. A lost battle and the beginning of a long minority found the country at the mercy of the English forces; in the words of Sir George Douglas, Scotland seemed almost theirs 'for the taking.' Fortunately inclement weather saved Scotland from serious invasion, but it could not save her from dangers nearer home. While over the Border, at Alnwick, the English army lay inactive, at home the question of the regency was actively pursued. Indications of the difficulties ahead were at once apparent. The first move came from Beaton, who produced a will, purporting to have been made by the late king, and stated that he had been appointed Regent, with James, Earl of Moray, George, Earl of Huntly, and Archibald, Earl of Argyll.¹ But even as Beaton proposed to take over the government, other forces quickly manifested themselves. Beaton was set aside; on the 3rd of January Arran was proclaimed Governor; on the 20th of the same month Beaton was imprisoned; and on the 13th of March Arran's appointment as Governor was confirmed by Parliament.²

Henry VIII. now sent back to Scotland the prisoners

¹ See Andrew Lang, 'The Cardinal and the King's Will,' in *S.H.R.*, vol. iii. (1906); and Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. p. 93; also Leslie, ii. p. 264.

² *A.P.S.*, ii. pp. 411, 413. See also Pitcottie, ii. p. 5; Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. p. 95; and *Henry VIII.*, xviii. i. 273, 281.

taken at Solway Moss so that they could support his project of an early marriage between Prince Edward and the infant Mary. More than that, certain of them had signed secret articles binding themselves, in the event of Mary's death, to help Henry to take over the government of Scotland.¹ Arran was in favour of the marriage. There was a strong, or at any rate an urgent English party, now reinforced by the arrival of Henry's envoy, Sadler, who reached Edinburgh on the 18th of March,² after the meeting of the Estates which had considered, amongst other matters, the proposed marriage between Henry VIII.'s son and Mary. Ambassadors were chosen to go to England to discuss the marriage and to present the Scottish conditions.³

All this was anathema to Beaton, still in prison, charged with having forged the King's will, of having appropriated royal revenues and pensions received from France, and of having been in communication with the French for the purpose of procuring help against the English and those who were favourable to them in Scotland.⁴ No proof was brought forward in support of these accusations, though no one could doubt that the Cardinal's policy had been demonstrably opposite to that of the English party.

Affairs were critical; and the imprisoned Beaton con-

¹ See *Diurnal*, p. 26; Pitscottie, ii. pp. 2, 3; Leslie, ii. p. 265. Also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. i. 3. 1st Jan.—Chapuis to the Queen of Hungary; and 44. 15th Jan.—Chapuis to Charles v. Also *ibid.*, i. 7, 22, 23. 4th and 9th Jan.—Henry VIII. to the Council of Scotland and to Southwell.

² See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. p. 101; Pitscottie, ii. p. 6; Leslie, ii. p. 266. Also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. i. 271.—Sadler's Instructions.

³ See *A.P.S.*, ii. pp. 411, 413; Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. p. 102. See also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. i. 305. 20th March—Sadler to Henry VIII.

⁴ See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. p. 97; *Diurnal*, p. 26; Leslie, ii. p. 265; Pitscottie, ii. pp. 7, 8. See also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. i. 88. 28th Jan.—Lisle to Suffolk; and *ibid.*, i. 87, 150, and 288. 28th Jan., 12th Feb., and 17th March—Chapuis to the Queen of Hungary.

trived to send messengers to France representing the gravity of the position, the peril which threatened the Church and the extreme danger, to the French interests in Scotland, of the projected English marriage. He urged the necessity of an immediate supply of money, arms and soldiers.

Then, towards the end of March, with the connivance of his keepers, Beaton regained his liberty,¹ and at once began to further the French interests with renewed vigour. In this he was helped by the Earl of Lennox, who had lately come from France. Beaton and Lennox were leading no losing cause. The greater part of the nobility, according to Sadler, were in favour of the old alliance with France; 'the whole realm,' he wrote, 'murmureth that they would rather die than break the old leagues with France.'

Moreover, a new factor, the religious question, had already come into play. The interests of the French party were identified with the maintenance of the Catholic religion, which was being threatened by the ecclesiastical policy of Henry VIII. and the spread of Reform. The presence of the Papal Legate, Grimani, in Scotland, at the same time as La Brosse and Ménage, testifies to the interest that the Pope and others were taking in a country which might at any moment be lost to the Catholic Church and won over to Protestantism and Henry VIII. Grimani reports a conversation with the Queen Dowager: '... the kingdom was not only divided between her and some of the nobles, but also divided on account of the Lutherans,

¹ See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. p. 97; *Diurnal*, p. 27; Pitscottie, ii. p. 8. See also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. i. 334. 30th March—Henry VIII. to Sadler; 338. 31st March—Sadler to the English Council; 395. 12th April—Sadler to Henry VIII. Also *Spanish Calendar*, vi. ii. 139. 17th May—Chapuy to the Queen of Hungary.

whose errors had become disseminated throughout almost the whole country since the death of the King, her husband, and the confinement of the Most Reverend Cardinal. In addition to all this, she declared that the King of England, by means of some Scottish nobles, did not cease to harass her more than her strength could bear. And that, had it not been for the Cardinal . . . she and her daughter would ere now have been in the hands of the King of England, with the certain loss of her kingdom.'¹ But it was to be some time before the alignment of the new forces took place and all its consequences were to be fully understood.

Meanwhile, the new alliance with England was proceeding unchecked. On the 1st of July treaties of pacification and marriage were signed at Greenwich.² But almost immediately thereafter the opposition became much more active. Sadler heard in July that the Cardinal and his party intended to meet on the 20th of the month with all their forces at Stirling, proceed to Linlithgow, take possession of the young Queen's person and put down the Governor.³ On the 21st of July, Mary was removed to Stirling by Lennox, Huntly and Argyll, and placed in the care of four lords. In some quarters it was presumed that Beaton and the lords of the French party had accepted the English marriage. But the very opposite was the case. On the 24th of July, the Cardinal had entered into a secret 'band' to prevent Mary's removal to England.⁴ Arran, if we may believe him, knew nothing of the 'band'

¹ Letter rv. 15th Oct.—Grimani to Cardinal Farnese—in 'Letters of the Papal Legate in Scotland, 1543,' edited by R. K. Hannay in *S.H.R.*, vol. xi. (1914). See also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 299. 24th Oct.—Grimani to Dandino. Cf. *Discours*, Article 1.

² See *A.P.S.*, ii. pp. 425, 426. See also Rymer, vol. xiv. pp. 786-796.

³ See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. p. 108; and *Henry VIII.*, xviii. i. 897 and 938. 16th and 22nd July.—Sadler to Henry VIII. Cf. *Discours*, Article 1.

⁴ See *Henry VIII.*, xviii. i. 945.

until Sadler showed him a copy. Intrigue was wrapped within intrigue until the English ambassador was wholly unable to disentangle the skein. Jealousy, suspicion, fear and untruth abounded; the spirit of mistrust was everywhere abroad, and he knew not what to write.

The treaties of marriage and pacification were ratified with great solemnity in the Abbey Church of Holyrood on the 25th of August.¹ On the 29th of August, Arran still professed himself devoted to the English interests.² Yet five days later, on the 3rd of September, he joined the Cardinal at Stirling, publicly embraced the Catholic faith, renounced the treaties with England and left his eldest son as pledge in Beaton's hands.³

The revolution in Arran's conduct may have been largely due to the influence brought to bear upon him by his brother, the Abbot of Paisley, and the Cardinal. Doubtless pride, patriotism, weakness and jealousy all played their part, while personal motives were not lacking. The Queen Dowager had signed an agreement with Lennox to further his marriage with her daughter, subject to the approval of the Estates; ⁴ Arran probably cherished similar ambitions for his son, for whom he had already refused Henry VIII.'s offer of a marriage with his daughter Elizabeth, and for himself the position, subject to Henry's suzerainty, of 'King beyond the Firth.'⁵ Further, the Earl of Lennox had been put forward by the French as the rightful heir, after Mary, to the throne; and Arran was

¹ See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. p. 103; and *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 72. 24th Aug.—Sadler to Suffolk; *ibid.*, ii. 76, 77 and 78. 25th Aug.—Arran to Henry VIII.; and *ibid.*, ii. 79. 25th Aug.—Sadler to Henry VIII. Cf. *Discours*, Article 4.

² See *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 94. 29th Aug.—Sadler to Henry VIII.

³ See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. p. 109; and *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 127, 128. 4th Sept.—Sadler to Suffolk.

⁴ See *Discours*, Article 9.

⁵ See *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 9. 4th Aug.—Henry VIII. to Sadler.

not considered legitimate by Protestants or by Catholics, because of the uncertain validity of his mother's marriage and the peculiar circumstances of his father's divorce, pronounced in 1504 but repeated in similar terms in 1509.¹

Arran, whose position had always been uncertain, and whose governorship had been far from popular, partly because of the unpopularity of the English alliance, now found himself in a much stronger position after joining the Queen and the Cardinal. They, too, found that their position was strengthened, in that the Governor held all the strongholds except Dumbarton, and was by nature much more amenable and docile and more likely to follow their counsels than Lennox.²

Lennox, seeing Arran in such favour with the French party and his own fortunes thereby threatened, now began to listen to the other side. The English party spoke of a marriage with Henry VIII.'s niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Angus and Margaret, widow of James IV., with proper provision to compensate him for losses incurred in France, together with the prospect of supplanting the Governor and of receiving the government of Scotland himself.³

¹ Arran's father had married Elizabeth Home, wife of Thomas Hay, who had gone abroad and was believed to be dead. Janet, daughter of Sir David Beaton of Creich, was his second wife, by whom he had his son James, Earl of Arran, born during the lifetime of his father's divorced wife. (See *Scots Peerage*, vol. iv. pp. 358, 359, 360, 366.) Cf. *Discours*, Articles 3 and 9.

² See *Discours*, Article 9. See also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 275. 13th Oct.—Sadler to Henry VIII.—where Sadler says the same.

³ See *Discours*, Articles 3 and 11. See also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 202. 20th Sept.—Sadler to Henry VIII.: '... Lennox, from being a good Frenchman, is become a good Englishman.' See *ibid.*, ii. 275; also Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, i. p. 110) says: 'and so begane [Lennox] to drawe a factioun aganis the Governour; and in haterent of the otheris inconstancie, many favored him in the begynning.' See also *S.H.R.*, vol. xi. pp. 14-16. 9th Oct. Letter III.—Grimani to Cardinal Farnese.

These developments and the change in Lennox's politics were totally unknown to the French envoys and to the Papal Legate, all of whom had left Brest on the 27th September and had disembarked at Dumbarton on the 6th October, after an uneventful journey, despite Henry VIII.'s threats to capture the Legate.¹ Believing that Lennox was still a faithful friend to France, the ambassadors conferred with him at Dumbarton, and left in his hands a considerable sum of money and a quantity of munitions landed from their ships—and this despite a protest from Grimani that they should not do so until they had heard from the Queen and the Cardinal.²

La Brosse and Ménage then set out for Stirling to join the Queen Dowager and the Cardinal, Grimani having gone on before. At Glasgow they were stopped by partisans of the Earl of Lennox, to whom they explained their errand with such firmness and dignity that they were allowed to proceed.³

As they passed through the countryside their first impressions were that Scotland was a country rent with strife; factions abounded; each man mistrusted his neighbour, so that noblemen, churchmen and the country folk travelled about on their business fully armed and in companies. Grimani says the same in his letters of the

¹ Details of the voyage in the ships *La Françoise*, *La Madeleine*, *La Catherine*, *Le Jacques* are found in the earlier folios of our MS. (fonds français 17890, folios 18-23). See *S.H.R.*, vol. xi. pp. 14-16. 9th Oct. Letter III.—Grimani to Cardinal Farnese. See also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 257. 6th Oct.—Sadler to Suffolk; and Cameron, p. 34. Cf. *Discours*, Article 19.

² See *Discours*, Articles 8, 11 and 12. See also *S.H.R.*, vol. xi. pp. 16-18. 9th and 15th Oct. Letters III. and IV.—Grimani to Cardinal Farnese.

³ See *Discours*, Article 5. See also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 282. 16th Oct.—Sadler to the English Council—where Sadler writes: '[He] sees not that they intend to take the Legate and Ambassador prisoners, but to honour them as ambassadors.'

9th and 19th of October: ' . . . the kingdom is so divided and in such confusion that if God does not stretch forth his hand, and inspire these lords to unite together, manifest ruin, both public and private, lies before it.' . . . ' to tell it briefly, this realm is so divided and confused, and full of heresy, that, unless God provide for it, we shall shortly hear of Scotland what we have heard of England.' ¹

When the ambassadors had spoken with Lennox at Dumbarton he had protested that he was ready to live and die in the service of the Most Christian King, and that he was associating with the nobles of the English faction only in the hope of winning them over to the French party.² The envoys reached Stirling on the 17th of October, and received from the Queen and the Cardinal a detailed explanation of the reconciliation with Arran.³ Lennox, who had promised at Dumbarton to follow them in two or three days, arrived on the 24th and thereupon, endorsing the statement he had made to the ambassadors, signed a 'paction' with the Queen and the Cardinal, in which he promised allegiance to France and to the Catholic religion; in return he was to receive the hand of Mary and the government of the realm.⁴ But when La Brosse

¹ See *S.H.R.*, vol. xi. p. 15. 9th Oct.—Letter III. and *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 299. 19th Oct.—Grimani to Dandino. Cf. *Discours*, Articles 2 and 6.

² See *Discours*, Article 8. See also *S.H.R.*, vol. xi. p. 15. 9th Oct.—Letter III.; and Cameron, p. 39.

³ See *Discours*, Article 9. See also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 288. 18th Oct.—Sadler to the Council: 'Yesterday the French ambassadors had access to the Dowager and the Governor.' See also *ibid.*, ii. 323. 30th Oct.—Same to Same: 'The French ambassador labours to interrupt the marriage between the Prince and the young Queen, to win noblemen to the devotion of France, and to make extreme war between these realms.'

⁴ See *Discours*, Article 10. The 'paction' is given by La Brosse, *op. cit.*, pp. 320, 321. See also *Historical MS. Commission*, Report ix. p. 414, under the date August 1548, *Memorandum signed and sealed by Lennox of the promises made by him to Madame Marie de France.*

suggested that the money left in Lennox's charge at Dumbarton should be transferred to Stirling to be distributed among the nobility faithful to France, Lennox refused to do anything in the matter until after the meeting of Parliament called for December.¹ Lennox, in point of fact, was trying to sit in both camps.

Turning their attention to Arran, the French envoys found him full of zeal and more than ready to institute measures against the English faction. On the 1st of November Lord Somerville and Lord Maxwell were taken prisoner in Edinburgh.² George Douglas was a fugitive, and his house taken over by Arran.³ The Cardinal and the Governor passed through Fife and Angus, where they were met by a deputation from the citizens of Dundee, seeking forgiveness for their destruction of the 'Friary.'⁴ Sadler retired to Tantallon, the stronghold of the Douglasses, uttering fearful threats of what his master would do to bring the stubborn, stiff-necked Scots into subjection to his will.⁵

With this reassertion of old policies, La Brosse and

¹ See *Discours*, Articles 11 and 12. See also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 299. 24th Oct.—Grimani to Dandino; and *ibid.*, ii. 302. 25th Oct.—Sadler to the Council: '... The French ambassador remains with the Queen at Stirling; where Lynoux himself has also been, but they agree not all the best.'

² See *Discours*, Article 14. See also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 328. 1st Nov.—Sadler to Suffolk: '... This shows that ... the other party sleepeth not; and now, it is thought, the game will begin.' See also *ibid.*, ii. 343. 6th Nov.—Sadler to the Council; 349. 7th Nov.—Suffolk to the Council; 364. 10th Nov.—Sadler to Suffolk; 378. 13th Nov.—Sadler to the Council. Also Leslie, ii. p. 274; and Cameron, pp. 29, 43, 49, 50-53.

³ See *Discours*, Articles 14 and 16. See also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 353. 8th Nov.—Sadler to Suffolk; and *ibid.*, ii. 364. 10th Nov.—Same to same; and *Diurnal*, p. 29.

⁴ See *Discours*, Article 14. See also Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. p. 114.

⁵ See *Discours*, Articles, 16, 17, 18. See also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 343, 378. 6th and 13th Nov.—Sadler to the Council; and *ibid.*, ii. 397 and 429. 17th and 26th Nov.—Arran to Angus.

Ménage, fearing an immediate invasion of Scotland by the English, urged on the French King the necessity of sending trained soldiers, munitions, money and provisions to help the Scots. Although the Scots could put into the field several thousand men, these would be only feudal levies, raised by the nobles, who could neither pay them nor retain them in the field.¹

The ambassadors, however, were not solely concerned with such matters as these; matrimonial affairs also engaged their attention. In November, according to Sadler, rumour had credited the Cardinal with a scheme for divorcing Arran and marrying him to the Queen Dowager.² But La Brosse and Ménage refer to another scheme. Their report speaks of Lennox as a suitor, and the proposed marriage between Lennox and Mary of Lorraine seems to have met with their approval. They suggest that as Lennox was the main cause of all the discord in Scotland, it would be a good thing to recall him to France ostensibly to discuss the marriage.³

This suggestion in their report is, we should note, quite different from yet another scheme referred to by the Papal Legate, a scheme which Grimani protests had been proposed by the ambassadors themselves, without consulting him, although his Most Christian Majesty had given orders that they should communicate to the Legate all that happened daily, and that they should do nothing without his knowledge, advice and express desire. This

¹ See *Discours*, Articles 27, 29 and 30 and notes to Article 11. In *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 378, 13th Nov., Sadler, writing to the Council, mentions that La Brosse has promised 6,000 lance-knights at the French king's wages and also money for the wages of 10,000 Scotsmen, and all aid by sea and land.

² See *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 364. 10th Nov.—Sadler to Suffolk.

³ See *Discours*, Article 21. See also Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. p. 110; Pitscottie, ii. p. 16; and Cameron, p. 68.

scheme, according to Grimani, was nothing less than to depose Arran and make the Queen Dowager Regent. 'I think,' writes Grimani, 'the ambassadors entered into this intrigue for the sake of exalting the Earl of Lennox.'¹ Grimani makes no mention of the proposed marriage between Lennox and the Queen Dowager. In no part of the *Discours* is there any word or hint of the scheme referred to by Grimani. In relation to the Regency, it may be that the envoys saw the danger of disturbing the existing government when the country was so unsettled. It seems strange that the ambassadors should wish to exalt Lennox, when in their report they see Lennox as the main mischief-maker and would have him safely in France. The more likely explanation is that Grimani had no clear grasp of the true state of affairs. He is definitely wrong when he states that the French envoys wished to exalt Lennox. The whole tenor of the *Discours* shows that they mistrusted Lennox from the time of their first interview with him; and their references to him are throughout unfavourable.² To them he is the cause of the dissension in Scotland and the rallying point for disaffection—a view which is generally supported by the other evidence available.

It is interesting to note that La Brosse and Ménage seem to have seen quite clearly the political implications of the rivalry between Arran and Lennox. Grimani, even by December, does not seem to have grasped the intricacies of the situation and certainly could not have been in the confidence of the French envoys. Otherwise, how

¹ See *S.H.R.*, vol. xi. pp. 17, 23, 24, Letters iv. and vi. 15th Oct. and 11th Dec.—Grimani to Cardinal Farnese. On the subsequent attempt made by the Dowager to assume the Regency, see *The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, vol. III. (1542-1548), edited by Hay Fleming and J. Beveridge (1936), pp. xviii to xxv; and Cameron, pp. 60-65.

² See *Discours*, Articles 9, 12, 21, 22 and note on Article 32.

could he write on the 11th of December: 'As regards the alliance with France, I hope that all will turn out favourably. . . . And may God pardon the French ambassadors who have endeavoured to disturb it and continue to do so to the extent of their power, taking every pains to create discord between the Queen, the Cardinal, and the Regent!' ¹ The *Discours* shows that their purpose was the very opposite, and that they realised the importance of securing peace in Scotland and the renewal of the old alliance.

If we compare the *Discours* with Sadler's letters, we see that Sadler was fairly fully informed about events up to the time he went to Tantallon. But he does not seem to have seen as clearly as did La Brosse and Ménage the extent and possible results of Lennox's intrigues; nor to have realised the reasons why each party attached such importance to his allegiance. Henry VIII., to judge by his letters to Sadler, seems to have seen further than his ambassador. He had never underestimated the abilities of the Cardinal, and, being fully aware of the weak and vacillating character of the Governor, had frequently warned the English party against delay in action.

The *Discours* is thus of interest and value in its relation of the role played by Lennox. At the same time it is not improbable that the successful renewal of the alliance with France, in spite of the activities of the English faction, was due in no small measure to the endeavours of these two French envoys prior to the meeting of Parliament on the 8th of December.

On the 11th of December La Brosse and Ménage delivered their message from Francis I., who was represented as anxious for the renewal of the old league with France.

¹ See *S.H.R.*, vol. xi. p. 23. Letter vi. 11th Dec.—Grimani to Cardinal Farnese.

The Anglo-Scottish Treaty was annulled, and on the 15th of December the old alliance with France was renewed.¹ For the moment the French cause had triumphed; for a time the Auld Alliance and the Auld Kirk stood together against the auld enemy and the new faith.

¹ See *A.P.S.*, ii. pp. 431, 432. See also *Henry VIII.*, xviii. ii. 499; and Teulet, i. pp. 119-123; also *S.H.R.*, vol. xi. pp. 24, 25, Letter vi. 11th Dec.—Grimani to Cardinal Farnese.

DISCOURS

29 r DISCOURS DES AFFAIRES DU ROYAUME DESCOSSE
DEPUYS LE JOUR QUE NOUS JACQUES DE LA
BROUSSE SEIGNEUR DUDICT LIEU ESCHANSSON
DU ROY ET JACQUES MESNAIGE DOCTEUR ES
DROICTZ SEIGNEUR DE CAIGNY CONSEILLER DU-
DICT SEIGNEUR ET SES AMBASSADEURS AUDICT
ROYAUME SOMMES ARRIVEZ À DOMBERTRAN
¹JUSQUA CE JOUR¹.*

Article 1 Le seigneur conte de lesnaux² [Lennox] Nous a dict
Que la Royne et le Reverendissime cardinal de saint andre
avoient este mis prisonniers par le Gouverneur de ce
Royaume Et du depuys par la force dicelluy ³dict³ conte
avoient este mis en liberte depuys⁴ quilz ont ⁵recouvre⁵
liberte Ils ont prins a leur amyti le dict gouverneur
enemy dudict conte. Et lequel gouverneur avoit voullu
livrer es mains du Roy dangleterre ladicte dame ⁶avec⁶ la
petite Royne sa fille et ledict S^r Cardinal. A Raison de
quoy plusieurs ⁷seigneurs⁷ du Royaume tres mal contens
ont entrepris hoster ledict gouverneur dudict gouverne-
ment et mettre en sa place ledict conte. Aussi nous a dict
ledict conte quil a gaigne au service du Roy plusieurs
seigneurs de ce Royaume qui estoient au precedent servi-
teurs du Roy dangleterre. Et quil nous feroit congnoistre
quil feroit service au Roy.

Article 2 ⁸Nous avons entendu pour certain que deux seigneurs
des isles sauvaiges pres de dombertran avoient cinq ou
six mil hommes sauvaiges faisans chacun Jour courses
et degastz tant par feu que aultrement sur les terres et

* The text here printed is that of MS. français 17890. Variant readings
etc. in MS. 17330 are given in the footnotes in italics. (See Preface, p. vii.)

¹⁻¹ omitted.

² *le second jour que nous avons parle ensemble* added above the line.

(Translation)

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE REALM OF SCOTLAND FROM THE DAY THAT WE, JACQUES DE LA BROSSÉ, SEIGNEUR OF THAT SAID PLACE, CUP-BEARER TO THE KING, AND JACQUES MÉNAGE, DOCTOR OF LAWS, SEIGNEUR OF CAIGNY, MEMBER OF HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCIL, ARRIVED AT DUMBARTON AS AMBASSADORS TO THE SAID REALM, UNTIL THIS DAY.

The Earl of Lennox has informed us that the Queen Article 1 and the right reverend Cardinal of St. Andrews had been made prisoner by the Governor of this realm; that by the power of this said Earl they had since been set at liberty; and that since they recovered their freedom they have made friends with the said Governor, enemy of the said Earl. This Governor had tried to deliver into the hands of the King of England the said lady with the young queen, her daughter, and the said Cardinal. Several of the nobility of this realm, not liking this, have undertaken to remove the said Governor from the said government and to put in his place the said Earl. This Earl has also told us that he has won over to the service of the King [of France] several nobles of this realm who were previously in the service of the King of England. He said that he would prove to us that he would serve the King [of France].

We have heard, for a certainty, that two lords of the Article 2 Isles, near Dumbarton, had five or six thousand wild men who each day carried out raids and wrought havoc by fire or other ways, on the lands and subjects of the

³⁻³ omitted.

⁴ *lequel temps.*

⁵⁻⁵ *recouvert.*

⁶⁻⁶ *avecques.*

⁷⁻⁷ omitted.

⁸⁻⁸ Article 13. See note at the end of Article 8 for the rest of the article.

subjectz du conte darguyl [Argyll] escossoys Contre lequel Ilz estoient en querelle⁸. La Royne descosse veufve du feu Roy le cardinal de saint andre le gouverneur dudict Royaume ledict conte darguyl le conte dontelay [Huntly] et le conte baudovel [Bothwell] estoient unys ensemble et se frequentoient souvent.

Article 3 Ledit conte de lesnaux¹ suivoit ordinairement le conte dangoux [Angus] Georges duglars [Douglas] le conte de guildare [Glencairn] le conte de cassal [Cassilis] les seigneurs de maxolles [Maxwell] Somerolles [Somer-ville] Cherodar [Sheriff of Ayr] et plusieurs aultres de tout temps tres Affectionnez serviteurs du Roy dangleterre Lesquelz du vivant du feu Roy descosse estoient fugitifz en angleterre. Ne suivoient la Royne ny les aultres seigneurs desnommez au premier article Mays avoient particuliere volonte et tenoient leur bande et conseil separement et y avoit plus dung moys quilz ny aucuns deulx avoient veu la Royne et avoient persuade audict conte de lesnaux quilz vouloient par ladvis des estatz du pays priver du gouvernement ledict gouverneur pourceque depuys quil a gouverne Il a este fauteur dhereticques Et davantaige A prodigallement consume tous les biens meubles du feu Roy qui estoient de valleur de plus de iii^c M.L. [troys cens mil livres]. Et davantaige ont persuade audict lesnaux que ledict gouverneur estoit bastard et tous les enfans du pere dudict gouverneur Et a ce moien que le dict ²conte² de lesnaux estoit³ plus prochain du sang pour succeder audict Royaume. Et pour plus moiennner le dict de lesnaux a mettre sa confidence en eulx Ilz luy offroient donner en mariaige la fille du dict conte dangoux niepce du Roy dangleterre ⁴avecques⁴ ix^{xx} M.L. en argent et promesse dudict Roy dangleterre de faire par force ledict conte de lesnaux gouverneur.

Article 4⁵ Tous les desnommez en larticle precedent hors mis ledict de lesnaux estoient de lamytie ⁶alliance⁶ et communication dudict gouverneur descosse Avant quil se

¹ *lors de notre venue* added above the line.

Earl of Argyll, in Scotland, with whom they were at feud. The Queen of Scotland, widow of the late King, the Cardinal of St. Andrews, the Governor of the said realm, the said Earl of Argyll, the Earl of Huntly and Earl Bothwell have come together and meet frequently.

The said Earl of Lennox was, in general, of the party Article 3 of the Earl of Angus, George Douglas, the Earl of Glencairn, the Earl of Cassilis, the Lords Maxwell and Somerville, the Sheriff of Ayr and several others, at all times most zealous servants of the King of England. These, during the lifetime of the late King of Scotland, were fugitives in England. They followed neither the Queen nor the other nobles named in the first article, but held their own course and kept their own league and counsel. And it was more than a month since any of them had seen the Queen. They had led the said Earl of Lennox to believe that they intended, acting on the advice of the Estates of the realm, to deprive the said Governor of the government, because, since he took over the direction of affairs, he had been favourably disposed towards the heretics; moreover, he had recklessly squandered the entire personal estate of the late King, valued at more than three hundred thousand livres. Furthermore, they had led the said Earl of Lennox to believe that the said Governor was a bastard along with all the children of the said Governor's father; and because of that the Earl of Lennox was the nearest by blood to the succession to the said realm. And as a means of bringing the said Lennox to put further confidence in them, they offered to give him in marriage the daughter of the said Earl of Angus, niece of the King of England, with nine score thousand livres in money together with a promise of the said King of England to make the said Earl of Lennox Governor by force.

And those named above in the preceding article except Article 4 the said Lennox, were friends, allies and associates of the said Governor of Scotland before he made himself the

²⁻² omitted.

³ *le.*

⁴⁻⁴ *avec.*

⁵ Article 3.

⁶⁻⁶ omitted.

Rendist allye et communicatif avec la Royne. Et pour le temps que ladicte dame et le dict s^r cardinal furent prisonniers Et estoient ceulx qui voullotent mener ladicte dame et le dict s^r cardinal en angleterre Et qui avoient Induict ledict gouverneur a faire ledict emprisonnement et a les faire mener en angleterre avec la petite Royne descosse. Et sestoient laissez praindre prisonniers par le Roy dangleterre a la bataille derniere que perdict ledict feu Roy descosse. Mays apres la mort du dict feu Roy descosse le Roy dangleterre les a eslargis par ce quilz ont baille leurs enfans aisnez pour hostaige Jusques ad ce quilz ayent faict Ratifier par les estatz du Royaume descosse le contract par lequel Ilz ont promis au Roy dangleterre que tous les estatz consentiroient le mariaige entre son filz et la petite Royne descosse. Lequel contract a ung parlement quilz ont tenus eulx Retournez audict Royaulme descosse a este passe et accorde.¹

Article
5²

Les dessus dictz avec le conte de lesnaux assemblez tenans conseil en la ville de glascou [Glasgow] par Laquelle nous passions pour aller de dombertran A estrelin [Stirling] [vers] La Royne ledict gouverneur et cardinal nous manderent Et demanderent quelle occasion nous menoit en ce pays Et aussi demanderent a veoir nostre commission.

¹ In another hand, on fol. 7 v, intended to be added here in 17330 :
Nous avons este advertis puyx troys Jours Que le Roy a gaigne la bataille contre l'empereur et presentement a este mande par tout ^{se} Royaume faire feux de joies et aux evesques de ce Royaume faire service et processions et Rendre graces a dieu pour ladicte victoire. Et en ce lieu desterlin a este faicte procession par la ville en laquelle la Royne a assiste monsieur le cardinal aussi Ladicte dame et le dict sieur cardinal nous ont dict que les srs dasquyn [Erskine] et de flasmyn [Fleming] ont deux enfans prisonniers en angleterre Lesquelz sont mis a Ranson de 6 mil escus ^{soleil} Si le Roy a quelques prisonniers angloys quilz soient de la qualite des srs dasquyn et flamyn Ledict sieur feroit grandement par ce Royaulme differer bailler liberte ausdicts angloys Que par condition de bailler liberte ausdicts dasquin et flamyn Car le Roy dangleterre ne les ^{veulx} mettre en liberte pour ce que leurs peres ont tousiours contredict et empesches de tout leur pouvoir le mariaige dentre le filz du Roy dangleterre et la petite Royne descosse.

² Article 4.

ally and associate of the Queen. And during the time that the said lady and the said Cardinal were prisoners, it was they who wanted to take the said lady and the said Cardinal into England; and who had led the said Governor to make them prisoners in order to get them taken into England with the young Queen of Scots. They had let themselves be taken prisoner by the King of England in the last battle, which the late King of Scots lost. But after the death of the late King of Scots the King of England set them at liberty because they gave their eldest sons as hostages until such time as they had secured the ratification by the Estates of the realm of Scotland of the contract under which they had promised the King of England that all the Estates would consent to the marriage between his son and the young Queen of Scots. This contract was accepted and approved at a Parliament held after their return to the said realm of Scotland.¹

Those named above, together with the Earl of Lennox, Article 5 were assembled in council in the town of Glasgow through which we passed in order to go from Dumbarton to Stirling to the Queen, the said Governor and the Cardinal. They [Lennox and the others] sent for us and asked us the occasion of our coming to this country; asking also to

¹ In MS. 17330, folio 7 v, is the following, intended to be inserted here:

'We received the news three days ago that the King has won the battle against the Emperor. Immediately orders were given throughout this kingdom to make bonfires, and the bishops of this realm were commanded to hold services and processions and to render thanks to God for the said victory. And in this place, Stirling, a procession was made throughout the town in which the Queen took part and also the said Cardinal. The said lady and the said Cardinal told us that Lord Erskine and Lord Fleming have two children prisoners in England whose ransom is fixed at six thousand crowns of the sun. If the King [of France] has any English prisoners of the same rank as the lords Erskine and Fleming, it would be a great benefit from the said Lord King if the realm [of France] would delay granting their freedom to the said English except on condition that freedom was given to [the children held as hostages of] the said Erskine and Fleming. For the King of England is unwilling to set them at liberty because their fathers have always opposed and prevented with all their might the marriage between the King of England's son and the young Queen of Scots.'

30 r Nous leurs fiesmes Responce que le Roy nous envoyoit pour dire aux estatz du pays deuement assemblez choses utiles et pour subvenir a la necessite du Royaume Et que lhors que les estatz seroient assemblez nous monstrierions notre commission et dirions ce que nous a este commande Les supplians ne trouver mauvais si pour faire assembler les estatz nous nous Retirions vers la Royne et le gouverneur pour ce que le Roy nous a envoyez seulement pour favoriser le bien public de ce Royaume et non pour favoriser les particulieres querelles. Et Apres avoir sur ce dict Ce que nous avons peu dire Ilz ont trouve notre excuse tres agreable.

Article 6¹ A Cause des divisions dessus dictes le Royaume descosse estoit et est encores de present en armes pour ce que tous les dits amys dune des bandes ont desfidence de tous ceulx de lautre bande Tellement que non seulement la noblesse est en armes Mays les gens deglise Religieulx et paysans ne marchent par pays que par grandes compaignyes et tous armes² de picques³ espees boucliers et une demye picque en la main quilz appellent en ce pays une lance.

Article 7 Autre Inconvenient a cause des dictes divisions les dessus dits favorisans le Roy dangleterre veuillent user de loix puy peu de temps par luy faites pour la destruction des abbayes et couvens Tellement que lorsque nous arrivasmes en escosse Il y avoit cinq ou six mil hommes assemblez qui avoient entrepris dedans quatre jours apres destruyre tous les monasteres et couventz de la ville de lislebourg et les habitans dicelle ville estoient en armes pour y Resister Mays si tost que notre venue a este entendue ceste entreprise a este du tout csee et les eglises et estat de Religion demoure comme Il estoit lhors de nostre venue.

Article 8⁴ Nous avons parle particulierement audiet conte de lesnaux et Remonstre lhonneur que ses predecesseurs luy et les siens ont Receu par cy devant en france et recoivent chascun jour Et speciallement luy qui a este puy peu

¹ Articles 11 and 12.

² en armes.

see our commission. Our reply was to the effect that the King [of France] had sent us to declare to the Estates of the realm, duly assembled, matters of some service providing for the needs of the kingdom; and that when the Estates had been assembled we would show our commission and would speak as we had been commanded to do, begging them not to take it amiss if, in order to secure a meeting of the Estates, we went to the Queen and the Governor, because the King had sent us to further only the public good of this realm, not to favour private quarrels. And after we had said to this effect all that we could, they found our excuse most acceptable.

Because of the aforesaid divisions the realm of Scotland Article 6 was, and still is at the present time, under arms; for all the friends of one faction mistrust all those of the other faction. So much so that not merely is the nobility in arms, but churchmen, friars and the country people only travel through the countryside in large companies all armed with pikes, swords and bucklers and a half pike in their hands, which in this country is called a lance.

Another trouble. Because of the said divisions the Article 7 aforenamed partisans of the King of England wish to make use of the laws recently made by him for the destruction of abbeys and convents. So much so that when we arrived in Scotland some five or six thousand men had assembled, who had undertaken within four days to destroy all the monasteries and convents in the town of Edinburgh, and the inhabitants of that town were in arms to resist them. But as soon as they heard of our coming they wholly abandoned this attempt and the churches and religious estate remain as they were when we first arrived.

We have spoken in private with the said Earl of Lennox Article 8 and have shown him the honour which his predecessors, himself and his family received in former times in France, and still receive daily; and especially he himself, who

³ *jacques.*

⁴ Article 5.

30 v

de Jours ordonne ambassadeur pour venir en escosse. Et par l'instruction que nous avons apportee Luy avons monstre que le Roy le constitue son conseiller pour disposer des finances et municions par luy envoyeez en ce Royaume. Et qui plus est que le Roy pour la nourriture quil avoit faict de luy et des siens nous a commande descendre argent municions et navires au chasteau de dombertran pour plus grande seurette et le plus asseuree foy quil estime avoir en ce Royaume. Ce que nous avons faict et par ce moien tous les biens du monde ne le debvoient tant aveugler que de faire une seule faulte au service du Roy. Et davantaige luy avons Remonstre que lalliance du Roy dangleterre par le mariaige dessus dict et les offres a luy faictz dont cy devant est faicte mencion sont practiques par le Roy dangleterre pour entretenir les seigneurs de ce Royaume en divisions et discords affin que durant ceste division Il puisse mectre ses forces dedans ce Royaume pour usurper par force ledict Royaulme. Et sil pouvoit venir a ceste fin Il le debvroit faire pugnir comme un crimineulx de lese maieste tant pour consideration de loffence par luy faicte contre le Royaume descosse duquel Il est subject et vassal Que contre le Roy nostre maistre Auquel Il nest moins oblige et tenu luy presenter toute sa vie son tres humble service. Et apres luy avoir dict ce que nous a semble a dire et par tous moiens a nous possible ¹lavons¹ Induit de venir avec nous devers la Royne. Il nous a dict et promis quil aymeroit mieulx estre mort que de faire jamais faulte au service du Roy ²et² quil mourroit son serviteur Et qui nous le donneroit a congnoistre Et que sil avoit suyvy et communique les dessus dictz tenans le party du Roy dangleterre et que les avoit entretenus sur le propos dudict mariaige estoit a intention de les gaigner et les retirer a la volonte du Roy nostre maistre. Et davantaige nous a dict que la Royne et le cardinal congnoissoient bien que le gouvernement luy appartenoit pour les causes dessus dictes. Et de Rechef lavons Induit

¹⁻¹ avoir.²⁻² omitted.

was made, but a few days ago, ambassador to Scotland. And we showed him that in the instruction which we had brought with us the King [of France] appoints him his adviser for the disposal of the money and munitions which he [the King] has sent to this realm. And what is more, that the King, mindful of the upbringing accorded to him [Lennox] and to his family [in France], had ordered us to place the money, munitions and ships at the Castle of Dumbarton for the greatest safety and assurance he [the King] considers it possible to have in this realm. This we have done; and in this way all the wealth in the world should not so blind him as to lead him to any default in any instance in the King's service. And further, we have pointed out to him that the alliance with the King of England by the aforesaid marriage, and the offers made to him, of which mention has been made above, were practices devised by the King of England to keep the nobles of this realm divided and in a state of discord, so that during such division he might be able to bring his forces into this realm to usurp the said realm by force. And if he [the King of England] could achieve this, he [Lennox] ought to be punished as one guilty of *lèse majesté*, quite as much in view of his offence against the realm of Scotland of which he is a subject and vassal, as of his offence against the King our master, to whom he is under an equal obligation, being bound to offer him his most humble service during his whole lifetime. And after having said to him all that it seemed to us there was to say, and in every way open to us, we persuaded him to come with us to the Queen. He assured us that he would rather be dead than fail in his service to the King [of France] and that he would die his servant, and that he would let us have proof of it. And that if he had been of the party of the aforesaid partisans of the King of England and had had dealings with them and had spoken with them about the said marriage, he had done so with the intention of winning them over to the will of the King our master. And furthermore, he told us that the Queen and the Cardinal well knew that the

a venir vers la Royne et le dict cardinal. Ce quil nous a promis faire troys ou quatre jours apres que nous y serions Et apres avoir entendu Responce sur aulcuns articles que vouloit leur envoyer¹.

Article
9²

31 r

La dicte dame et le dict sieur cardinal nous ont dict que la division du dict conte estoit de tres grant preiudice et que sans luy toutes choses seroient en paix et la volonte du Roy accomplye. Par ce que les dessus dicts favorisans le Roy dangleterre navoient aucune coulleur ny moien de mettre de mettre division en ce Royaume pour le dict gouvernement. Nous confessans bien que par la faulte du dict gouverneur les heresies ont pullule et pullulent en ce Royaume. Davantaige quil a tres mal et tres Inutillement administre les biens du Royaume Et que le pere du dict gouverneur avoit en premiere nopces espouse une femme de laquelle par sentence deglise Il a este separe pour parente qui estoit entre eulx. Delaquelle sentence na este provoque ny appelle Et du depuys Icelle sentence A este marie avec la femme de laquelle est yssu le dict gouverneur et sont yssus tous ceulx qui pourroient pretendre droiet au Royaume descosse ou au gouverne-

¹ *La Royne descosse veufue du feu Roy le cardinal de St. andre le Gouverneur dudict Royaume ledict conte darguyl le conte dontelay et le conte baudovel estoient unys ensemble et se frequentoient souvent* "Mais que" le dict sieur *just party dedans quinze Jours pour aller en france fussions venuz en ce pays* ^b*pour le grand trouble qui estoit en ce Royaulme* ^b*pour Remonstrer au Roy les susdictes affaires et grand trouble en ce Royaulme.*

² Article 7 in 17330 and the following is inserted :

La dicte dame et le dict s^r cardinal Nous ont dict Que la cause principale pour laquelle Ilz ont estez Inductz a Recevoir le gouverneur en leur amytié et communication est pour ce que le Gouverneur tient les places fortes du Royaume et que le Roy dangleterre luy demandoit les dictes places fortes Davantaige le dict gouverneur se consentoit de gouverner les affaires du Royaume par le conseil de la dicte dame et dudict s^r cardinal et aulcuns seigneurs dudict Royaulme bons et vrais escossoys. Aussi le conte de lesnaux le consentoit ainsi et est le dict consentement signe dudict conte de lesnaux. Toutesfoys dudepuys le dict de lesnaux a suivy ceulx qui suivoient le party du Roy dangleterre et a delaisse la dicte dame et le dict s^r cardinal et aultres bons escossois et pour toute occasion Il dict quil veult faire destituer le dict gouverneur et se faire eslire gouverneur. Davantaige. . . .

governorship pertained to him for the reasons given above. And once more we begged him to come to the Queen and the said Cardinal. This he promised to do three or four days after we had arrived [at Stirling] and after he had received a reply to certain articles which he wished to send to them.¹

The said lady and the said Cardinal told us that the Article division caused by the said Earl was very harmful, and ⁹² that but for him all would be at peace and the will of the King accomplished. Because the aforesaid partisans of the King of England had no excuse and no way of bringing dissension into this realm on account of the government. They [the Queen and the Cardinal] confessed to us that through the fault of the said Governor heresies had abounded and do abound in this realm. Furthermore, that he had administered the wealth of the realm in an evil and reckless way. And that the said Governor's father had contracted his first marriage with a woman from whom he has been separated by a church decree on grounds of consanguinity. Against that decree there has been neither challenge nor appeal. And since this decree he has married the woman by whom he has had issue, the said Governor and all the others who could lay claim to

¹ 'The Queen of Scots, widow of the late King, the Cardinal of St. Andrews, the Governor of the said realm, the said Earl of Argyll, the Earl of Huntly and Earl Bothwell had come together and met frequently . . . the said Cardinal would set out for France within a fortnight. . . . We were come to this country to acquaint the King [of France] with the aforesaid affairs and great disturbances in this realm.'

² In MS. 17330 is the following intended to be inserted here :

'The said lady and the said Cardinal told us that the principal reason which led them to receive the Governor as a friend and as an associate is that the Governor held all the fortresses of the realm and that the King of England was demanding the said fortresses from him. Moreover, the said Governor consented to direct the affairs of the realm according to the advice of the said lady and the said Cardinal and certain nobles of the said realm, good true Scots. Also the Earl of Lennox consented to this, and the said consent is signed by the said Earl of Lennox. Nevertheless, since then the said Lennox has been with the King of England's party and has left the said lady and the said Cardinal and other good Scots, and on every occasion he declares that he wishes to depose the said Governor and get himself elected as Governor. Furthermore . . .'

ment avant le dict conte de lesnaux si la petite Royne descosse estoit morte Et que la premiere femme delaquelle par sentence a este separe le pere du dict gouverneur est deceddee depuys ung an. Et sur ce propos leur avons Remonstre le peril perdicion et Ruyne totale de ce Royaume qui plus facilement ne peult estre perdu ou Ruyne que par la division des seigneurs. Et leur avons dict ce qui nous sembloit a dire. Aussi Remonstre que le chateau de dombertran est chateau presque Imprenable et que si le conte de lesnaux le vouloit livrer au Roy dangleterre le Royaume descosse seroit en grant dangier destre entierement perdu Par ce que la mer luy seroit ouverte pour entrer sans aulcun contredict avecques ses navires en tel nombre quil vouldroiet Et luy descendu a terre seroit invincible Que par bataille prestee ou famyne. Et a ce moien et pour faire perdre la force des dessus dictz affectionnez au Roy dangleterre Il estoit ¹tres¹ necessaire Retirer par prudence le dict conte de lesnaux et l'entretenir pour faire service au Royaume et au Roy. Et pour presenter moien audict conte de ce faire Il est necessaire que ladiete dame et lediet s^r cardinal A la Requete dudict conte luy donnent consentement soubz le bon plaisir des estatz dudict Royaume quil espouze la petite Royne descosse. Ce qui a este conclud entre la dicte dame et le dict s^r cardinal au chateau dEstrelin Auquel nous estions.

Article
10²

Les susdicts dame cardinal conte de lesnaux et nous assemblez en conseil Apres toutes Remonstrances par nous faictes a chacun deulx pour ad ce parvenir A este conclud que le dict seigneur conte ³seroit³ pour ladvenir entierement ⁴suyvant⁴ la volonte de la Royne et dudict s^r cardinal et leurs presences. Delaissera entierement la suite de tous les autres tenans party contraire Leur courra sus comme sur ses ennemys semploiera ⁵de⁵ tout son pouvoir pour la conservation des alliances dentre france et escosse Comme Ilz ont este confirmez par le

31 v

¹⁻¹ omitted.

² Article 8.

³⁻³ suiveroit.

⁴⁻⁴ deleted.

⁵⁻⁵ du.

the realm of Scotland or to the government of it before the said Earl of Lennox if the young Queen of Scots were dead. And that the first wife from whom the Governor's father was separated by decree died a year ago.

And on this subject we pointed out to them the danger, utter destruction and ruin of this realm which can be brought about in no more easy way than by dissensions among the nobility. And we told them all that it seemed to us we could say. We also pointed out that the castle of Dumbarton was almost impregnable and that if the Earl of Lennox wished to hand it over to the King of England, the realm of Scotland would run the grave danger of being utterly lost, because the sea would be open to him [the King of England] to enter with his ships without any opposition and in such numbers as he wished. And once landed he would be invincible unless a pitched battle were offered or famine ensued. And therefore, in order to weaken the strength of the aforesaid partisans of the King of England, it was most needful, as a measure of prudence, to draw away the said Earl of Lennox and to engage him to serve this realm and the King [of France]. And in order to give the said Earl ways and means of so doing, it is essential that the said lady and the said Cardinal, at the request of the said Earl, should give their consent, subject to the good pleasure of the Estates of the said realm, to his marriage with the young Queen of Scots. This has been arranged between the said lady and the said Cardinal at the castle of Stirling where we were.

The aforesaid lady, Cardinal, Earl of Lennox and our- Article
selves, in council together, after we had addressed our ¹⁰
appeals to each one of them for the achieving of this,
agreed that the said Earl should in future follow entirely
the will of the Queen and the said Cardinal.

He will abandon entirely all adherence to those who are of the opposite party : he will attack them as if they were his enemies : he will do all within his power to preserve the alliances between France and Scotland as they were confirmed by the late King : he will keep the faith of

feu Roy Gardra la foy de dieu constitucions et ceremonies de leglise Constitura prisonniers toutes personnes de quelques qualites quilz soient ne voullans accomplir toutes les choses mencionneez en ce present article Comme Rebelles et Infidelles les ungs les aultres comme hereticques. Et de tout le contenu en cest article A este passe obligacion soubz les signetz et sceaulx des susdicts dame cardinal et conte de lesnaux. Laquelle obligacion est demouree en noz mains.

Article
11¹

Au dict conseil a este conclud pour subvenir aux affaires de ce Royaume² sera mys des finances du Roy es mains de la dicte dame quatre mil escuz dor³ soleil es mains dudict s^r cardinal deux mil escuz es mains dudict conte de lesnaux deux mil escuz † sera baille au s^r de humes [Hume] cinq cens escuz Au s^r de buglou [Buccleugh] troys cens escus au s^r de sesfort [Cessford] troys cens escuz et au s^r de marcar [Mark Carr] troys cens escuz Lesquelz sont sur les frontieres du Roy dangleterre Et depuys que nous sommes en ce Royaume font ordinairement la guerre contre les angloys. Et ont par deux ou troys foyz faict quelques petites deffaictes sur les susdicts angloys. Toutes lesquelles sommes ont este dellivrez aux dessusdicts. Et⁴ que le tresorier du Roy viendra a estrelin [Stirling] avec le Reste des finances dudict seigneur pour ce que nous suivons ordinairement la Roynie

¹ Article 9.

² Above the line and in the right-hand margin 17330 has the following : *et pour ce est seulement necessaire entretenir les dicts seigneurs pour ce que en temps de guerre les seigneurs menent leurs subiects a la guerre sans leur baller souldre car les subiects tiennent leurs terres des seigneurs a ceste subietion et pour ce faire.*

³ In the left-hand margin (torn) 17330 has the following :

† *es mains dudit gouverneur deux mil escuz [au com]te darguil mil [escuz au com]te dontelay mil [escuz] au de moras [Moray] mil [escuz au com]te de baudovel au chevalier de carder [Sir John Campbell of Calder, Knight or Thane of Cawdor] quatre [cens escuz] aux seigneurs de flamying dasquin et de levyson [Livingstone] Chacun [ce]nt escuz tous les dessusditz peuvent mener en guerre vingt mil hommes leurs subiects.*

These additions and Article 9 as far as *dellivrez aux dessus dicts* are very faintly crossed out in 17330.

⁴ *Davantage a este ordonne*, the first three words above the line.

God, the constitutions and ceremonies of the Church : he will make prisoner all persons, whatsoever their quality, who are unwilling to carry out all the things mentioned in this present article, the ones as rebels and traitors, the others as heretics. And everything, without exception, contained in this article has been subscribed to under the signets and seals of the aforesaid lady, Cardinal and Earl of Lennox. Which agreement remains in our hands.

At this said council it was agreed in order to help the affairs of this realm,¹ that there should be placed in the hands of the said lady, out of the King's money, four thousand gold crowns of the sun²; in the hands of the said Cardinal, two thousand crowns; in the hands of the said Earl of Lennox, two thousand crowns:† that there should be handed over to Lord Hume, five hundred crowns; to Lord Buccleugh, three hundred crowns; to Cessford, three hundred crowns; and to Mark Carr, three hundred crowns. These nobles are on the King of England's frontiers, and since we have been in this country, they have generally been in arms against the English. Upon two or three occasions they have inflicted some small defeat on the said English. All these sums of money have been given to those named above.

And that the King's treasurer shall come to Stirling with the rest of the said King's money, for we generally follow the Queen, who usually resides in this said place, and ³on this account it is to be expected that the aforesaid Cardinal and Earl will often be with the said lady³. Notwithstanding-

¹ Above the line, and in the right-hand margin, MS. 17330 has the following: ' And therefore it is necessary to maintain these said nobles because in time of war the nobles lead their subjects to war without giving them any pay, for their subjects hold their land from the nobles on this condition and for this service.'

² In the left-hand margin (torn) MS. 17330 has the following :

' † Into the hands of the said Governor two thousand crowns . . . Argyll a thousand . . . Huntly a thousand . . . Moray a thousand, Bothwell, the Knight [or thane] of Cawdor, four [hundred crowns] to lords Fleming, Erskine and Livingstone, each a hundred crowns. All those named above can bring to war twenty thousand men, their subjects.'

³⁻³ This is deleted, and above the line is the following : ' And that the ships, *la Marie*, *la Françoise* and *la Magdaleine*, shall remain with their

[continued on p. 33]

Laquelle demeure ordinairement audict lieu et ¹par ce estre Raisonnable que les susdicts seigneurs cardinal et conte soient souvent avec la dicté dame¹. Neanmoins laquelle ordonnance Le jour ensuivant ledict conte nous a dict quil ne permectra que le Reste des susdites finances du Roy soient mis hors du chasteau de dombertran plus tost que les estatx soient tenus pour ce que la garde dudict argent est certaine de luy conservee et de faire grant nombre damys par la force desquelz il entend destituer du gouvernement ledict gouverneur.

Article
12²

32 r

Pour fuyr a plus grant Inconvenient Nous avons conclud differer Jusques apres les dictx estatx de presser ledict conte de laisser emporter ledict argent hors du chasteau dudict dombertran. Pour ce que dedans ledict temps des estatx nous esperions unyr a la volonte du Roy pour conserver l'alliance dentre luy et les escossoys la plus part de ce Royaume. Et davantaige que nous diminurions grandement le nombre et la force des dessusdicts favorisans le Roy dangleterre. Et aussi en ce faisant nous mecterions suspicion et diffidence par tous moiens a nous possible entre le dict conte et les dessus dictx favorisans le Roy dangleterre ³de sorte que si le susdict conte se vouloit Retirer vers ledict Roy dangleterre Iceelluy Roy ny ses serviteurs ne pussent esperer aulcung ayde ne foy dudict conte de lesnaux. Et pour ad ce parvenir nous avons procedde Ainsi quil ensuiet^{3,4}.

¹⁻¹ This is deleted, and the following inserted above the line :

Et que les navires de la marie la francoise et la magdeleine ^ademeure^a chargez de munitions du Roy jusques apres les estatx de ce Royaume.

² Article 10.

³⁻³ Deleted in 17330, and at the end the following : *au feuillet ensuyvant Au xiii^e article.* In the left-hand margin : *hic pour le reste dargent et munitions.*

⁴ In 17330, Article 9, in a different hand on fol. 2 v :

La dicté dame ledict seigneur cardinal et ledict sr conte nous ont dict que la coustume de tout temps est en ce Royaume que les seigneurs menent a la guerre tous leurs subjects et vassaulx sans leur bailler aucune souldie ou payement pour ce que lesditz subjects et vassaulx tiennent tous leurs heritaiges a

[continued on p. 34]

ing this order, on the following day, the said Earl [of Lennox] told us that he would not allow the rest of the aforesaid money belonging to the King to be sent out of the Castle of Dumbarton before the Estates had met; for the reason that the custody of the said money is safe in his hands, and that he can make a goodly number of friends, by whose power he intends to depose the Governor.

To avoid greater trouble we have agreed to put off, Article until after the meeting of the said Estates, any pressure ¹² on the said Earl to allow us to remove the said money from the said Castle of Dumbarton. Because before the said time of meeting of the Estates, we hope to bind the greater part of this realm to the King's will in order to maintain the alliance between him and the Scots. And further, we shall greatly reduce the number and power of the aforesaid partisans of the King of England. Also by doing this we shall sow suspicion and distrust, by every means in our power, between the said Earl and the aforesaid partisans of the King of England, ¹so that if the aforesaid Earl wished to go over to the said King of England, neither that King, nor his followers, could hope for any help from, or place any trust in the said Earl of Lennox. And to accomplish this we proceeded as follows^{1,2}

cargo of munitions belonging to the King on board [i.e. undischarged] until after the meeting of the Estates of this realm.'

¹⁻¹ This is deleted, and instead: 'On the following sheet, xiiith article.' In the left-hand margin: '*hic* for the rest of the money and munitions.'

² In a different hand on folio 2 v of 17330 to be inserted here:

'The said lady and the said Cardinal and the said Earl told us that the custom in this country has always been that the nobles lead to war all their subjects and vassals without giving them any wage or payment, because the said subjects and vassals hold their heritages subject to this obligation, and therefore it is necessary to distribute the King's money among the nobles of this country who can bring a large number of men to war. These nobles have been at great expense to maintain this realm since the death of the late King, and to prevent this said realm from falling into the hands of the King of England. And for this reason order has been given that to the said lady shall be given four thousand gold crowns of the sun; to the said Cardinal, two thousand gold crowns of the sun; to the said Governor, two thousand gold crowns of the sun;

Article
13³ 1 2

Nous avons presente lettres du Roy au Gouverneur Et luy avons dict pour creance ce que nous avons estime estre a dire pour le mouvoir a entretenir lalliance dentre les francoys et escossoys et Icelle confirmer. Ce quil nous a promis faire. Apres ce quil a Remercie tres humblement le Roy de la bonne volonte quil porte au dict Royaulme descosse et a luy en particulier Et nous a promis que luy presentera toute sa vie son tres humble service Et que nous le fera congnoistre aux prochains estatz. Et ce pendant quil mettra tout son pouvoir de constituer prisonniers tous les dessus dicts favorisans le Roy dangleterre comme crimineulx de Lese maieste Et aussi constituera prisonniers tous hereticques⁴.

Article
14⁵

Suivant la dicte promesse le dict s^r gouverneur A constitue prisonniers au chasteau de Dymbourg [Edin-

ceste subjection et pour ceste cause quil est necessaire distribuer l'argent du Roy aux seigneurs de ce pays qui ont puissance de mener grand nombre dhommes a la guerre. Et Lesquelz ont faict grandes despences depuys la mort du feu Roy pour conserver ce Royaume et pour garder cedit Royaume de tomber es mains du Roy dangleterre. Et pour ceste cause a este ordonne que sera baille a la dicte dame iiii mil ecus or soleil audict s^r cardinal ii mil ecus or soleil audict s^r gouverneur ii mil ecus or soleil audict conte de Lesnaux ii mil ecus or soleil au s^r conte darguyl [Argyll] m ecus or soleil au s^r conte dhontlay [Huntly] m ecus or soleil au s^r conte de baudovel [Bothwell] m ecus or soleil au s^r conte de muratz [Moray] m ecus or soleil au s^r de humes [Hume] v^e ecus or soleil au s^r de flasmin [Fleming] iii^e ecus or soleil au s^r de leviston [Livingstone] iii^e ecus or soleil au s^r de grez [Gray] iii^e ecus or soleil au chevalier de carder [Sir John Campbell of Calder (Cawdor)] iii^e ecus or soleil au s^r de guil [Glencairn]^a iii^e ecus or soleil ^bParquoy ne Reste des finances a la garde dudict conte de Lesnaux xliii m ecus or ^bPour ainsi a este ordonne que payement sera fait a dix hommes darmes et dix archiers du Roy que ledict a amenes en ce pays Lequel payement se monte a la somme de ^c ^c Parquoy ne reste finance a la garde dudict conte la somme de ^dxliiii^d xliiii^m soleil.

¹ Articles 5 and 6 are inserted here in 17330.

² See Article 2. Before the next article the following is inserted: *Pour pourvoir aux Inconvenients dessusdicts nous avons procede ainsi quil sensuit.*

³ Article 14.

[continued at foot of p. 35]

a See Article 3.

b—b deleted.

c—c blank in MS.

d—d MS. torn and very difficult to read

We presented the King's letters to the Governor. And Article we said to him, for his credence, what we thought ought¹³¹ to be said in order to move him to maintain the alliance between the French and the Scots and to confirm it. Which he promised us he would do. After he had offered most humble thanks to the King for the good-will which he [the King] bears to this realm of Scotland and to himself in particular, he promised us that he would offer during his whole lifetime his most humble service [to the King]. And that he would make this known at the forthcoming meeting of the Estates. Meanwhile he would do all in his power to imprison all the aforesaid partisans of the King of England as guilty of *lèse majesté* and also would imprison all heretics².

According to the said promise the said Governor has Article imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh Lords Maxwell¹⁴

to the said Earl of Lennox, two thousand gold crowns of the sun ; to the Earl of Argyll, one thousand gold crowns of the sun ; to the Earl of Huntly, one thousand gold crowns of the sun ; to Earl Bothwell, one thousand gold crowns of the sun ; to the Earl of Moray, one thousand gold crowns of the sun ; to Lord Hume, five hundred gold crowns of the sun ; to Lord Fleming, three hundred gold crowns of the sun ; to Lord Livingstone, three hundred gold crowns of the sun ; to Lord Gray, three hundred gold crowns of the sun ; to the Knight [or thane] of Cawdor, three hundred gold crowns of the sun ; to the Earl of Glencairn, three hundred gold crowns of the sun. So that there remains of the King's money in the keeping of the said Earl of Lennox forty-three thousand gold crowns of the sun. Order has also been given that payment shall be made to ten men-at-arms and ten of the King's archers, whom the said Lennox brought into this country. Which payment amounts to the sum of [blank]. So that there remains in the keeping of the said Earl the sum of forty-three thousand . . .'

¹ 'To provide against the aforesaid troubles we proceeded as follows.'

² 'Begging us to be good enough to acquaint the King that he has in his keeping the collar of the order given by the said lord King to the late King of Scots, and the collar of the order given by the said lord King to the late father of the said Governor. He most humbly begs the King to give him one of the said orders.'

⁴ *Nous prians que voulussions advertir le Roy quil a en sa guardre le colier de lordre donne par ledict seigneur au feu Roy descosse et le colier de lordre donne par ledict seigneur au feu pere dudict gouverneur et quil suplie tres humblement le Roy luy donner lung desditz ordres.* This is deleted.

⁵ Article 15.

burgh] les seigneurs de maxolles [Maxwell] et Somerolles Somerville]¹ ²dessus nommez² tres affectionnez serviteurs dudict Roy dangleterre. Et ont este trouvez saisis de lettres que luy portoient comme ambassadeurs ordonnez par les dessus dicts favorisans le dict Roy dangleterre^{3,4}

Article 15⁵ Le ⁶dict⁶ conte de lesnaux na encores commence aucune chose contre Iceulx favorisans le Roy dangleterre ⁷Mays sefforce a les entretenir pour luy porter bonne volunte. Toutesfoys de present Ilz se desfient fort de luy Tellement quil est prest que contrainct se Retirer a la volunte de la Royne⁷. Car chacun Jour par le moien dudict gouverneur ⁸les favorisans ledict Roy dangleterre⁸ sont affoiblis Et aux prochains estatx nous esperons quilz nauront aulcune force et seront tous fugitifs de ce Royaume Principalement les autheurs de praticques et menees pour le Roy dangleterre.

Article 16⁹ Georges duglars [Douglas] est fugitif de ce Royaulme et sa maison Rendue par force au gouverneur puyx quatre jours.

Article 17¹⁰ Lambassadeur du Roy dangleterre a distribue grant nombre dangelotz pour gaigner les seigneurs de ce Royaulme A la volunte du Roy son maistre. Mays depuys huict Jours Il sest Retire Et en se Retirant a dict Que le premier ambassadeur que le Roy son maistre envoyra en ce Royaume sera accompaigne de la plus puissante armee quil pourra mettre en pays.

Article 18¹¹ Nous avons entendu en ce pays Que le Roy dangleterre A este aussi marry de nostre venue avec les finances et municions du Roy comme sil avoit perdu une grosse bataille.

¹ In the left-hand margin : *et le conte de Rothes le seigneur de gre maitre andre . . . naves.*

²⁻² Deleted, as well as *Et quil a* above the line.

³ In the left-hand margin : *depuys a prins le dict seigneur quatre autres.* Deleted.

and Somerville, those named above being most zealous partisans of the said King of England. They were found in possession of letters which they were carrying to him as ambassadors accredited by the aforesaid partisans of the said King of England^{1,2}

The said Earl of Lennox has not yet taken any measures Article
against the partisans of the King of England, but makes ¹⁵
every endeavour to keep them well inclined towards himself. Yet at the moment they mistrust him so greatly that he is almost constrained to put himself in the Queen's will. For each day by means of the said Governor the partisans of the said King of England are weakened. And at the forthcoming Estates we hope that they will be powerless and will flee this realm, especially the authors of practices and intrigues on behalf of the King of England.

George Douglas has fled the country and his house Article
surrendered by force to the Governor four days ago. ¹⁶

The King of England's ambassador has distributed a Article
large number of angels to win the lords of this realm to ¹⁷
the will of the King his master. But a week ago he removed himself and at his departure said that the first ambassador that the King his master would send to this realm would be accompanied by the most puissant army that he could send into the country.

We have heard in this country that the King of England Article
has been as grieved at our coming with the King's money ¹⁸
and munitions as if he had lost a mighty battle.

¹ 'And since, the said lord has taken four others.'

² 'And further, the inhabitants of the town of Dundee who heretically had destroyed the churches of the said town, have come to the said Governor, begging for pardon, and offering to repair the said churches and to make such other honourable reparation as he should counsel.'

⁴ *Et davantage les habitans de la ville de dondin [Dundee] qui avoient par heresie desmolly les eglises de ladite ville sont venus devers ledict gouverneur demandans misericorde offrans reparer lesdictes eglises et faire telles autres Repparations honorables quil advisera.* This is deleted.

⁵ Article 16.

⁶⁻⁸ omitted.

⁷⁻⁷ deleted.

⁸⁻⁸ Follows *Jour* and is deleted. The word *Mays* is in the left-hand margin and *car* is deleted.

⁹ Article 17.

¹⁰ Article 18.

¹¹ Article 19.

Article 19¹ Il est certain que de puy le moys de Juillet Jusques a la my septembre le Roy dangleterre a tenu hiuct navires armes et esquippez en guerre Le moindre du port de ii^e tonneaux pres de dombertran pour nous guetter.

Article 20² Nous avons parle aux conte darguyl dontelay et Baudovel et leur avons presente lettres du Roy Et dict ce que nous avons peu dire pour les mouvoir a la volonte du Roy. Dont Ilz Remercient tres humblement le dict seigneur Nous ont promis de confirmer aux prochains estatz les alliances de france et descosse et presenter au Roy leurs vies et tres humbles services³.

Article 21⁴ Le dict conte de Lesnaux veult de present espouser La Royne veufve du feu Roy Nous ne luy donnons cause de desespoir en ceste affaire. Ne par semblable la dicte dame. Laquelle se Remect du tout au vouloir du Roy⁵. 33 r
⁶Affin que en antandant la Response dudict seigneur tous les dessus dicts favorisans ledict Roy dangleterre soient totalement affoiblis et hors damytie davec ledict lesnaux De sorte que pour ladvenir Ilz nayent jamais puissance de sassembler ou unyr ensemble Et pour ceste cause Il seroit tres convenable si possible estoit que le Roy mande le dict de lesnaux pour aller en france pour parler dudict mariaige avecques les parens de ladicte dame. Car labsence dudict de lesnaux causera une unyon et accord entre tous les seigneurs e subgettz de ce Royaume⁶.

Article 22⁷ Nous avons entendu Que le voiaige faict par ledict de lesnaux comme ambassadeur en ce Royaume a este dommaigeable au Roy e ⁸aussi⁸ au Royaume descosse pour ce quil a employe ⁹toute la creance⁹ pour desstituer ledict gouverneur de son gouvernement. Et disoit aux seigneurs du pays que le Roy le vouloit ainsi Et quil luy envoyroit argent e municions pour ce faire. ¹⁰Pour ceste cause¹⁰ le gouverneur craignant le Roy pour la faveur que disoit avoir de luy ledict de lesnaux vouloit marier

¹ Article 20.

² Article 21.

³ Deleted, and an arrow indicates the paragraph as coming at the end of Article 16.

⁴ Article 22.

[continued at foot of p. 39]

It is certain that since the month of July until mid- Article
September the King of England kept near Dumbarton ¹⁹
to lie in wait for us eight ships armed and equipped for
war, the smallest being of two hundred tons.

We have spoken to the Earls of Argyll, Huntly and Article
Bothwell, and presented to them letters from the King, ²⁰
and we have said all that we could to bring them to the
King's will. They offer him their most humble thanks.
They have promised us to confirm at the forthcoming
Estates the alliances between France and Scotland and
to offer to the King their lives and most humble
service.

The said Earl of Lennox now wishes to marry the Queen, Article
widow of the late King. We have given him no cause to ²¹
despair of his suit. Nor in a similar way has the said lady.
She puts herself entirely at the King's wishes¹. In order
that, while awaiting the King's reply, all the aforesaid
partisans of the King of England may be rendered entirely
helpless and weaned from their friendship with the said
Lennox, so that in future they may never again be in a
position to make alliances and confederations, it would,
to that end, be advisable, if such a thing were possible,
for the King to summon the said Lennox to go to France
to talk over the said marriage with the relatives of the
said lady. For the absence of Lennox would bring about
concord and harmony between all the nobles and subjects
of this realm.

We have heard that the visit of the said Lennox to this Article
realm as ambassador has been prejudicial to the King ²²
and also to the realm of Scotland, because he has used
all his credence to deprive the Governor of his office.
And he told the nobles of this realm that this was the

¹ 'As she informs and writes more fully to the said lord King.'

⁵ Above the line and continuing in the left-hand margin is the follow-
ing: *comme plus amplement elle advertit et escript audict seigneur.*

⁶ deleted.

⁷ Article 23.

⁸⁻⁸ deleted.

⁹⁻⁹ deleted.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ deleted.

la petite Royne descosse Au filz du Roy dangleterre et icelle luy livrer Par ce que le dict Roy dangleterre luy donnoit une sienne fille yssue de la Royne anne boullaine¹ [Boleyn] pour estre femme du filz aisne dudict gouverneur. Mays apres avoir entendu par nous la volonte du Roy Nous a promis que aux prochains estatx sera conclud par toute la noblesse de ce Royaume quil est tres necessaire marier la Royne descosse a ung gentilhomme escossoys. Et pour Choisir ledict gentilhomme sera Requise et demandee la volonte du Roy Avec lequel seigneur Roy lesdicts estatx confirmeront les anciennes alliances entre luy et la nation escossoyse. Lesquelz deux articles contenus en ce present article nous ont este par semblable promis par ladicte dame veufve du feu Roy par ledict seigneur cardinal par lesdicts s^{rs} darguil dontelay et baudovel et plusieurs autres seigneurs^{2,3}

¹ Boullant.

² *Ausquelz nous avons presente lettres du Roy et donne la creance dudict seigneur lesquels estatx sont tenus tenir le iii^e jour de decembre prochain et ne estre possible les avancer pour ce que par la loy du pays il est necessaire quil y ayt quarante jours de temps du jour qui soient proclames jusqueau Jour qui soient tenus.* The last six words in the left-hand margin; the rest written in the space between the end of Article 23 and the beginning of Article 24. The following, in a different hand, on fol. 2 r of 17330, was intended to be inserted here.

³ *Ledict conte de Lesnaux ce jourdhuy nous a dict^a b^e presents la Royne et le dict cardinal^b Quil baillera procuration speciale pour accorder aux estatx la liance dentre france et escosse. Et davantaige affin que son droict particullier ne face dommaige au service du Royaume et au service du Roy nostre maistre Il consent Que les seigneurs assemblez ausdicts estatx jugent et pourvoient pour le gouvernement dudict Royaume soyt pour destituer ledict gouverneur ou pour le continuer audict gouvernement^c Par ce que lesdicts seigneurs seront bons estre^d Et quil obeyra^e entierement^f en tout ce que par eulx sera ordonne sur ce quil pretent audict gouvernement.*

Ledict gouverneur nous a dict quil a en sa garde deux ordres du Roy Cest a savoir lordre du Roy descosse et lordre du deffunct pere dudict gouverneur nous a pryés suplyer tres humblement ledict Roy luy donner lesdicts ordres^g Parceque nous voyons en ce pays^h.

Par ce que nous voyons en ce pays Il nest vray semblable que lesdicts escossoys viennent armes en angleterre mais seulement feront la guerre sur les frontieres Par quoy Il convient que le Roy nous face entendre ce qui luy plaist estre fait de la somme de xliii mil escus or soleil Restant a la garde dudict seigneur conte de lesnaux et par semblable ce qui luy plaist estre fait des munitions par luy envoyez Car du deffault davoit avertissementz et instructions sur ces articles ladicte somme et lesdictes munitions ne peuvent estre aplicquez.

The last two paragraphs are deleted by faint lines.

a—a est venu is deleted and a dict added above the line, as well as b—b.

c—c above the line. d—d deleted. e—e above the line. f—f deleted.

King's wish and that money and munitions would be sent to him to effect this. Because of this, the Governor, in fear of the King because of the favour which the said Lennox said he had with the King, wished to marry the young Queen of Scots to the King of England's son, and hand her over to his charge. Because the said King of England was to give him a daughter of his by Anne Boleyn to be the wife of the said Governor's eldest son. But after he [the Governor] had heard from us the King's will, he promised us that at the forthcoming meeting of the Estates it would be agreed by all the nobility of this realm that it is essential to marry the Queen of Scots to some Scottish nobleman. And in the choosing of the said nobleman they would solicit and consult the King's will. With the said lord King the said Estates would confirm the old alliances between him and the Scottish nation. These two articles mentioned in this present article have been likewise promised by the said lady, widow of the late King, by the said Cardinal, and by the said Earls of Argyll, Huntly, Bothwell and several other nobles^{1,2}

¹ 'To whom we have presented letters from the King and given the said lord King's credence. Which Estates are called to be held the 3rd day of December next, and it is not possible to hold them earlier, for, by the law of the land, it is necessary that forty days elapse between the day on which they are proclaimed and the day on which they are held.'

² 'The said Earl of Lennox this very day has told us, in the presence of the Queen and the said Cardinal, that he will hand in a special procuration for the concluding by the Estates of the alliance between France and Scotland. And further, so that his private rights may not be detrimental to the good of the realm and to the service of the King our master, he agrees that the nobles assembled at the said Estates may judge and provide for the government of the said realm, either to depose the said Governor or to permit him to continue in the said office. And that he [Lennox] will obey entirely all that shall be ordered by them concerning his claims to the said governorship.

'The said Governor has told us that he has in his keeping two of the King's Orders, that is to say, the Order belonging to the King of Scots and the Order belonging to the Governor's father, now dead. He has begged us to ask most humbly that the King would give him the said Orders.

'From all that we see in this country it is not likely that the said Scots

[continued on p. 43]

Article 23¹ Nous chercherons par les Registres des parlementz descosse quelque occasion Raisonnable par deffaulte de solemnite et formalite substancielle gardee au consentement faict de marier ladicte Royne descosse au filz dudict Roy dangleterre.

33 v Article 24 Ce que nous esperons trouver par ce que nous avons entendu Et par ce ferons aux prochains estatiz casser et Revocquer ledict consentement par cy devant donne.

Article 25² Les escossoys sont de present en guerre avec lesdicts angloys ³et depuys huict jours sont³ les escossoys aussi en guerre avec les flamens par la persuasion du Roy dangleterre qui a Remonstre a lempereur quil na aucun espoir davoir jamais amytié avec les dictz escossoys Et que les dictz escossoys sont amys et confederez du Roy⁴.

Article 26⁵ ⁶Soit notte que le Roy dangleterre⁶ A bien change de langage puyx deux moys. Car au precedent Il appelloit son filz et le faisoit appeller prince descosse.

Article 27⁷ Si le Roy veult que les escossoys menent la guerre et entrent es pays du Roy dangleterre Il est necessaire quil envoie quinze cens ou ⁸deux⁸ mil harquebuziers et ⁹troys ou quatre⁹ mil lansquenetz suisses ou aultres gens aguerris. En ce faisant avec ce que le Roy envoyra on pourroit lever¹⁰ par deca xxv^m hommes tous armes de Jacques. Et pourroit contraindre ledict Roy dangleterre a donner une bataille dans ses pays Autrement sans ce que dessus Il nest pas vray semblable que les escossoys entreprennent de marcher es pays dudict Roy dangleterre veu quilz sont sans Roy et nous lavons ainsi entendu.

Article 28¹¹ Il seroit Aussi necessaire envoyer des farines pour nourrir les gens de guerre que le Roy envoyroit seulle-

¹ Article 24.

² Article 25.

³⁻³ Deleted, and above the line there is added : *et par ce que nous voions Il nest*. At the bottom of the page is added : *probable quilz passent armee en angleterre mais seulement feront guerre sur les frontieres et garderont leur pays descosse*.

⁴ The whole article deleted.

⁵ Article 26.

⁶⁻⁶ Deleted and *Il* substituted for the noun.

⁷ Article 27.

⁸⁻⁸ Deleted and *quatre* written above the line.

⁹⁻⁹ Deleted and *six* written above the line.

¹⁰ In the left-hand margin : *quatre mil harqubusiers et six mil almens*.

¹¹ Article 28.

We will search through the registers of the Parliaments of Scotland for something which can serve as an excuse, some slip in the observance of the formalities when the agreement was made to marry the said Queen of Scots to the son of the said King of England. Article ²³

This we hope to find judging from what we have heard ; and by this means at the forthcoming Estates we shall cause the said consent previously given to be quashed and repealed. Article ²⁴

The Scots at present are at war with the English, and for a week now the Scots have also been at war with the Flemish, through the persuasion of the King of England, who has pointed out to the Emperor that he has no hope of ever gaining the friendship of the said Scots, and that the said Scots are friends and allies of the King [of France]. Article ²⁵

Be it noted that the King of England has altered his language these last two months. For, previously he called and caused his son to be called, Prince of Scotland. Article ²⁶

If the King wishes the Scots to carry the war into the King of England's country, it is essential to send fifteen hundred or two thousand hackbutter and three or four thousand Swiss lansquenets or other seasoned soldiers. And by so doing, with what the King sends, there could be raised here xxv thousand men armed with jacks. And the King of England could be forced to give battle on his own ground. Otherwise, without the aforesaid help, it is not very likely that the Scots will undertake to invade the country of the said King of England, seeing they are without a king ; or so we have heard. Article ²⁷

It will be necessary as well to send flour to feed only the soldiers which the King sends. And a quantity for Article ²⁸

will invade England ; they will make war only on the Borders. It is advisable, therefore, for the King to make known to us what he wishes to be done with the forty-three thousand gold crowns of the sun which are still in the keeping of the said Earl of Lennox, and likewise, what he wishes to be done with the munitions he has sent ; for, without advice and instructions on these points, the said sum and the said money cannot be used.'

ment Et¹ faudroit que pour troys moys pour ce que les guerres ne peulvent durer que troys moys.

Article 29² Et en deffault denvoyer ledict secours Il nya espoir que les escossois facent la guerre plus loing que sur les frontieres dangleterre.

Article 30³ La dicte dame et ledict s^r cardinal et conte de lesnaux Nous ont dict que les ⁴gros seigneurs⁴ du pays en temps de guerre menent leurs subgetz a la guerre et font la guerre par leurs dits subgetz sans leur bailler aucune soude. Parquoy est seulement necessaire entretenir les dictz seigneurs. Et par ce a este conclud quil sera distribue des finances du Roy Oultre celles baillees a la dicte dame audict s^{rs} cardinal et conte de lesnaux pour subvenir aux affaires du Royaume Six mil escuz dor soleil au s^{rs} darguyl dontelay et de Baudovel chevalier de carder le s^r de flamyng le s^r dasguyn de levyston ledict s^r darguil peult mener a la guerre vi^m hommes le s^r dontelay vi^m hommes le s^r de baudovel ii^m hommes le s^r dasguyn m hommes le chevalier m hommes les deux autres chacun m hommes tous leurs subgetz Et oultre cela laisseront leur pays fourniz de gens de guerre pour Resister a leurs ennemys. Lesquelles sommes ont este apportez a estrelin Par quoy Reste seulement en la garde dudict de lesnaux la somme de xx^m escus ou environ. Laquelle somme ledict de lesnaux a promis permettre en porter la part que ladicte dame ledict s^r cardinal et nous adviserons apres lesdictz estatz tenus qui seront le iii^e jour de decembre prochain.⁵

Article 31⁶ ⁷Si tost que lalliance sera confirmee aux prochains estatz Nous ferons que le gouverneur descosse lenvoyra signifier Au Roy dangleterre pour entendre son voulloir sur la paix ou sur la treve que les escossoys demanderont et comprendre le Roy les allyes et confederes audict traicte⁷.

¹ *nen.*

² Article 29.

³ Article 30. Articles 27, 28, 29 and 30 are deleted by faint lines.

⁴⁻⁴ Deleted and *seigneurs* written above the line.

⁵ *et na este possible avancer les dictz estatz plus tost pour ce que par lusaige du Royaume il convyent quilz soient criez quarante jours en precedent que les tenir.*

⁶ Article 31.

⁷⁻⁷ Paragraph deleted.

three months will be needed, because the wars can last only three months.

Unless the said help is sent there is no hope that the Article Scots will take the war beyond the Borders of England. 29

The said lady and the said Cardinal and the Earl of Article Lennox told us that the principal nobles in this country 30 in time of war lead their subjects to war and wage war with the help of their subjects without giving them any pay. So that it is necessary only to maintain the said nobles. And because of this it has been agreed to distribute out of the King's finances, (besides the sums given to the said lady, the said Cardinal and the Earl of Lennox,) in order to further the affairs of this realm, six thousand gold crowns of the sun to the Earls of Argyll, Huntly and Bothwell, to the knight [orthane] of Cawdor, Lords Fleming, Erskine and Livingstone. The said Argyll can bring to the field six thousand men; the said Huntly, six thousand men; Bothwell, two thousand men; Lord Erskine, a thousand men; the knight [or thane], a thousand men; the other two, each a thousand men; all their subjects. And besides this, they will leave their lands furnished with men of war to resist their enemies. These sums have been brought to Stirling so that there remains in the keeping of the said Lennox only the sum of xx thousand crowns or thereabouts. Out of which sum the said Lennox has promised he will allow to be taken away the amount that the said lady, the said Cardinal and we shall advise, after the meeting of the said Estates, which will be on the 3rd day of December next¹. .

As soon as the alliance is confirmed at the forthcoming Article meeting of the Estates, we will see to it that the Governor 31 of Scotland sends notice of it to the King of England in order to hear his wishes concerning the peace or the truce which the Scots will demand, and in the said treaty the King [of France] his allies and confederates will be included.

¹ 'It has not been possible to hold the meeting of the said Estates earlier, because according to the custom of the realm they must be proclaimed forty days before they are held.'

Article
32¹

Nous trouvons la Royne et le dict sieur cardinal en telle volonte et affection de faire service au Roy comme ledict seigneur le desire Et sans leur dilligence les affaires de ce Royaume feussent en plus grant desordre. Ils nous ont dict avoir despendu grandes sommes de deniers et bailler de leur propre Revenu a moindre prix de moietie qu'y ne vault a plusieurs personnes de service pour les entretenir pour le bien de ce Royaume et pour le bien du Roy sans laquelle despense Il eust ²este² Impossible ad ce parvenir^{3,4}.

⁵Si tost que les estatz de ce Royaume auront este tenus nous advertirons le Roy de tout ce que faict sera de puy la date de ces presentes signeez de notre main Au chasteau destrelin Aujourd'hui⁶ jour⁷ mil cinq cens Quarante Troys⁸.

¹ Article 32.

²⁻² omitted.

³ *Il reste de l'argent du Roy en la garde du conte de lesnaux Il est necessaire que le dict seigneur nous mande cequil veult estre fayct du dict argent et les munitions pour ce quil n'ya aulcun espoir que les escossoys suertent hors de leur pays pour mener guerre aux anglois en plus avant que sur les frontieres Et davantaige le dict conte de lesnaux veu quil ne sera jamais content jusqua ce que ledict . . . ait le dict ornement. Et oultre ledict seigneur nous mandera . . . bon quil mande audict . . . nous bailler ledict argent . . . aulcun empeschement pour munitions apportees par deca^a.*

⁴ Article 33. *Pour la garde des municions du Roy Il A este ordonne que les navires de la marie la francoyse et la magdelaine demeureront chargez Jusques apres les estatz de ce Royaume tenus a la Requete dudict conte de lesnaux dix hommes darmes et dix archiers du Roy qui sont en cedict pays avec luy ont este payez des finances dudict seigneur envoyez en ce pays pour le quartier de juillet aoust septembre dernier passe Il seroit bon mander cedessus dict pour ruiner laudace et entreprinse dudict le lesnaux^b.*

⁵ Article 34.

⁶ vingt quatrieme.

⁷ de novembre.

⁸ Signatures J. de la Brosse on the left, Mesnage on the right. See Frontispiece.

a—*a* Written in the left-hand margin and at the bottom of the page, which is torn. The last lines cannot be read.

b—*b* In a very fine hand in the space between the end of Article 33 and the beginning of Article 34.

We find the Queen and the said Cardinal as well dis- Article
posed and as desirous of doing service to the King as he 32
could wish. And without their assiduous care the affairs
of this realm would have been in still greater disorder.
They have told us that they have spent large sums of
money and have given of their own estates at assessments
less than half their value, to several persons in their
service in order still to retain them for the good of
this realm and for the good of the King. Without the
spending of this money it would have been impossible
to accomplish this^{1,2}

As soon as the Estates of this realm have been held,
we will inform the King of all that has been done since
the date of these presents, given under our hand, in the
Castle of Stirling this day³ one thousand five hundred
and forty-three.

¹ 'Some of the King's money is still in the keeping of the Earl of Lennox. It is necessary that the said lord King inform us what he wishes to be done with the said money and the munitions, for there is no hope that the Scots will go further from their country than the Borders in order to wage war on the English. And moreover, the said Earl of Lennox, seeing that he will never be content until the said . . . has the said decoration. And further, the said lord King will inform us . . . a good thing that he tell the said . . . hand over to us the said money . . . any hindrance for the munitions brought from France.'

² 'As for the safe-keeping of the King's munitions, order has been given that the ships, *la Marie*, *la Françoise* and *la Magdaleine*, shall remain with their cargo on board [i.e. undischarged] until after the meeting of the Estates of the realm.

'At the request of the said Earl of Lennox, ten men-at-arms and ten of the King's archers who are in this said country with him, have been paid out of the finances of the said lord King which have been sent into this country for the quarter, July, August and September past.

'It would be a good thing to send for the aforesaid [Lennox] in order to bring to nought the presumption and enterprise of the said Lennox.'

³ In 17330 the date is given: 'the 24th of November,' and below, the signatures: 'Jacques de la Brousse,' and 'Mesnage.'

JOURNAL

THE JOURNAL OF
THE SIEGE OF LEITH, 1560

INTRODUCTION TO THE JOURNAL

THE period covered by the *Discours* ended with the revocation of the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of 1543 and the renewal of the Auld Alliance between Scotland and France. But Scotland had yet to find her true course. The ruthless invasion of Hertford blackened the spring of 1544. Beaton was murdered in 1546. A weary war with England dragged on with little profit to either side. The country was ravaged, burned, pillaged and laid waste; its resources were exhausted; its people weary of depredations suffered at the hands of English and French soldiers alike.

Hostilities at last ended in 1550, and their cessation found French interests in the ascendant. The young Queen had been sent to France, where she was to be married later to the Dauphin. In 1554 the Queen Dowager assumed the Regency. Frenchmen were introduced into high offices of state and foreign levies were used for the suppression of internal disturbances. Not unnaturally the Reformers were soon to raise their cry of 'Scotland a province of France'; soon antipathy to French counsellors and to French soldiers went hand in hand with antipathy to the Roman Church.

As a result, the political and the religious cleavages became identified as one. The Catholics became allied with the partisans of a French alliance, the Reformers with those of an alliance with England. And here the desire for an alliance with England, which had been steadily growing, was strengthened by the accession of Protestant Elizabeth to the English throne. The alliance of a Protestant Scotland with a Protestant England now

seemed as possible as once the Auld Alliance had seemed secure. The two parties were fast taking shape. If the Regent had been able to follow her own inclinations, she might have steered a course between the defenders of the old faith and the champions of the new ; but by identifying herself, if in part only, with the foreign policy and ambitions of the French King she alienated many of all classes.

By 1559 all chances of compromise had gone and the two sides were already well defined. It may be that at first the Reformers had no mind to 'meddill with the Pollicey further then it hath Religioun mixed with it,'¹ but unfortunately the same writer soon found religion and politics inseparable. More and more a Scotland freed from the Roman Church was coming to mean a Scotland freed from France and helped by England.

Meantime, Mary of Lorraine had written to France more than once, urging the French King to send effective help to her side. But always there was delay, due to one cause or another, until September 1559 when the long-expected vessels from France arrived. In them came the Bishop of Amiens, Nicolas Pellevé, with three learned doctors from the Sorbonne to deal with the heretics ; in them, too, came La Brosse and his son, Gaston, with officers and infantry. The French under D'Oysel began to fortify Leith.

Faced with the necessity for immediate action, the Reformers protested to the Regent ; and 'the pollicey' was now the burden of their lengthy letters. Their actions were to be read as those of men concerned with the weal of the realm ; and in a manifesto, issued early in October, they announced that they took up arms for 'the libertie of this our native countrie to remane free from the bondage

¹ Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. p. 4.

and tyranny of strangeris.’¹ Nor was the Regent slow to answer the challenge. At one time she had been willing to conciliate ; but the Protestant lords, with Châtelherault and his son at their head, ‘now shot at another mark.’ For Mary of Lorraine, too, the issue had passed from religion to one of ‘pollicey’ ; for her it was no less than the maintenance of her authority as Regent of Scotland.

The proclamation of the Reformers that they were defending Scotland against the usurpations of the French gave Elizabeth the excuse she required for supporting the Congregation. On no other grounds could she or would she have supported a rebellion against lawful authority. With Tudor craftiness, she saw more than the solution of a problem that had vexed the two realms since 1296. She saw plainly her own position : she could not forget that she was considered illegitimate by all true Catholics ; that Mary Queen of Scots was her immediate successor to the English throne ; and that, in the light of events abroad, the French might wish to make that accession precede the course of nature. Elizabeth had for some time kept her fleet in readiness and her frontiers manned.

And now our *Journal* takes up the tale.

In January 1560 some English ships were sent north under the command of Winter ; in March, an English army under Norfolk crossed the Border. The *Journal* relates the course of events from the arrival of the English fleet in the Firth of Forth on the 23rd of January to the death of the Queen Regent in the following June and the coming of the commissioners from England and France to treat of peace.

For this period there has been a tendency to rely upon the story as told by Knox. But Knox is often

¹ Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. p. 298. See also *ibid.*, i. p. 424 ; *C.F.E.*, ii. 20 ; and Cameron, pp. 427, 429.

confused and sometimes inaccurate. It is thus important to compare the details in our *Journal* with those given in Knox and in other contemporary accounts. The comparison, which can be seen in the notes appended to the text throughout, is not unfruitful even if little of real importance may emerge.

One point in the story as now told, however, stands out clearly ; that is, the repeated attempts to reach a settlement without bloodshed. After the English army had entered Scotland, Grey, Croftes and Norfolk laboured to reach some pacification, putting great trust in the Queen Regent's ability to settle differences.¹ The Scots also, except the intransigent Hamiltons with their dynastic ambitions, seemed anxious for peace and ready to embrace any opportunity that might be offered.² But there was one point upon which the negotiations were doomed to failure. The Protestant lords insisted on the destruction of the fortifications of Leith ;³ and to that demand the Regent would never accede.

Leith was the stumbling-block, and it is the siege of Leith that forms the centre of the picture presented by the *Journal*. The picture is a graphic one, told with few words. We see pushed forward the English trenches, traverse by traverse, on the south, east and west of the town ; we see the frequent sorties out of Leith by sea and by land made by the adventurous French in search of the enemy or of food. There were skirmishes almost every day ; on the shore, by the water of Leith, and on the high ground to the south. Mining and countermining were vigorously carried out by both sides. From the steeples of St. Anthony's and St. Christopher's, from the Citadel, and from Logan's bulwark the French artillery raked the English trenches. The besiegers planted their guns in

¹ See, in particular, *infra*, p. 103. ² See *infra*, p. 109. ³ See *infra*, p. 125.

strongly entrenched positions at Mount Pelham, Pilrig and Bonnington ; from these forts they shelled the town and made several unsuccessful attempts to scale the walls. Though many local names occur, this is more than the picture of a local battle. It is the last battle between the French, who were defending the old order, and the Scots, united now with their hereditary foe, fighting for a new cause the future of which none could then foresee.

While the battle raged beneath the walls of Leith the life of Mary of Lorraine was slowly drawing to its close. We know the bitterness of Knox in ascribing to her those words : ‘ Yonder are the fairest tapestrie that ever I saw : I wald that the hail feyldis that is betwix this place and yon, war strowit with the same stuiiffe.’ We know his words : ‘ for within few dayis thair eftir, (yea sum say that same day,) began hir bellie and lothsome leggis to swell.’¹

In contrast to this, the *Journal* shows us a woman stricken with mortal sickness, yet pursuing with dignity and calm her life’s work until the end. The day before she died, she summoned to her presence the leaders of the Congregation and besought them to bring to a close this civil strife. She knew that commissioners from France and England were coming to treat of peace; she knew too that she would not live to direct their deliberations. Up to the day of her death, Mary of Lorraine defended with determination and courage her rightful authority as Regent. More than that, as a Frenchwoman, a Catholic and the mother of Mary Queen of Scots, who had been brought up in France in the Catholic faith and had married the Dauphin, she continued to the end a policy which was bent on the preservation of the old alliance. It was her sincere conviction that such a policy was the best she could adopt to keep her daughter’s heritage secure.

¹ Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, ii. p. 68.

JOURNAL

JANVIER

154 r Le vingtdeuxiesme Janvier mil V^e cinquante neuf¹ Revint le herault² qui avoit este envoye devers le conte de Norfolk Et ne rapporta aultre responce sinon que ledict duc luy avoit dict quil estimoit les passeportz de sa maistresse bons Et que les francois seroient aussi bien venuz en angleterre qu'aupres de la royne regente. Qu'a son retour Il veid douze grandz vaisseaulx pres Lisle de may et qui sestoient approchez fort prez de la poincte de fiff [Fifeness].³

154 v La royne eut lettres dudit Jour de monsieur de coldingan [Coldingham] que cestoient navires anglois⁴ qui vouloient demourer au firth attendans leurs compaignons que le duc de norfolk se retiroit a neufcastel [Newcastle] pour tenir conseil avecques les contes de Cumerland Westmerland, lord gray, lord wharton, lord everse [Evers] et lord saidler.⁵

Le dit Jour passa le capitaine bondois avecques quinze soldatz en Lisle aux chevaulx [Inchkeith]⁶ qui ^afaisoient^a avecques ce quil y trouva soixante ^bcinq^b hommes.

a—a *faisoient* repeated, second one deleted. b—b above the line.

¹ *i.e.*, 1559-60.

² *C.F.E.*, ii. 604. Jan. 20. Norfolk, Sadler and Croftes to Cecil: . . . (4) 'Yesterday a herald of arms arrived here, sent out of Scotland by the Dowager. . . . The herald also brought a letter from La Brosse and shewed him the Queen's safe conduct for his passage through England.' The letter from La Brosse is given *C.F.E.*, ii. 568. Jan. 9.

Elizabeth had appointed the Duke of Norfolk Lieutenant-General in the north in December. See *C.F.E.*, ii. 497.

³ *C.F.E.*, ii. 645. Jan. 25. Winter to the Duke of Norfolk: 'On the 22nd inst. arrived at the May at night.' See also *ibid.*, ii. 616. Jan. 21. Guy Opeyrat (?) to the Queen Regent: '. . . To-day eight ships of a considerable size have passed the Isle of May towards Inchkeith'; and ii. 636. Jan. 23.

(Translation)

JANUARY

On the twenty-second of January one thousand five hundred and fifty nine, the herald who had been sent to the Earl of Norfolk returned. He brought back no other reply but this : that the said Duke had told him he considered his mistress's passports valid ; and that the French could as well come into England as they could come to the Regent. On his return journey he saw twelve big vessels near the Isle of May, very close in to Fife Ness.

That same day the Queen had letters from M. de Coldingham informing her that they were English ships, desirous of awaiting in the Firth the coming of their companions ; and that the Duke of Norfolk was returning to Newcastle to hold council with the Earls of Cumberland and Westmorland, Lord Grey, Lord Wharton, Lord Evers and Lord Sadler.

That same day Captain Bondoys crossed over to Inchkeith with fifteen soldiers, bringing the total with those already there to sixty-five men.

The Earl of Arran to Randolph : ' . . . Ships to the number of nine or ten arrived yesterday.' (Cf. Pitscottie, ii. 165 ; *Diurnal*, 55.)

⁴ *C.F.E.*, ii. 627. Jan. 22. Jean de Faultrey to D'Oysel : ' . . . The Queen was also informed that M. de Coldingham having sent out a boat to find out who they were, it was not allowed to approach.'

⁵ *C.F.E.*, ii. 497. Dec. 25. Instructions to the Duke of Norfolk (19) : ' . . . Shall use the advices of the Earls of Northumberland, Westmorland, Cumberland and Rutland, and of the Lords Dacre, Talbot, Evers and Wharton. She specially recommends Lord Gray, of Wilton, next to him Sir Ralph Sadler, with Sir G. Howard, Sir H. Percy, Sir James Croftes.' *Ibid.*, ii. 621. Jan. 22. Norfolk announces his arrival at Newcastle.

⁶ *C.F.E.*, ii. 638. Jan. 23. The Bishop of Amiens to La Brosse and D'Oysel (2) : ' . . . Yesterday the Queen sent twelve or fifteen soldiers to Inchkeith with provisions.'

Le vingtroisiesme apparurent lesdits vaisseaulx bien avant dedans le firth Et preirent les capitaines ferande et Culane Et toute la nuyt chasserent loys allard luy crians ameine Et leur ^adisant ledit allart de par qui ne luy vouloient dire. Lesdits vaisseaulx se servirent des marees pour entrer le vent estant sur wast.¹

Ledit Jour partirent les bendes qui estoient de la Ceans de desert [Dysart] pour aller a petonym [Pittenweem].²

Ledit Jour se desmonta la grande coulevrine angloise tirant ausdits navires anglois.

Le xxiii^e du matin fut veu ung desdits vaisseaulx qui poursuyvoit ung heu* Lequel avoit este charge a petit liet [Leith] de quelques pieces et munitions dartilleryes et vivres pour passer de la Cean Et estant ledit heu* pres de terre entre petit liet et lorette [Loretto] fut Investi de deux batteaulx et ammene Et y avoit quatre ou cinq soldatz malades et aultant de mariniers Le reste des personnes sestoient Jectez a terre.³

Lesdits vaisseaulx estans Jusques au nombre de huict entrerent en la radde devant Bruntiland [Burntisland].

Ledit Jour lesdites bendez ayant eu advis des navires anglois retournarent a Kyrkady [Kirkcaldy] avecques grande neccessite de vivres.⁴

^a—^a above the line.

* English : hoy, a lighter.

¹ *C.F.E.*, ii. 645. Jan. 25. Winter to the Duke of Norfolk: (2) The 23rd being very calm, they drove up the Frith with the tide . . . (3) took two of their vessels of war; the captain of one was Fernando Santandero, and of the other James Cullen, gent. See also *ibid.*, ii. 666, *note*. Jan. 28. The Queen Regent to Noailles; 674. Jan. 31. Winter to the Duke of Norfolk; 885. March 21. Attemptates committed by Winter since his arrival in the Frith. (Cf. Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, ii. 11, 13; *Diurnal*, 55.)

² *C.F.E.*, ii. 565. Jan. 8. Arran and the Lord James to Sadler and Croftes: 'the enemy has occupied Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy and Dysart.' (Cf. Knox, ii. 13.)

³ *C.F.E.*, ii. 602. Jan. 20. ' . . . Upon Tuesday last the ships took two

On the twenty-third the said ships appeared well up the Firth and took the captains, Fernando and Cullen ; and all night long they chased Louis Allard, calling out to him : 'Surrender.' The said Allard replying : 'On whose authority ?', they refused to tell him. The said ships had come up into the Firth with the tide, the wind being westerly.

That same day the bands of soldiers who were on this side at Dysart set out for Pittenweem.

That same day the big English culverin firing on the said English ships was dismounted.

On the 24th, in the morning, one of the said ships was seen chasing a hoy which had been freighted at Leith with some pieces of artillery, munitions and victuals to pass to this other side. And when the said hoy was near land between Leith and Loretto, it was hemmed in by two ships and surrendered. There were on board four or five sick soldiers and as many sailors ; the rest had jumped to land.

The said ships, being eight in number, entered Burntisland roads.

That same day the said bands of soldiers, having received advice of the coming of the English ships, returned to Kirkcaldy, suffering from great lack of victuals.

ships of war, one hoy and two victuallers ; . . . There were also three other ships laden with victuals and about sixty French men in the said ships, which were driven aground.' See also *ibid.*, ii. 666. Jan. 29. The Duke of Norfolk and his Council to the Lords of the Privy Council : ' . . . he (Winter) took two men of war, besides a great hoy laden with two culverins, twelve smaller brass pieces, and twelve pipes of powder, besides a great number of spades and things necessary for fortification.'

⁴ *C.F.E.*, ii. 651. Jan. 26. The Earl of Arran and Lord James to Sadler and Croftes : (2) 'The ships arrived here on the 23rd, while the camp of the French was marching to St. Andrews . . . but when they saw the ships were English, they retired. On the 24th May they were all night at Kyrkaldy.' (Knox, ii. 13, 14 : 'Weariness and the nycht constrained thame to luge thair. Thai sowped skarslie, becaus thair schippis war takein, in the quhilk was thair victuellis and ordinance.' 'And thair foir, bytymes in the mornynge, thai retired towardis Kinghorne, and maid more expeditioun in one day in returning, then thai did in two in marching forward.')'

155 r

Il fut envoyé par la royne ung herault avec ung trompette pour savoir que cestoit qui parla a ung Jeusne homme nomme Woster [Winter] Chef desdits vaisseaulx Lequel Luy dict que par le commandement de sa maistresse Il venoit de visiter les places de la coste dangleterre Et que voyant le temps beau Ilz estoient venuz en ce fyrth Et que pensans estre amys Lisle leur avoit tiré. Ledit herault replicqua que devant que passer ladite isle Ilz avoient prins les navires de ferrande ^ade^a et Culane Lesquelz estoient assez prez de Luy en sa chambre—Et que cestoit declairer La guerre. Il respondit que sa maistresse ne Luy avoit commandé mais quil le faisoit de son auctorité privee et quil vouloit estre amy de tous ceulx que seroient de la congregation. Et mesmes evicter les francois qui y estoient ^bqui y estoient^b contraires. Ledit herault entendit daulcuns de Leurs gens que leurs forces par terre devoient entrer en escosse dedans le vingtsixiesme dudit moys Et que le duc et les aultres les devoient rencontrer a edinton [Haddington] Et ces quartiers la.¹

Le xxv^e du matin une roberge* vint pour Investir le navire dont est cappitaine Loys allard que sestoit retire au havre neuf [Newhaven] mais voyant troys ou quatre cens soldatz sur la greve nosa aprocher.

Le xxvi^e ont este veuz a Lentree du fyrth quelques navires dont en est entre deux Jusques pres Lisle aux chevaux puy sen sont retournez Lon a estime que ce fussent francois.

a—*a* deleted.

b—*b* sic.

* A kind of long ship, wherein both sail and oars are used.

¹ *C.F.E.*, ii. 645. Jan. 25. Winter to the Duke of Norfolk: (6) 'Last night came on board Snowdon, the herald, with a trumpet, from the Regent, to know whether he came as enemy or otherwise. He answered that he was sent to conduct divers ships laden with ordnance, armour and munitions to Berwick; and as there was no sure place for him to tarry whilst they discharged, he had determined to seek hither, for the better safety of the Queen's fleet, supposing he should have received good and friendly entertainment; but as he was coming into Leith Roads, the French ports at Inchkeith, Leith, and Burnt Island, shot at him many cruel shot of cannon and culverin. Being therewith moved, and hearing

The Queen sent a herald, with a trumpet, to find out who they were. He spoke with a young man, called Winter, in command of the said ships, who told him that, following his mistress's orders, he had been visiting the strong places on the English coast and, seeing the weather so fine, they had entered the Firth, thinking to have been received as friends. Inchkeith had shot at them. The herald replied that before they had passed Inchkeith they had taken the ships of Fernando and Cullen, which were close by and within his sea-way, and that that was an act of war. He replied that his mistress had given him no orders, but that he was acting on his own authority and wished to show friendship to all those on the side of the Congregation, and even to put out the French who were in the country and on the opposite side. The said herald heard from some of their men that their land forces were to enter Scotland before the twenty-sixth of the same month, and that the Duke and others were to meet them at Haddington and round those parts.

On the 25th, in the morning, a warship came to invest the boat captained by Louis Allard, which had withdrawn into Newhaven; but seeing three or four hundred soldiers on the shore it did not dare to close in.

On the 26th some ships were seen at the entrance to the Firth, two of which came up as far as Inchkeith and then withdrew. It was thought that they were French.

of their great cruelty against the Congregation and the captivity which Scotland is like to fall into, he determined with himself to give all the aid he might unto the Congregation, and to let the French from their wicked practices towards the said realm, whereof the Queen his mistress was nothing privy.' See also *ibid.*, ii. 623. Jan. 22. The Duke of Norfolk's Instructions for Winter: (6) 'He shall aid the Queen's said friends and annoy their enemies, specially the French; and this he must seem to do of his own head, as if he had no commission of the Queen or of the Duke of Norfolk'; see also *ibid.*, ii. 528. Dec. 30. The Queen to the Duke of Norfolk: (2) Winter is 'to use his doings in impeaching of French succours, as the same may appear to come of himself, and not by any direction.'

An account by the Queen Regent to Noailles is given in Teulet, *Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse*, i. 408 (translated in a note to *C.F.E.*, ii. 666).

Ledit Jour Ladmiral de ceste armee de mer ^ad'angloy^a dangleterre demanda a ung trompette qui estoit alle devers Luy sil pouvoit envoyer ^bdevers^b ung gentilhomme avecques ung trompette devers la royne regente.

Le mesme Jour ces navires feirent Le plus grand amas de batteaulx quil leur fut possible estans tousiours a lautre coste de Leau.

155 v

Le xxvii^e Le susdit gentilhomme anglois nomme mister Stodebarby [Stothard] descendit au havre neuf avec ung trompette et ung serviteur Et de la fut conduit par les capitaines Dervilles et Seriac au logis de la royne Et disant navoir charge de parler sinon a ladiete dame eust audience a laquelle en presence de plusieurs prelatz contes et seigneurs diet quil estoit venu de la part dudit Wynter pour sexcuser de la prise des navires dessusdits disant les avoir pris, pour ce que lun deulx navoit voulu amener et obeyr au commandement dudit Wynter qui les avoit trouvez en ce fyrth ou Il estoit venu avecques les vaisseaulx plus Importans dangleterre pour y avoir abry si quelque mauvais temps survenoit, ou Ilz demouroient tant que la commodite le porteroit que ce quilz avoient faict estoit sans commandement expres de la royne dangleterre et que quant a restitution ledit Wynter nen feroit aucune que premierement Il neust ladvis du conseil de barvik [Berwick].¹ La royne respondit que veu la responce faiete aux herault et trompette elle pouvoit Justement luy refuser toute audience mais que pour manifester plus clairement dou procedoit ceste declaration de guerre elle avoit bien voullu louyr Que cestoit toutes voyes ouvertes dhostilite et contre le traicte de paix ou Il est diet quauleun nentre en pais de lautre sans sauf conduit par terre ny par mer Sinon par contraincte de temps Quilz sont entrez en ceste riviere ayans vent contraire se servans seulement des mares se sont mis enlieu ou la radde nest aulcunement

a—*a* deleted.

b—*b* deleted.

¹ See Teulet, *op. cit.*, i. 408. The Queen Regent of Scotland to Noailles. Jan. 28. (Translation in *C.F.E.*, ii. 666, *note*. . . . (3) 'Winter yesterday sent a gentleman to the writer to say that he had not come to make war;

That same day the admiral of this English armada asked a trumpet who had gone to him whether he could send a gentleman with a trumpet to the Queen Regent.

That same day these ships made the greatest gathering of vessels they could, being always on the other side of the water.

On the 27th the aforesaid English gentleman, named Mr. Stothard, landed at Newhaven with a trumpet and a servant, and from there was conducted by Captains Derville and Seriac to the Queen's lodging. Saying that he had been charged to speak to no one except to the said lady, he was received in audience. To the Queen, in the presence of several prelates, earls and lords, he said that he had come from the said Winter to make excuse for the taking of the above-mentioned ships, stating that he had taken them because one of them had refused to surrender and to obey the said Winter's commands. Winter had met them in the Firth, whither he had come with the more important English ships, seeking shelter in case of bad weather; that they were to stay there as long as opportunity served; that what he had done had been done without any express order from the Queen of England; and as for restitution, the said Winter would do nothing until he had first consulted the Council at Berwick. The Queen replied that, considering the reply made to her herald and trumpet, she could have justly refused him audience; but that, in order to make more clearly manifest whence proceeded this declaration of war, she had decided to hear what he had to say; that they were all evident hostile acts and a violation of the treaty of peace, wherein it is laid down that neither should enter the other's territory, either by sea or by land, without safe-conduct, unless it be by stress of weather; that when they entered this river, they came up only with the tide for the wind was against them; taking up a position where the

but there is abundant proof to the contrary. As to the restitution of the ships and prisoners which he has taken, he says he will await the pleasure of his mistress.'))

156 r

bonne, et ou les anglois ne viennent Jamais quen temps de guerre, Quilz ne se sont faictz cognoistre sinon aux rebelles ayans communication et accez avecques eulx, Quilz nont voulu saluer aulcune des places royales contre la commune observance des pais descosse et dangleterre, Quilz avoient en leur compaignye quatre vaisseaulx desdits rebelles, Quilz courent sus aux subiectz du roy, Quilz font amas de basteaulx pour descendre et Investir les places, Quelle a faict tout ce quelle a peu pour lentretienement de la paix, et bonnes radresses aux ^asolda^a subiectz dangleterre de ce quilz ont eu affaire par deca.¹ Quil luy desplaist grandement de ceste Infraction, Et que les roy et royne feront cognoistre a toute la crestiente dou elle procede, esperant quavecques layde de dieu Ilz auront aultant de moyens dy pourvoir que par le passe.

Ledit Jour estoient nosdites bandes a trlibody [Tullibody] Et avoient couche a clacmanan [Clackmannan] les rebelles avoient coupe les pontz et faict le gast devant eulx.²

Le xxviii^e lesdits vaisseaulx saprocherent du coste de deca Et y arriva encores dix aultres vaisseaulx Anglois.

Ledit Jour desendirent a quenisferre [Queensferry] environ soixante hommes arquebusiers e archers Et estans en terre ne trouvant les rebelles pour les ^brecevoir^b ^cest^c Joindre avec eulx ne se feist aultre descente et Incontinent se rembarquerent.

a—*a* deleted.

b—*b* above the line, *rese* deleted.

c—*c* *sic*.

¹ *C.F.E.*, ii. 666, *note*, (2): 'Moreover, it is an express violation of the ordinances and treaties between the two realms of Scotland and England, by which the subjects on either side cannot enter by sea or land, without a safe-conduct, unless it be by stress of weather; and when this fleet came the wind was contrary and they had to tide in (cf. *supra*, p. 58), and they have taken up a position anything but good, which is seldom occupied except in time of war. Nor do they wish to be recognised except by the rebels, with whom they have had communication, giving them aid and comfort, and have attacked the king's subjects, and have neglected to salute or to lower their sails to any of the royal places within this realm.'

² Cf. *Pitscottie*, ii. 166: 'the xxvj day the congregatioun come frome

roadstead was anything but good and where the English never came except in time of war; that they had not made themselves known except to the rebels, with whom they had had communication and access; that they had refused to salute any of the royal places, contrary to the common observance in both Scotland and England; that they had in their company four ships belonging to the said rebels; that they had attacked the King's subjects; that they had gathered their ships together in order to attack and invest the strong places; that she had done all she could to keep the peace and to give redress to English subjects in matters arising in Scotland; that she was mightily displeased at this breach, and that the King and Queen would make known to all Christendom whence it proceeded, hoping with the help of God to find the means to provide against it as they had been able to do in the past.

That same day our said troops were at Tullibody. They had slept at Clackmannan, the rebels having cut the bridges and laid waste the country before them.

On the 28th the said ships came nearer this side, and there arrived another ten English ships.

That same day about sixty harquebusiers and archers landed at Queensferry, and, having landed, could not find the rebels who were to receive them and to join with them; so no other landing was made, and they straightway re-embarked.

Stirling and cuttit the brig of Tilliebody that the frinchemen sould not pase ower to mak impediement to thame, and thairfor the frinchemen remanitt all that night in Fottrick mure without meat or drink.' See also Knox, ii. 14: 'The storme, whiche had continuitt neire the space of a moneth, brak in the verry tyme of thair reteiring, quhairby mony thoctt thei sould have bein stayit, till that reasonabill companie mycht have bein assemblit to have fouchtein thame; and for that purpois did Wilyeame Kirkcaldy cut the Brig of Toullibody. But the Frenche, expert aneuch in suche factis, tuik down the rooffe of a parish kirk, and maid a brig over the same watter, called Dovane; and so thai eschapid, and come to Striveling, and syne to Leith.' See also *Diurnal*, 55, and *Historie of the Estate of Scotland*, in *Wodrow Miscellany*, i. 77.

That same day was sent . . . [*cipher*].

That same day our bands reached Stirling.

On the 29th they left that place and came to Falkirk, where they slept ; some horse were at Linlithgow and four ensigns were left at Stirling to prevent the cutting of the bridge.

On the 30th five of the said ships went to Queensferry, four into Burntisland harbour, and seven remained in the roadstead.

That same day the Sieur de Sarlabous was reconnoitring with some horse, when he had two or three soldiers wounded.

On the last day of the month the general of the English ships compelled, (so it must be presumed,) Captain Fernando to write a letter which was brought to the Queen. It reminded her of the services he had rendered in the past, complaining that he had been forgotten when the English gentleman came before the Queen, and begging her to send within two days to the said general for his release, were it to be with a ransom or otherwise.

FEBRUARY

On the first day of February James Drummond, trumpet, was sent by the Queen Regent's orders on board the English ship the *Golden Lion*, flagship of the fleet, to secure the release of John Fenton, secretary to the Sieur de Villemore, controller of Scotland. He had been sent over the water with letters from the said lady and had been taken prisoner by one called Master Blond [*? Blount*],

240 men and munitions on board. (Winter's Journal in *C.F.E.*, ii. 601 (8), Jan. 20, mentions the 'Lion' as the admiral's ship.)

⁴ John Fenton is mentioned as a bearer of letters by the Bishop of Amiens writing to La Brosse and D'Oysel, and by M. de Villemore, writing to M. Lissiet. (*C.F.E.*, ii. 638, 639. Jan. 23.)

⁵ Villemore was made Comptroller when the Queen Dowager assumed the Regency in 1554.

^aestans^a audit navire Et trouve ledit fenton es mains de maistre gray maistre dudit navire qui lavoit mis a Rancon de dix escus toutesfoys pour lamour dudit trompette comme Il disoit Il le qujeta pour huict escus pistolletz* lesquels ledit trompette paya comptant sur le bout de la table ou estoient a soupper maistre Wynter admiral maistre connestable viceadmiral le susdit maistre blond et aultres.

Ledit Jour partirent lesdites ^bba^b bandes de lythquho et furent divises es lieulx circonvoisins ^cdendin bon^c dEdimbourg ¹

157 r Le 11^e febvrier ^apassa^d le trompette de monsieur de Villeparisis ^epassast^e ausdits navires de la part dudit Sieur de Villeparisis ² avecques lettres audit general luy demander reparation des attemtatz faictz sur les subiectz du roy par ses navires avecques restitution des cappitaines cullane et ferrande et des ^fnav^f navires ^gheuz^g au mesme estat quilz ont esté pris.

Ledit Jour ledit trompette rapporta lettres dudit general par lesquelles Il disoit quil nestoit deslibere riens restituer sans en avoir premierement adverti sa maistresse et entendre suivre son Intention alaquelle Il mandoit les ^hmauvais deportementz dont^h on avait usé envers Luy Nayant trouve que l'amytye fust si entiere par deca comme Il avait estime partant d'aupres de Ladite dame.

Le v^e feirent voile lesdits navires Jusques a lendroiet de dombarre [Dunbar] pensant prendre ung navire francois qui y estoit arryve charge de vins ³ Et le trouvant eschoue e quelques soldatz dedans sen revindrent le lendemain en la radde dou Ilz estoient partys.

a—*a* above the line. *b*—*b* deleted. *c*—*c* deleted. *d*—*d* above the line. *e*—*e* deleted. *f*—*f* above the line. *g*—*g* above the line, *escos* deleted. *h*—*h* above the line, *maulv deportemens* deleted.

* See Littré's Dictionary and the New English Dictionary, *s.v.*

¹ *C.F.E.*, ii. 711. Feb. 10. Intelligence from Scotland. . . . 'D'Oysel arrived at Edinburgh last Friday at evening together with all the rest of the French, except four bands left at Stirling. Four ensigns shall remain in Edinburgh, three in Musselburgh, with the crews to be lodged in Pinkie House; certain other bands in Dalkeith, Newbattle and Lasswade.'

captain of a hundred men of war on the said ship. He found the said Fenton in the hands of Master Gray, master of the said ship, who had put him to ransom for ten crowns. However, for the love of the said trumpet, so he said, he would let him off for eight pistolet crowns; which the trumpet paid in ready money on the end of the table where Maister Winter, the admiral, Master Constable, vice-admiral, the said Master Blond and others were supping.

That same day the said troops left Linlithgow and were spread out in places round Edinburgh.

On the 2nd of February M. de Villeparisis sent his trumpet to the said ships with letters from the said Sieur de Villeparisis to the said general, demanding reparation for the attemptates committed by his ships on the King's subjects, together with the restitution of Captains Cullen and Fernando, and of the ships and the hoy, in the same condition as when they were taken.

That same day the said trumpet brought back letters from the said general, in which he stated that he had decided to make no restitution without first notifying his mistress, whose wishes he intended to follow; and that he was reporting to her the evil manner in which he had been used, having found that the friendship on their side was not so entire as he had thought at the time of leaving the said lady.

On the 5th the said ships set sail as far as the port of Dunbar, thinking to take a French ship which had arrived there freighted with wine. Finding that it had run aground and that there were some soldiers aboard, the

² Villeparisis. Henri Cleutin, seigneur d'Oysel et de Villeparisis, had been in command of the French forces in Scotland; in 1552 he was made Lieutenant-General for Scotland, and in 1559 took over the command of the forces in Leith.

³ *Accts. Treas.*, xi. 13. The inhabitants of Dunbar and the neighbourhood were charged to transport certain wines from a French ship to the Castle of Dunbar about this date.

Ledit Jour fut envoye ung herault devers le duc ^ade de^a norfolk pour demander sauf conduict pour le passaige dun gentilhomme devers la royne dangleterre ¹

Le vii^e de nuyt furent envoyes troys batteaulx de petit liet avecques quelques soldatz e vivres pour mettre en lisle soubz la conduicte du cappitaine lussaignet et cappitaine Loys ^bWallard^b Lesquelz rencontrarent cinq batteaulx anglois combatirent longuement Et y eust beaulcoup de ^cennemys^c blessez et tuez deux francois seulement blessez Et voyant quil venoit encores daultres batteaulx e quilz avoient de grandz vaisseaulx entre lisle et nosdits batteaulx furent contrainctz regagner terre.

157 v

Le dit Jour ^dlornd^d lord grey gardien des frontieres ² du est du miglieu dangleterre escripvit une lettre au sieur de holbine [Home]* gardien de la frontiere du est du coste descosse par laquelle Il luy faisoit entendre avoir este commis en ceste charge par la royne sa maistresse Et pource luy avoit semble bon luy faire entendre que des attentatz commis on a comectre par les subiectz de sa charge Il en seroit faict redresse de temps en temps selon le traicte ³ si le semblable luy estoit faict du coste descosse le requerant appointer certain Jour raisonnable que Luy ou ses depputez se peussent trouver avecques Luy pour lexpedition et delivrance des Lettres condampnees et ^eprocedder^e a tous aultres attemptatz faict de coste et dautre par Justice**

a—*a* sic.

b—*b* cf. 154 r and 155 r *Allard*.

c—*c* above the line, *anglois* deleted.

d—*d* deleted. *e*—*e* above the line, *procedde* deleted.

* Holbine—a misreading of Howme.

** This is a request to hold a Day of Trew. (See Tough, *Last Years of a Frontier*, pp. 137-45).

¹ *C.F.E.*, ii. 695. Feb. 6. The Dowager of Scotland to the Duke of Norfolk: Desires a safe-conduct for a gentleman of France, John de Montaignac, and four persons with him, going to the court at London, on the affairs of the writer. He has stayed his despatch until she knows whether he may have sure passage to London. She asks for an answer by

ships returned the next day to the roadstead whence they had set out.

That same day a herald was sent to the Duke of Norfolk to ask for a safe-conduct for the passage of a gentleman to the Queen of England.

On the 7th, at night, three boats were sent from Leith with some soldiers and victuals to be landed on Inchkeith, under the command of Captain Lussagnet and Captain Louis Allard, who, meeting five English boats, fought for a long time, when many of the enemy were killed and wounded, two French men only being wounded. Seeing other boats coming up, and that there were some big vessels between Inchkeith and our boats, they were forced to return to the shore.

That same day Lord Grey, warden of the East and Middle Marches of England, wrote a letter to Lord Home, warden of the East March on the Scottish side, in which he informed him that he had been appointed to this office by the Queen, his mistress. It had, therefore, seemed good to him to let him know that, according to the treaty, redress would be made from time to time for all attemptates which had been committed, or which might be committed, by the subjects within his jurisdiction, if the same was done on the Scottish side. He asked him to appoint a suitable day, when he, or his deputies, could meet him to expedite and deliver Bills and to proceed to justice in all other attemptates committed on either side.

the bearer, Islay, the herald. (Cf. *Accts. Treas.*, xi. 14, where mention is made of Islay's journey to Newcastle.)

² *C.F.E.*, ii. 700, note. Jan. 23. Instructions for Lord Grey of Wilton: (1) According to the authority given him by Letters Patent, whereby he is constituted Warden of the East and Middle Marches, he shall repair to his charge, and see the same governed according to the ancient orders of the Borders.

³ On the 10th of June 1551 the Treaty of Norham had endeavoured to settle the vexed question of the Debatable Land and to establish order on the Borders.

Le ix^e Le sieur de ^abeton^{a 1} meit la nuyt quelques vivres en ladite ysle avecques ung batteau qui partit du coste de sa maison.

Ledit Jour se veid ung batteau partir du navire admiral de ceste flotte qui alla Jusques en lisle puyz remit audit navire ung trompette. fut cinq fois somme ladite Isle de se rendre ² auquel Il fut dict plusieurs foys quil ne retornast plus finablement le cappitaine bondois leur feist tirer quelques arquebuzades

Le x^e sur le soir vint ^bune^b autre flotte de navires anglois qui avecques les aultres faisoient le nombre de trente a trente deux navires La mesme nuyt feirent descente en lisle avecques vingt cinq batteaulx et troys ^censeignes^c de gens de guerre furent repulsez Et y demoura troys prisonniers et sept mortz qui furent trouvez le lendemain Et y en eust beaulcoup de noyez et de blessez Et entre aultres ung cappitaine anglois blesse.³

Le xi^e de nuyt fut mis quelques metz, chairs, sel, par le susdit sieur de ^dbeton^d en ladite Isle.

158 r

Ledit Jour fut despesché maistre estienne Wilson pour passer secretement par angleterre.⁴

a—a above the line, *setson* deleted.

b—b above the line.

c—c above the line, *estiquiers* deleted.

d—d above the line, *setson* deleted.

¹ Seton is a more likely reading than Beton, considering the situation of Seton's house. (Cf. *C.F.E.*, ii. 717. Feb. 12. Winter to the Duke of Norfolk: (4) . . . He dare tell the Duke for truth that since his coming neither men nor victuals have come by sea into Leith or Inchkeith.)

² *C.F.E.*, ii. 743. Feb. 18. The Queen Dowager of Scotland to Queen Elizabeth: . . . he (Winter) has sent a summons to the garrison of Inchkeith, requiring it to be surrendered to him, and assaulted it, but had been repulsed.

³ *C.F.E.*, 717. Feb. 12. Winter to the Duke of Norfolk: (4) . . . He has viewed Inchkeith, where he landed 300 men, and by their much hardiness had one slain and five or six hurt, amongst whom were Captains Gorge and Crokers, but there is no doubt of their good recovery without any maim to them, and the French scaped not scot free.

In the Archives of the Foreign Office, Paris (*Mémoires et documents*, Angl., reg. 21, fol. 51), there is a letter from La Brosse dated the 12th Feb. 'Les quatorze navires de la Royne d'Angleterre sont à la bouche du havre du Petit-Lict il y a quatre on cinq jours jointz avecques ceulx

On the 9th Lord Seton, during the night, landed some victuals on Inchkeith with a boat which took off from near his house.

That same day a boat was seen to leave the flagship of this fleet and go as far as Inchkeith; and then a trumpet, put off in the said boat, five times summoned Inchkeith to surrender; in answer to which he was told several times not to return. Finally, Captain Bondoio ordered several harquebusades to be fired at them.

On the 10th, towards evening, came another fleet of English ships, which, with the others, brought the number to thirty or thirty-two vessels. That same night they made an attack on Inchkeith, with twenty-five boats and three ensigns of soldiers. These were repulsed; and there were left behind three prisoners; seven slain were found the next day. There were many drowned and many wounded; amongst others an English captain was wounded.

On the 11th, at night, some meat, flesh and salt were landed on the said Inchkeith by the afore-mentioned Lord Seton.

That same day was dispatched Master Stephen Wilson to pass secretly through England.

des rebelles qu'ilz appellent icy "ceux de la Congrégation sainte." Hier au soir arrivèrent encores en ceste radde huict aultres grandz navires anglois que tous ensemble font trente quatre ou cinq vaisseaulx. Ils courent tout le long de l'isle et ceste nuict ont assayé de faire une roudde descente dont, Dieu mercy, ils ont esté repulsez. . . .

⁴ *C.F.E.*, ii. 837. March 7 and 8. Throckmorton to Cecil: (3) The French sent lately letters into Scotland by four ways: by a courier in Killygrew's company, by Flanders, by Calais, and through England, by Cornwall; . . . one Wilson, a Scotsman, arrived here on the 4th inst. with letters from Scotland, and passed through England unknown, and once he passed as a scholar going to Louvain; whereat the writer marvels much.

Ibid., ii. 845. March 9. Same to same: (2) Wilson, a Scotsman, has passed to and from Scotland through England. He took shipping at Dover on 28th Feb. and landed at Dieppe. Wilson intends to embark in Flanders and to descend into the north parts of Scotland. (In *C.F.E.*, iii. 104 (3), the Dowager of Scotland to [D'Oysel], Wilson is mentioned as a kinsman of the Bishop of Dunblane. For his subsequent career, see Pollen, *Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots*, index. Mention of Wilson is made in the Treasurer's Accounts, *passim*.)

Ledit Jour Levesque dorknay sestoit mis en une barque pour aller en son evesché fut pris par ung desdits navires pres lisle de may doublant la poincte de fyff Et mene a saint andre.¹

Le xiii^e de nuyt Le cappitaine guevre partit des salines [Prestonpans] avecques trente soldatz et quelques vivres entra en lisle Et le lendemain demy heure apres haube fait une sallie en ladite Isle de quelques grosses pieces ^ade force^a et force harquebusiers Le general de la flotte descendit de lautre couste et alla a saint andre avecques le prieur et aultres pour communiquer Et debvoit ledit prieur ² Et le conte daran passer a barvik pour trouver le duc de Norfolk ³ Et se retirerent les navires que estoient a lentour de lisle plus hault en la radde ne doubtant empeschement daller en ladite Isle

Ledit Jour furent ^bembarquez^b a barvik deux cens arquebusiers en quatre vaisseaulx pour renforcer ceulx cy

Le xiiii^e aussi de nuyt devant la lune levee le cappitaine Lussagnet ⁴ partit avecques troys batteaulx de petit liet charges de soldatz e vivres Et les meist en ladite Isle Les navires anglois estans ung peu plus hault en la radde que de coustume

Ledit Jour revint ledit herault qui avoit este envoye devers le duc de Norfoc estant a neufcastel sans aulcune responce Et luy fut diet seulement quil seroit envoye ung herault devers la royne regente qui la porteroit.⁵ Il y avoit

a—a deleted.

b—b above the line, *desbarquez* deleted.

¹ Cf. *C.F.E.*, ii. 885. March 21. The taking of the Bishop of Orkney is mentioned in the Memorial of the attemptates committed by William Winter since his arrival in the Frith. (Adam Bothwell, canon of Glasgow, was appointed to the Church of the Orkneys on 2nd August 1559 by Paul iv. See Pollen, *op. cit.*, xxxvii. and note 1.)

² Lord James Stewart, prior of St. Andrews, afterwards the Regent Moray.

³ *C.F.E.*, ii. 703, note. Feb. 15. The Queen to Norfolk: (1) Perceives by his letter of the 8th of February that he has assigned a meeting and conference with the Lord James, the Master of Maxwell, Lord Ruthven, and Mr. Balnavoos, the 25th of this month.

That same day the Bishop of Orkney, who had embarked in a small boat to return to his bishopric, was captured by one of the said ships near the Isle of May as he was doubling Fife Ness, and was taken to St. Andrews.

On the 13th, at night, Captain Guevre set out from Prestonpans with thirty soldiers and some victuals, and landed on Inchkeith. The next day, half an hour after dawn, a landing was made on the said island of several large cannons and a goodly number of harquebusiers. The general of the fleet landed on the other side [of the Firth] and went to St. Andrews with the Prior and others, in order to confer; the said Prior and the Earl of Arran were to go to Berwick to see the Duke of Norfolk. The ships which were round Inchkeith withdrew further up the roadstead, knowing that they would be prevented from making a landing on the said island.

That same day two hundred harquebusiers in four ships embarked at Berwick to reinforce those already here.

On the 14th, also at night, before the moon was up, Captain Lussagnet set out from Leith with three ships laden with soldiers and victuals and landed them on Inchkeith, the English ships being further up the roads than usual.

That same day the herald who had been sent to the Duke of Norfolk at Newcastle returned. He brought back no reply; he was merely told that a herald would be sent to the Queen Regent and that he would bring the reply.

⁴ Capitaine Lusingnatt is mentioned in the *Accts. Treas.*, x. 431, in 1558 as the officer in charge of the provisioning of Inchkeith. Cf. the entry for the 7th of the month.

⁵ *C.F.E.*, ii. 714. Feb. 11. Norfolk and his Council to Cecil: (1) He has received a letter from the Queen Dowager, brought by a Scottish herald, which he sends herewith. . . . Supposing he was sent to espy their doings, he [the writer] has thought good to reciprocate, and has sent the answer to the Dowager by an English herald, so that he may bring such intelligence of their doings in Scotland as he can obtain. He dismissed the Scotch herald with an answer that, in a day or two, he would send a special messenger to the Dowager with such answer to her letter as he doubted not would be to her contentation.

audit neufcastel de sept a huict cens chevaulx comprins leurs demy es Lances et de six a sept cens hommes de pied Avoit este faicte proclamation que tout le monde fust prest pour marcher a caresme prenant* Et estoit couleree ladite proclamation que cestoit pour empescher et resister aux francois qui vouloient Invahir le pais.

158 v

Les "sixiesme" xvi^e arrayva le herault de la part du duc de Norfolk ¹ avecques lettres portans sauf conduit pour le passage dun gentilhomme devers la royne dangleterre lequel herault monstroït vouloir Ignorer les deportemens e entreprinses desdits navires anglois.² translation de ladite lettre. Il vous plaira entendre que ayant receu vos lettres du vi^e du present par Ilaye [Islay] votre herault par lesquelles Il appert que votre ^bgrande^b grace entendoit envoyer ung gentilhomme francois nomme Jehan de montignac a la maiesté de la royne ma maistresse pour certains vos affaires duquel avez retenu la depesche pour raison de quelque innovation occurrant comme votre grace allegue Jusques ace que peussiez congnoistre sil pourroit avoir seur passage a londres Jay trouve bon signifier a votre grace que Je nay congnoissance dinnovation telle que puisse estre empeschement a ceulx quil "vous" vous plaira envoyer a la maieste de la royne ma souveraine par ainsi toutesfoys et quantes Il vous plaira envoyer ledit gentilhomme Je donneray ordre a son "arrivee" a Barwick quil passe saufvement et seurement en la court suyvant le desir de votre grace Et priant Icelle donner credit a ce porteur Et Je le commectray en la garde du dieu tout puissant De neufcastel le xii^e de febvrier 1559 De votre grace chevalier, Norfolk.³

a—*a* deleted.b—*b* deleted.c—*c* deleted.d—*d* above the line, *aryvee* deleted.

* Shrove-tide, or Shrove Tuesday, the eve of Lent.

¹ *C.F.E.*, ii. 714. Feb. 11. Norfolk and his Council to Cecil: (2) He has now sent Chester herald to Edinburgh with letters to the Dowager.

Ibid., ii. 737. Feb. 16. Report of the Chester herald: (1) On Friday the 16th Feb. at 9 a.m. he arrived at Edinburgh, with a letter for the Dowager of

At Newcastle there were from seven to eight hundred horse, including their demi-lances, and from six to seven hundred foot. Proclamation had been made that everyone was to be ready to march on Shrove Tuesday. And the said proclamation pretended that this was to hinder and resist the French who wished to invade the country.

On the 16th the herald arrived from the Duke of Norfolk with letters bearing a safe-conduct for the passage of a gentleman to the Queen of England; which herald pretended not to know anything about the behaviour and enterprises of the English ships. Translation of the said letter: 'May it please you to understand that having received your letters of the 6th of the present month by Islay your herald, in which it is evident that Your Grace intends to send a French gentleman, Jehan de Montignac by name, to Her Majesty the Queen, my mistress, for certain affairs of yours, but that you have delayed his dispatch because of some innovation which has presented itself, as you allege, until such time as you might know whether he could have sure passage to London, I thought it advisable to notify Your Grace that I know of no innovation such as could hinder the sending of any whom you wished to Her Majesty the Queen, my sovereign. Thus, whenever it shall please you to send the said gentleman, I will give orders on his arrival at Berwick for his safe and quiet passage to the Court, according to Your Grace's wish, begging Your Grace to give credence to the bearer of this, whom I commit to the care of Almighty God. At Newcastle, the 12th of February 1559. Your Grace's servant, NORFOLK.'

Scotland from the Duke of Norfolk, which he delivered at 3 o'clock in the presence of the Bishops of St. Andrews and Amiens, MM. La Broche and D'Oysel, the Earl of Bothwell, the Lords Semple, Seaton and others.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 737. Feb. 16. (4) The herald answered that concerning the ships he neither saw or knew of their doings, nor had yet spoken with any of them.

³ This letter is calendared in *C.F.E.*, ii. 716. Feb. 12. The Duke of Norfolk to the Dowager of Scotland.

Le xvii^e fut depesche le sieur octavyan basso [Bosso]¹ par la voye de la ^amer^a qui sembarqua a dombarre le ^b porta les deux actes autentiques sur la venue desdits navires et attemptatz par eulx faictz 'contre le duc^c et lextraict du ^dlibele^d libelle citatoire contre leduc.²

Ledit Jour fut passé le contract a barvik entre la royne dangleterre et les rebelles descosse.³

159 r

Le xix^e fut depesche le sieur de montignac pour luy remonstrer les attemptatz et entreprinses faictes par ses maistres avecques lettres aladiete dame ^aa^e cest effect luy demandant aussi saufconduit de passer Jusques en france Et ample Instruction au seigneur de nouailles de toutes choses. Ledit montignac porta le double de la susdite lettre celui des lettres a la royne dangleterre et duc de norfolk Et dune escripte par le duc de chastellerault et ses complices au conte de derval avecques la translacion dicelle⁴

Le xxi^e lesdits navires anglois prindrent une hergue chargee de chevaulx appartens a monseigneur le marquis ^fdebl^f delbeuf.⁵

a—a above the line, *ceulx* deleted. *b—b* blank in MS. *c—c* deleted.
d—d deleted. *e—e* above the line, *pour* deleted. *f—f* deleted.

¹ Octavian Bosso passed regularly to the French Court from Scotland and back again. (See *C.F.E.*, ii. 50 (6), 907 (1), 908 (1).)

² This '*libelle citatoire*' is very probably a document preserved in the Archives of the Foreign Office, Paris (*Mémoires et documents*, Angleterre, reg. 15, fol. 130-153), which gives details of the rebellion of the Duke of Châtelherault and his son against the Dowager's authority. It consists of depositions made by various witnesses, and is addressed to the French King by La Brosse and D'Oysel. It bears the date *Le jour de l'an 1559*. Andrew Lang mentions it in his *History of Scotland*, ii. 71, note.

³ The contract between England and the Protestant Lords of Scotland was signed on Feb. 27th. (See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, ii. 45-53; Rymer's *Fœdera*, xv. 569-571; *C.F.E.*, ii. 781.) There is a French translation in the Archives of the Foreign Office, Paris (*Mémoires et documents*, Espagne, reg. 233, fol. 263).

In the *Spanish Calendar* (1558-1567), 131, Quadra, Spanish ambassador in London, writing to Philip on 19th Feb., says two Scotsmen came to the Court of Elizabeth 'to bring the treaties signed and sealed by all the members of the Congregation, and have taken back the Queen's signature.'

On the 17th Octavian Bosso was sent by the sea-route, embarking at Dunbar on the [*blank*]. He carried the two original statements with regard to the coming of the said ships and the attemptates committed by them, and the copy of the 'libel' against the Duke.

That same day the agreement was concluded at Berwick between the Queen of England and the rebels of Scotland.

On the 19th the *Sieur de Montignac* was dispatched [to the Queen of England] to lay before her the attemptates and enterprises committed by her commanders, with letters to the said lady to that effect, also asking her to grant a safe-conduct to pass over into France; he also bore an ample account of everything to the *Seigneur de Noailles*. The said *Montignac* carried duplicates of the aforesaid letter and of the letters to the Queen of England and to the Duke of Norfolk, and of one written by the Duke of *Châtelherault* and his accomplices to the Earl of [?], with the translation of this last one.

On the 21st the said English ships took a hoy carrying horses belonging to the *Marquis d'Elbœuf*.

⁴ *C.F.E.*, ii. 765. Feb. 24. Norfolk and his Council to Cecil: Chester herald sent to the Queen Dowager is now returned. . . . The French gentleman called *Montignac* arrived here with the said Chester, whom the Dowager has sent to the Queen with letters. Holinshed in his *Chronicles* (i. 490, 491) gives a detailed account of the herald's visit to Edinburgh.

⁵ René de Lorraine, *Marquis d'Elbœuf*, was the seventh son of Claude de Lorraine, first Duke of Guise. He was General of the French galleys. D'Oysel, writing to Noailles (*C.F.E.*, ii. 211, note. Nov. 12; Teulet, *op. cit.*, i. 381), says that he is expecting the arrival of the *Marquis* and his troops to hammer the iron while it is hot. In *C.F.E.*, ii. 368, Dec. 4, in the commission given to the *Marquis d'Elbœuf* to deal with political, financial and religious matters, 'The Three Estates, the clergy and the laity of Scotland are commanded to obey these powers and to assist in their execution.' At the back is written by a contemporary hand: 'The same took no place, by the *Marquis*' stay in France, for want of means to pass by the Queen's navy.' (Cf. *ibid.*, ii. 746, Feb. 19, where the Queen Dowager receives word from her brothers that the bad weather had kept the *Marquis* at Dieppe; and also *ibid.*, ii. 775. Feb. 26. The Earl of Arran to Cecil: . . . 'They have taken divers French ships, and lately a hoy, which the *Marquis* greatly laments. They had rather that the ships had met with himself.')

Le xxiii^e revint le herault qui estoit alle avecques ledit montignac et ne rapporta responce du duc de norfolk sinon a bouche Que ledit duc luy avoit dict que quant a la reparation des attemptatz faictz par les navires anglois que la royne demande Il falloit quil parlast a ladmiral.

Le xxiiii^e le cappitaine vignault avecques ung batteau et quelques mariniers ayans entrepris de passer en france sortit du havre du petit liet Et fut soubdainement pour-suyvy de troys batteaulx anglois armez en sorte quil fut contrainct sescheoir pres la Justice* de petit liet et fut secouru par les soldatz qui sortirent de la dicte ville ¹

Le xxvi^e fut mis une depesche par la voye de flandre ²

Les navires anglois sont quelquefoys au nombre de 9, 10, 12, 13 vaisseaulx en la radde les aultres vont e viennent.

159 v

MARS

Le iii^e mars passarent de fyff a quenisferre les gens de pied de la congregation et sen allarent droict ^aala^a a glasgolle [Glasgow]

La nuyt les anglois feisrent descente en lisle estans au nombre de seize batteaulx et y furent battuz e repulsez

Le iiij^e ung moyen navire anglois perdit ses ancrs e perit deux aultres coupperent leurs mastz

La nuyt ensuyvant Il entra troys batteaulx en lisle charges de monitions qui sortirent de petit liet

Le vii^e retourna le gentilhomme qui estoit alle en angleterre pour les affaires du conte de lenoz [Lennox] ³ Rap-

a—*a* deleted. * Gallows. There was a gallows on the shore at Leith.

¹ Pitscottie, ii. 167: 'Schortlie heirefter wpoun the xxij day of this moneth the quen furnist ane great hoy witht men and wictuallis to pase to France witht writtingis bot the Inglischemen tuik hir be the way bot the men ran to dry land for saiftie.'

² See *supra*, p. 73, note 4.

³ In December 1559, according to Noailles, writing to the Queen Dowager (*C.F.E.*, ii. 467, Dec. 21), a servant of Lennox had expressed the anxiety of his master to serve the Queen Dowager against the disloyal and ungrateful house of Arran. The same day, Nesbit, the servant, was examined by Cecil (*C.F.E.*, ii. 468). He explained that his mission to the French ambassador was to present Lennox's pedigree and to show his claim to the throne [cf. the *Discours*], the time being ripe because

On the 23rd the herald who had gone with the said Montignac returned. He brought back no reply from the Duke of Norfolk except a verbal one : that the said Duke had told him that, as for the reparation demanded by the Queen for the attemptes committed by the English ships, he would have to speak to the admiral.

On the 24th Captain Vignault with a boat and some sailors, making an attempt to get over to France, came out of the port of Leith and was suddenly chased by three English armed vessels, with the result that he was forced to run aground near the gallows of Leith and was rescued by soldiers who came out of the said town.

On the 26th a dispatch was sent by way of Flanders.

The English ships sometimes number 9, 10, 12, 13 in the roadstead ; the others come and go.

MARCH

On the 3rd of March the foot-soldiers of the Congregation passed from Fife to Queensferry and from there went straight on to Glasgow.

That night the English, to the number of about sixteen ships, made a raid on Inchkeith and were beaten and repulsed.

On the 4th a medium-sized English boat lost its anchors and foundered ; two others cut their masts.

The following night three boats which had left Leith freighted with munitions reached Inchkeith.

On the 7th the gentleman who had gone to England upon the affairs of the Earl of Lennox returned ; he

of the dissensions between the Queen Dowager and the Duke of Châtelherault. He was suing for two earldoms, one of which, that of Angus, came to him by his wife. Maitland, writing to Cecil on Dec. 26 about this claim of Lennox (*C.F.E.*, ii. 506), considers the matter a crafty fetch of the Queen Dowager, seeking by those means to stir up division in the realm, seeing the French are become so odious to the whole people. . . . The writer perceived her very busy with Gaston, who is messenger in this case, immediately before she entered into Leith. On Jan. 4, M. de Noailles (see *C.F.E.*, ii. 524, note 10) reports that the Queen Regent has lately sent a Scottish gentleman named Gnaston to tell the said Earl that now, if ever, was the time to prosecute his affairs with the Earl of Arran. On Jan. 29, the Queen Dowager writing to Noailles (see *C.F.E.*, ii. 666, note 3) says that this bearer is going upon the affairs of Lennox.

porta lettres du chevalier de "seure" qui le xvi^e de febvrier estoit arrive a londre pour y resider ambassadeur pour le roy.¹ Le duc de Norfolk estant a neufcastel. Les charrettes a xl lieues par dela que avoient este mandees au vi^e febvrier Et Remises au xv^e marti.²

Le viii^e a este envoye le double de la lettre dudit de seure a messeigneurs les cardinal de lorraine et duc de guyse par la voye de ^b

160 r Le xii^e fait voile a dombarre le cappitaine Vignault auquel le sieur octavyan [Bosso] bailla sa depesche

Le xiiii^e arriva ung anglois avec une petite despesche du roy du xiiii^e Janvier

Ledit Jour arriva le cappitaine chapperon avecques une depesche de messeigneurs les cardinal de lorraine e duc de guyse du xxiii^e et xxviii^e febvrier Et une du chevalier de "seure" du viiii^e Mars

Le xv^e vint ung batteau parler aux navires anglois qui Incontinent feirent voile encores que le vent ne leur servist Et le lendemain matin furent veuz prez lisle de may a lentrete du fyrth "et" en demeura seulement quatre a la radde

Ledit Jour "partiren" partit monsieur de martigues ³ avecques les bandes pour aller a quelesgolle [Glasgow] ⁴

a—*a* above the line, *suere* deleted. *b* blank in MS. *c*—*c* above the line, *seur* deleted. *d*—*d* above the line. *e*—*e* deleted.

¹ *C.F.E.*, ii. 731. Feb. 16. The Queen to Throckmorton: 'The French ambassador, Noailles, took his leave yesterday, and has been succeeded by M. de Seure.' Throckmorton had written to the Council on Feb. 4 (*C.F.E.*, ii. 685) that de Seure 'is kept in store as a select vessel, to be employed in such a time as this is, to be the maker of a dissembled friendship and a soon broken peace.' The new ambassador communicated proposals to Elizabeth from Francis, offering to withdraw the French troops with the exception of 250 men in each of the four principal fortresses, if the Scots would promise entire obedience to their King and Queen. He further offered liberty of conscience and the holding of the principal offices of state by Scots not French. (*C.F.E.*, ii. 685.)

² *C.F.E.*, ii. 862. March 15. Norfolk to Cecil. Orders to pay the charges of 200 carts and carters, and 400 'lymmers' and their keepers.

³ Sebastien de Luxembourg, Duke of Penthièvre, Viscount of Martigues, was appointed Commander-in-chief of the French army in Scotland.

brought back letters from the Chevalier de Seure, who had reached London on the 16th of February to reside there as ambassador of the King. The Duke of Norfolk being at Newcastle, and the carts which had been ordered to be ready for the 6th of February being still 40 leagues away, they were given until the 15th of March.

On the 8th the duplicate of the letter from the Chevalier de Seure was sent to Messieurs the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise by way of [blank].

On the 12th Captain Vignault, to whom the Sieur Octavian handed his dispatches, set sail at Dunbar.

On the 14th arrived an Englishman with a short dispatch from the King, dated the 14th of January.

That same day arrived Captain Chapperon with a dispatch from Messieurs the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, dated the 23rd and 28th of February; and one from the Chevalier de Seure, dated the 8th of March.

On the 15th came a boat to speak with the English ships; these at once set sail, though the wind was unfavourable, and the next morning were seen near the Isle of May at the entrance to the Firth. There remained only four ships in the roads.

That same day M. de Martigues set out with the soldiers to go to Glasgow.

(*C.F.E.*, ii. 50 (6). Oct. 7, 1559. Throckmorton to the Queen.) Throckmorton, writing to Cecil, Oct. 9 (*C.F.E.*, ii. 57 (2)), says Martigues is 'noted as lusty a man of war, of a young man, as any in France.' He arrived at Leith on the 11th of January 1559-60. (*Diurnal*, 55 and 272.) Norfolk, Sadler and Croftes, writing to Cecil, on Jan. 18 (*C.F.E.*, ii. 592 (2)), note that Martigues arrived with no more than 80 or 100 with him, and his ship was taken by Andrew Sandes, a merchant who is a great Protestant.

⁴ Pitscottie, ii. 168: 'Wpoun the xvij day of Marche heirefter the frinchemen past fourtht [of Leith] to Glasgow and thair remanit thair iii dayis and did great dampnage and skaitht in the toune and thairabout.' *Diurnal*, 56: 'Upoun the xv day of March 1559, the Frenchemen past to Glasgow and chaisit the congregatioun furth of the samyne . . . and in thair passing to Glasgow and returnyng fra the samyne, thaj spoulzeit all the cuntrie quhair thair passage lay.' See also Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, ii. 57).

Le xvi^e fut envoye Jacies dromont trompette devers le duc de norfolk avecques une lettre de la royne et ung memoire des attemptatz faictz par Wynter depuys sa venue au fyrth Et aussi une lettre de monsieur de la brosse pour avoir lasseurance de son saufconduit par lettre du dit duc.¹

Le xvii^e le trompette dromont fut depesche devers le duc de norfolk pour demander reparation des attemptatz suyvant les lettres escriptes par la royne dangleterre ala royne regente lequell apporta ung memoire desdits attemptatz

Ledit Jour le duc et sa compaignye ^asentirent^a les francois prest partir* de glasgow a neuf heures du soir, et se retyra a hamylton [Hamilton] ayant laisse vingt cinq hommes au chasteau e ^bxiii^b au clocher Quatre ^chacqueenees^c revenans de sterlig de porter quelques deniers furent prises avecques huissier de salle de ladite dame ung pallefrenier et deux soldatz pres de liscu** [Linlithgow] par le sesirrif dudit lieu

160 v

Le xviii^e arrivarent au matin audit glasgow monsieur de villeparisis ² avecques lesdites bandes ou les harquebuziers acheval trouvarent environ 70 des plus braves et asseurez soldatz de la congregation qui estoient demourez avecques le cappitaine cunigan [Cunningham] fils du conte de

a—*a* above the line, *saluerent* deleted.

b—*b* above the line, *quinze* deleted.

c—*c* above the line, *harquebuziers* deleted.

* Error on the copyist's part for *partirent*.

** A misreading for *lifcu*.

¹ La Brosse had already written to the Duke of Norfolk about his passport. (See *supra*, p. 56, note 1.) *C.F.E.*, ii. 907. March 27. M. de la Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens to the Cardinal of Lorraine and Duke of Guise: La Brosse trusts to depart within four days, according to what they have written by one of their letters; and although he has the Queen's conduct, he has sent to the Duke of Norfolk . . . to be assured of his passage. *C.F.E.*, ii. 870. March 17. The Queen Dowager of Scotland to the Duke of Norfolk: Encloses a copy of her letter to the Queen touching the reparation of the attempts committed by her Admiral in the Frith. *C.F.E.*, ii. 884. March 21. The Duke of Norfolk to the Queen Dowager of

On the 16th James Drummond, trumpet, was sent to the Duke of Norfolk with a letter from the Queen and a memorial of the attemptates committed by Winter since his arrival in the Firth; also a letter from M. de la Brosse asking to be assured of his safe-conduct by letter from the said Duke.

On the 17th the trumpet, Drummond, was sent to the Duke of Norfolk to demand redress for the attemptates in accordance with the letters written by the Queen of England to the Queen Regent. He took with him a memorial of the said attemptates.

That same day the Duke [of Châtelherault] and his company, realising that the French were near, set out from Glasgow at nine in the evening and retired to Hamilton, having left twenty-five men in the palace and thirteen in the steeple. Four hackneys returning from Stirling, where they had taken some money, were captured with the said lady's [the Queen Regent's] court-usher, a groom, and two soldiers near Linlithgow by the sheriff of that place.

On the 18th, in the morning, M. de Villeparisis arrived in Glasgow with the said soldiers, and there the mounted harquebusiers found about 70 of the bravest and staunchest soldiers of the Congregation who had remained behind with Captain Cunningham, the Earl of Glencairn's son,

Scotland: He received yesterday, by one of her trumpets called Drummond, her letter of the 17th inst. *Ibid.*, ii. 885: Attemptates committed by William Winter since his arrival in the Frith.

² *C.F.E.*, ii. 887. March 21. The Lords of the Congregation to the Duke of Norfolk: At the Lords' departing from Glasgow they left certain soldiers in the Bishop's palace and steeple to drive time for forty-eight hours, that the writers might get their friends together. Nevertheless immediately after the coming of the French the said soldiers rendered the same; . . . The French horsemen charged about thirty of the Scottish soldiers in the town who remained behind, and who had retired to the bridge, where they slew eight of the French, of whom part were defeated and part escaped. . . . The Earl came back to provide for the army, leaving a company of horse to deal with the French and keep them from scattering and destroying the country. (*Cf. Historie of the Estate of Scotland*, i. 81; and Leslie, ii. 428.)

glencarne [Glencairn] pour deffoncer les vivres se retire-
rent lesdits soldatz ^avers le pont et ala faveur dicellui,
feirent teste a noz gens par deux foys Enfin contrainetz
gagner la plaine apres avoir rendu grand defence furent
la pluspart taillez en pieces les aultres prisonniers dont
les plus notables furent penduz et les aultres ayans prie
pour lhonneur de dieu leur estre pardonne et receuz au
service du roy soubz le bon plaisir de la royne regente
Renoncans ala congregation leur a este faicte misericorde
Lapres disnee ceulx qui estoient au chasteau et au clocher
en sortirent par composition

Le xx^e furent de Retz a Lisle lesdites bandes

Le xxiii^e retourna le trompette dromont qui estoit alle
devers le duc de Norfolk pour la seurete du passeport de
monsieur de la brosse auquel ledit duc dict quel envoyeroit
ung sien trompette

Le xxiiii^e arriva devers la royne ledit trompette nomme
midcalf [Metcalf] avecques une lettre dudit duc du xxi^e
mars Madame etc.¹

Ledit duc dict quil vouloit de nouveau entendre ^blatemp-
tatz^b lintention de la royne sa maistresse.²

Le xxv^e fut faict responce par le trompette dromond
Nous avons receu etc.³

Le xxvi^e vint advis de la frontiere que les anglois con-
tenoient marcher en pais

Le xxvii^e fut faict ung duplicata par la voye de monsieur
^cEcossoys^c dErskyn⁴

a—*a* above the line, *devers* deleted. *b*—*b* deleted. *c*—*c* deleted.

¹ *C.F.E.*, ii. 884. March 21. The Duke of Norfolk to the Queen Dowager of Scotland.

² *C.F.E.*, ii. 907. March 27. M. de la Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise: (3) Since writing this, the trumpet has returned from the Duke of Norfolk, who refuses to give him the surety of his passport [La Brosse], without first advertising his mistress thereof.

³ *C.F.E.*, ii. 895. March 25. The Dowager of Scotland to Norfolk:

in order to destroy the victuals. These said soldiers withdrew to the bridge where they were twice able to hold their own against attacks by our men, thanks to their position. They were finally forced into the open, and after having defended themselves mightily were, for the most part, cut in pieces; the rest were taken prisoner. Of these, those of any account were hanged; the others, having craved pardon for the honour of God, were received into the King's service, subject to the good pleasure of the Queen Regent. Having renounced the Congregation, mercy was shown to them. In the afternoon, after dinner, those who were in the palace and the steeple came out, after having come to terms.

On the 20th the said soldiers and de Retz were at the island.

On the 23rd the trumpet, Drummond, who had been to the Duke of Norfolk for the surety for M. de la Brosse's passport, returned. The said Duke told him that he would send one of his own trumpets.

On the 24th the said trumpet, Metcalf by name, arrived before the Queen with a letter from the said Duke of the 21st of March. 'Madame, etc.'

The said Duke stated that he wished to understand afresh the intentions of the Queen, his mistress.

On the 25th answer was returned by the trumpet Drummond. 'We have received, etc.'

On the 26th came advice from the Borders that the English intended to invade the country.

On the 27th a duplicate was sent by M. Erskine.

She has received his letters by the trumpet named Medcalf, wherein he writes he intends to take information of the attempts of Admiral Winter.

⁴ Erskine is probably the Artus Erskine mentioned in the list of Mary's household in 1560, and in a letter of Mary of Guise to the Cardinal of Lorraine, 13 January 1556-7. (See Pollen, *Papal Negotiations with Mary*, 423 and note 1.)

161 r

Le xxviii^e arrayva une lettre de monsieur de seure par homme expres qui luy fut renvoye le mesme Jour.

Le xxix^e revint ledit dromond et avecques luy ung herault avecques lettres du duc de Norfolk du xxviii^e Madame etc.¹

Il na poinct este faict de responce a ladite lettre.

Ledit dromond rapporta avoir veu larmee des anglois quil estimoit de huict a neuf mil hommes a coldingan [Coldingham] et heymouth [Eyemouth].²

Le xxx^e se retirerent la plus grand partye des vaisseaulx de la flotte angloise devers montselbourg [Musselburgh] et les salines de preston [Prestonpans].

APRVIL

Le premier Jour dapvril se retira la royne regente au chasteau de dinbourg et les garnisons qui estoient en ladite ville au petit liet.³

Ledit Jour vindrent lesdits anglois coucher a preston.

Ledit Jour sassemblarent avec lesdits anglois troys

¹ *C.F.E.*, ii. 914. March 28. Norfolk to the Queen Dowager of Scotland :

(1) He has received her letter of the 25th by her trumpet, James Drummond, wherein, although she alleges that the attempts of Winter in the Frith are too notorious to be unknown to him . . . yet the writer understands that upon examination it will appear that the same has proceeded upon just occasion ministered to the Admiral by the French in Inchkeith and Leith, and by the injury done to the Queen by using her arms, style and title. . .

(2) Wherefore, understanding the great number of men of war in Scotland, and the preparations to send a greater force from France . . . the writer must endeavour to impeach these great forces prepared against the realm, unless she speedily remedies it by withdrawing the French out of Scotland, and permitting that realm to remain in quietness. . . See also *ibid.*, ii. 920.

² *Diurnal*, 56: 'Upoun the penult day of March, the zeir of God 1560 zeiris, the Ingliss army come in Scottis ground, for support of the lordis of the congregatioun, to the nomber of v^m fute men and xvij^e lycht horsemen and dimilances, the lieutenant generall wes my lord Gray, the capitane of the lycht horsmen schir Hary Percie, and the capitane of the hail futemen was schir James Croftes, capitane of Berwik. . . ' *C.F.E.*, ii. 920. March 29. Norfolk to Cecil: (2) The army could not set forward

On the 28th a letter came from M. de Seure by express messenger, who was sent back the same day.

On the 29th the said Drummond returned, and with him a herald with letters from the Duke of Norfolk dated the 28th. 'Madame, etc.'

No reply was made to the said letter.

The said Drummond reported that he had seen the English army, which he reckoned at eight or nine thousand men, at Coldingham and Eyemouth.

On the 30th the greater part of the ships of the English fleet withdrew towards Musselburgh and Prestonpans.

APRIL

On the first day of April the Queen Regent retired to the Castle of Edinburgh, and the garrisons which were in that town withdrew to Leith.

That same day the English came to Preston, where they slept.

That same day three ensigns of the rebels and

until this day . . . but to-night they encamp at Dunglas. Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, ii. 57) gives the date as April 2nd and the number of men as 10,000; Pitscottie (ii. 168) gives the date as April 1st and the number 8,000; Leslie (ii. 432) as 26th of March. In *C.F.E.*, ii. 979. April 10. Norfolk and his Council to the Lords of the Council: 'When they are all together there will be 8,000 soldiers and 700 pioneers besides horsemen, yet the circuit of Leith is so great and so many soldiers in it (at least 3,500 French and 500 Scots) that that number is not sufficient.' *Historie of the Estate of Scotland* (i. 82) raises the number to 5,000 horsemen and 4,000 footmen. Holinshed (i. 491): 'seven or eight thousand men were sent into Scotland . . . on Saturday the sixth of April.'

* *Diurnal*, 56: 'And upone the first day of Aprile, the quenis grace regent past fra Halyrudhous to the castell of Edinburgh, and remaynit thair during the assege following, accompanyit with the archbischope of Sanctandrois, bischopes of Dunkeld, Dunblane, my lord Halyrudhous, and the archbischope of Glasgow, and my lord Seytoun, past down and remaynit in Leith with Monsieur Dossell, Labross, the counpt Martik [Martigues] and the bischope [of] Amyance.' (Cf. Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, ii. 58 and notes 1 and 2.)

enseignes des rebelles et quelques gens de cheval environ troys ou quatre cens.¹

161 v

Ledit Jour la royne Rendit une lettre du conte boithuel [Bothwell]² par laquelle Il mandoit avoir entendu que Larmee des anglois estoit de vingt cinq enseignes de gens de pied sept cens pyonnyers Et sen debvoit lever cinq cens en escosse cinq cens demy Lances Et de quatre mil hommes qui venoient par mer. Quil venoit encores deux mil hommes de barvik du duc de norfolk. que lord grey sieur Jaemes Croft sieur henry percy estoient les principaulx conducteurs de ladite armee en escosse. Que deux on troys mil hommes escossoys seroient entretenuz aux despens dela royne dangleterre des plus braves. Que lord Ruthwen³ luy a mandé quil desire parler avecques Luy. Surquoy Il demande entendre Lintention de La royne.

Le dit sieur de boithuel ne tient cest advertissement pour bien assure.

Ledit Jour sassemblarent en la ville dedinbourg quelque canaille apres le partement desdits garnisons qui devaliserent quelques francois qui estoient demourez derriere descendirent vers labbaye pour gaster les escurries Ou les baillifs de ladite ville avecques cinquante on soixante hommes les allarent chercher et prindrent une partie qui le lendemain eut le fouet par ladite ville.

Ledit Jour fut faict une depesche par parsonne de Rossebourg [Roxburgh].⁴

¹ Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, ii. 58 : ' At Prestoun met thame the Duckes Grace, the Erle of Argyle, Lord James, the Erles of Glencairne and Menteith, Lordis Ruthwen, Boyd, Ochiltre, with all the Protestantis gentilmen of the West Fyffe, Anguss, and Mearneis.' (See also Holinshed, ii. 1804.)

² In the *Instruction ouverte contre le conte d'Haran*, fol. 148, 149 (see *supra*, p. 78, note 2), James, Earl Bothwell, Lord of Hailles, Creighton and Liddesdale, Admiral of Scotland, and Lieutenant of the middle and eastern marches, aged about 24, gave his deposition, mentioning that he had often exchanged letters with the Regent. The Treasurer's Accounts bear out this statement.

³ Patrick, Lord Ruthven, was Provost of Perth in 1554 and was annually re-elected until the year of his death, 1566.

⁴ That is William Carr, parson of Roxburgh. He was almoner to the

about three or four hundred horse joined the said English.

That same day the Queen produced a letter from the Earl of Bothwell, in which he reported that he had heard that the English army consisted of twenty-five ensigns of foot, seven hundred pioneers, and they were to raise five hundred in Scotland, five hundred demi-lances, and four thousand men who were coming by sea; two thousand more men were coming from Berwick to the Duke of Norfolk; that Lord Grey, Sir James Croftes, Sir Henry Percy were the principal leaders of this army in Scotland; that two or three thousand Scotsmen were to be kept at the Queen of England's expense, and those of the bravest; that Lord Ruthven had informed him that he wished to speak with him, and that on this point he wished to know the wishes of the Queen.

The Sieur de Bothwell does not hold this advice very trustworthy.

That same day a rabble assembled in the town of Edinburgh, after the garrisons had left, and robbed some Frenchmen who had been left behind; they went down towards the Abbey to loot the stables, where the bailies of the said town, with fifty or sixty men, sought them out and took some into custody. The next day these were whipped through the town.

That same day dispatches were sent by the parson of Roxburgh.

Queen Dowager and travelled between France and Scotland with messages. (See *C.F.E.*, iii. 168 (2). June 7. Throckmorton to Cecil: 'It is like there has been slender looking to things about Leith, since Octavian, and the parson of Roxburgh, Carr, Almoner to the Queen Dowager, arrived from thence on the 3rd inst. Octavian came with five mariners in a small boat, and in the daytime crept along the shore and at night made what haste he could to the coast of Flanders, and from hence hither, and in the same sort escaped Carr. See also *ibid.*, iii. 232. (3) . . . Carr, the parson of Roxburgh, has brought the Guises all intelligences; he was brought out of Scotland by an English merchant as his servant and embarked at Hull as his factor for Flanders.') See the entry for the last day of April in this *Journal*. The 'advice' of the 26th March may well have come from Carr.

Le ii^e dapvril La royne fait responce audit conte Boithuel quil entendit ce que vouloit dire ledit Ruthlben et quil en advertist Incontinent.

Ledit Jour Le prieur de saint andre envoya devers le sieur derskyn disant quil desiroit parler a quelque ung de ses gens¹ Il y fut envoy   de sa part par ladvis et commandement de Ladite dame ung gentilhomme. Et avecques Luy Robin Herve² [Harvey] pour aprendre cequil pourroit de Larmee dangleterre. Ledit sieur derskyn promectant ala royne et ^alasseuran^a quil ^bnasepteroit^b personne dudit chasteau et quil ne se parleroit ou communiquerait a aulcun sinon par son commandement

162 r

Le soir furent de retour lesdits deux gentilshommes qui Rapportarent que le propos que leur avoit tenu ledit prieur ne tendoit a autre fin que ^cmectre^c ledit sieur derskyn en soupson disant quil sesmerveilleoit grandement comme Il avoit Receu la royne dedans le chasteau et quil se pouvoit asseurer quelle luy feroit faire ung mauvaiz tour leur disant quil desirerait bien parler audit sieur ^ddErskyn mesme^d.

Ledit Jour les anglois et escossois furent ensemble au conseil en leglise de montselbourg³ ou estoit le fort, lesdits anglois estoient loges a preston, le duc et ses complices a daguet [Dalkeith], et neobottle [Newbattle] Le prieur a Lorette.

a—*a* above the line, *luy servand* deleted.

b—*b* sic.

c—*c* above the line, *commectre* deleted.

d—*d* above the line, *desquin mesmement* deleted.

¹ Lord Erskine had attempted to mediate in March. *C.F.E.*, ii. 875. March 19. The Lords Erskine and Alexander Home to the Lord James: Perceiving the troubles occurring in this realm, and greater appearing, if any army comes forth of England, they ask whether he would commune with them upon such purposes as would stay the same, and he would meet them at some convenient place where they might reason the matter at length. They think that the Queen would agree to anything reasonable, and desire to know when and where they shall meet, thinking themselves bound to execute a debt, due first to God, and next to their country and friends.

Grey wrote to Norfolk on April 4 (*C.F.E.*, ii. 944) that he had communicated to the Lords of the Congregation a proposal to besiege Edinburgh

On the 2nd of April the Queen sent answer to the said Earl of Bothwell that he should hear what the said Ruthven had to say and report on it immediately.

That same day the Prior of St. Andrews sent to Lord Erskine, saying that he desired to speak with someone of his party. There was sent on Lord Erskine's behalf, by the advice and command of the Queen, a gentleman, and with him Robin Harvey, to learn what he could of the English army. The said Lord Erskine promised and assured the Queen that he would take no one into the said Castle, and that he would not speak or communicate with any one except by her command.

In the evening the two gentlemen returned and reported that the speech which the Prior had made to them had no other purpose than to bring the said Lord Erskine into suspicion; they said he marvelled greatly that he had received the Queen into the Castle, and that he could be assured she would do him a bad turn. He said to them that he wished to speak to the said Lord Erskine in person.

That same day the English and Scots held a council together in the church at Musselburgh, where the fort is; the English were lodged at Preston, the Duke and his associates at Dalkeith and Newbattle, the Prior at Loretto.

Castle, believing it less difficult to take than Leith. The castle was in the hands of Lord Erskine, nominated governor in 1554, and who maintained during the years 1559, 1560, a strict neutrality.

* Harvey, according to Throckmorton, writing to Cecil on April 6 (*C.F.E.*, ii. 954 (9)), was a Scotsman, formerly a monk of Newbattle, employed as a courier between France and Scotland. 'To pass without suspicion he will play the good fellow and speak liberally of this country and the worst he can of the French King; his money is hidden in the thigh of his hose.'

* Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, ii. 58: ' Efter the deliberatioun of twa dayis had at Enneresk, the hail camp marchit fordwart . . . and came to Restalrig upoun the Palme Sunday Evin.' Holinshed (ii. 1804) mentions the Council 'in the house of one William Atkinson neere to Innereske Church and sate there in council the space of two hours.'

Le iii^e vint ung trompette anglois a edinbourg ¹ sans lettre disant quil avoit a parler ala royne daffaires dimportance Il fut donne ordre par les baillifz de la ville que personne ne parlast avecques Luy Et fut gardé en la maison de Rege ² herault.

Les escossois ont depesche plusieurs lettres aux seigneurs du pais pour avoir vivres pour La fourniture de larmee de leurs amys dangleterre. Lintention est en ung double dune escripte au lord de rossay ³ [Rossy]

162 v

Le iiie fut ouy ledit trompette et amené au chateau avecques gens de coste et autre de sorte quil ny pouvoit reconnoistre sinon ce qui est notoire a tous Il trouva la royne hors du Logis pres la chappelle Et sans Rien oublier des ceremonies dict quil estoit venu devers sa maieste de la part de lord grey lieutenant de la royne dangleterre en larmee quelle avoit presentement en ce coste pour lasseurer que ce nestoit pour entreprendre quelquechose contre sa personne noblesse du pays ny comun bien dicellui. Seconde-ment que ledit lord grey supplioit la royne considerer le mauvais estat auquel se retrouvoient maintenant les affaires de ce royaume Et que pour trouver quelque moyen de les pacifier Il luy pleust donner saufconduit a deux personnes de qualite pour venir devers elle pour cest effect. Auquel la royne respondit que cestoit chose estrange de veoir entrer hostilement larmee dun prince si avant en la terre dun lautre puis ny vouloir rien entreprendre. Et que quant au saufconduit elle cy adviseroit et en feroit responce audit lord grey.⁴

Le v^e fut envoye Jacques dromond trompette devers ledit lord grey avecques ung memoire non signe de ce quil

¹ Cf. *C.F.E.*, ii. 939. April 2. Norfolk and his Council to Cecil: . . . The pursuivant whom they sent to the Dowager has not yet returned. . . .

² A herald, Roy, was sent to the Queen Dowager by Noailles in December. (See *C.F.E.*, ii. 467.)

³ *C.F.E.*, ii. 941. April 3. Grey to Norfolk: ' . . . (3) The Scots having put away a great part of their cattle and victuals for fear of the French, it was with great difficulty that the English got any relief, and that was so dear, that the poor soldiers had to spend two or three days' wage for one

On the 3rd an English trumpet arrived in Edinburgh without letters saying that he had to speak to the Queen on matters of importance. Order was given by the bailies of the town that no one was to have speech with him, and he was kept close in the house of Roy, herald.

The Scots have sent out several letters to the gentry of the country to obtain victuals to furnish the army of their friends from England. The purport can be seen in a copy of one written to the laird of Rossy.

On the 4th audience was given to the said trumpet. He was brought to the Castle, with men on either side, so that he could not observe anything except what was known to all. He found the Queen outside her apartments near the Chapel and, not forgetting any of the formalities, said that he had come to her Majesty from Lord Grey, commander of the Queen of England's army, at the moment in these parts, to assure her that he had not come for any enterprise against her person, or against the nobility of the land, or against the common weal of the same; secondly, that the said Lord Grey begged the Queen to consider the evil state into which the affairs of this realm had fallen; and in order to find some means of pacification, would it please her to grant a safe-conduct to two persons of quality to come to her with this intent. To this the Queen replied that it was a strange thing to see the army of one prince enter in such a hostile manner so far into the lands of another if it had no desire for any enterprise there; and that as for the safe-conduct, she would consider the matter and would send a reply to the said Lord Grey.

On the 5th James Drummond, trumpet, was sent to the said Lord Grey with an unsigned note of what he had

day's provision.' For William Bonar of Rossy, see *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, xix. and *Accts. Treas.*, ix., Indices.

⁴ *C.F.E.*, ii. 943. April 4. Norfolk and his Council to Cecil: It appears by Lord Grey's letter to him [Norfolk] that the answer made by the Dowager to Henry Ray, pursuivant, . . . was that she would fall to no composition, till she had authority from France.

avoit a dire qui estoit de demander les noms et qualitez des personnaiges quil desiroit envoyer ¹

Ledit jour vint ung Jeune homme trompette du duc avecques une lettre dicellui et aultres ses complices. Madame etc.

Lequel nentra dans le chasteau et fut renvoye sans response ²

Ledit Jour monsieur derskyn fut parler au prieur de saint andre ^ade^a lord de dun ³ et lethington ⁴ qui estoient venuz soubz son assurance au monastere des nonnains pres dEdinbourg leur propos fut quilz le reprenoient davoir receu tant de gens au chasteau mesmes les evesques et leurs plus grandz ennemys leur demanda ledit sieur dErskyn quelle seurete Ilz baillerent pour leur obeissance a leur souveraine Lethington diet Il faudroit oublier les choses passees et venir a quelque composition.

Ledit Jour rapporta le trompette les noms de ceulx qui debvoient venir devers la royne de la part de lord grey qui estoient sires Jaumes Croft et georges haver [Howard] demandans permission de venir avecques des manches de maillesur eulx et une douzaine dhommes en leur compaignye Le trompette fut receu le myeulx du monde et luy donnerent dix escus ⁵

Ledit Jour se feirent plusieurs plainctes ala royne de quelques petites choses que les soldatz avoient pris alentour de petit lict en une sortye

Ledit Jour a matin vindrent quelques chevaulx escara-

a—a deleted.

¹ *C.F.E.*, ii. 950. April 5. Grey and others to Norfolk: (1) . . . he sent a trumpeter to her to require her to license a personage to come to her with offers in the Queen's behalf, who returned with the answer that she would send a messenger of her own with the same. . . . (3) Whilst writing this a trumpet came from the Dowager to know the names of such persons as Grey would send to speak with her.

² *C.F.E.*, ii. 950. April 5. Grey and others to Norfolk: (2) They send a copy of the letter of the Duke of Châtelherault and the Lords to her. The letter is printed under the date April 1, endorsed by Cecil, in *C.F.E.*, ii. 937.

to say : which was to ask for the names and the quality of the persons he wished to send.

That same day there came a young man, trumpet to the Duke, with a letter from him and his associates : ‘ Madame, etc.’

The trumpet did not enter the Castle and was sent away without an answer.

That same day Lord Erskine had speech with the Prior of St. Andrews, the laird of Dun and Lethington, who had come, with his assurance, to the Nunnery near Edinburgh. The subject of their talk was to remonstrate with him for having taken into the Castle so many people, even the Bishops, and their greatest enemies ; the said Lord Erskine asked what surety they would give for their obedience to their sovereign. Lethington said : ‘ Things past should be forgotten and they should come to some agreement.’

That same day the trumpet brought back the names of the persons who were to come to the Queen from Lord Grey ; they were Sir James Croftes and Sir George Howard ; and they asked leave to come in shirts of mail and accompanied by a dozen men. The trumpet was treated in the best possible way, and was given ten crowns.

That same day several complaints were brought before the Queen of certain small things which the soldiers had taken round Leith during a sortie.

That same day, in the morning, some horsemen came and skirmished as far as the foot of Leith Gallows where

³ John Erskine of Dun, ‘ a zealous, prudent and godly man,’ according to Knox ; he was a consistent friend of the Reformation, and was used in negotiations between the Reformers and the Queen Regent at Perth and at Preston in 1559.

⁴ William Maitland of Lethington was appointed Secretary of State by the Queen Dowager in December 1558. He had previously been employed in her affairs. He joined the Protestant Congregation at the end of October. (See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. 463.)

⁵ *C.F.E.*, ii. 950. Grey and others to Norfolk : (3) He has named Croftes and Sir George Howard to speak with her to-morrow where she may appoint.

moucher Jusques au piez du gibet de petit liect ou pieprolat fut blessé en la teste dune "pistollade" pistoletade Et sen retourna des anglois cinq ou six blesses quant Ilz sentirent quelque Infanterie ^{bfb} sortir Ilz se retirarent Incontinent.

Le vi^e marcha le camp des anglois a Restalrig sattacha une grosse escarmouche.¹ Et envoya le lord grey devers monsieur de villeparisis luy dire par le trompette dromond quil fait retirer ses gens et Il feroit retirer les siens Cependant que les deux gentilhommes yroient parlementer avecques la royne ledit sieur de villeparisis avecques Ladvis de messieurs de martigues et de la brosse Respondit quilz estoient sur les "terres" du roy et de la royne et en leurs gardes accoustumees Et que cestoit une estrange maniere de venir parler avecques une armee toutesfoys que sil se vouloit retirer le premier Il donneroit ordre quil ne se feroit Riens de son costé Ledit lord grey envoya de rechef ung herault dangleterre que parloit assez bien françois avecques ung trompette tenant le mesme langaige quavoit fait dromond ^aLequel^a auquel Il fut fait semblable responce finalement ledit lord grey envoya dire audit sieur de villeparisis quil ne Reculleroit ung pas en arriere Et que ce quil en faisoit estoit pour Lamytié de la royne.²

163 v

Bien tost apres seschauffa lescarmouche ou Il est demouré grand nombre danglois sur le champ et en a eu beaulcoup de blessez. Et sur la fin ayans quelques harquebusiers françois mis en voye de route une partie de gens de cheval e de pied anglois savanceans a la poursuytte de ceste victoire plus quilz ne debvoient a la teste de leur armee ont lesdits anglois tourne visage du costé de la mer

a—a deleted.

b—b deleted.

c—c above the line, *teres* deleted.

d—d deleted.

¹ *C.F.E.*, ii. 955. April 6. Grey and others to Norfolk: (1) They encamped this day at Restalrig, one mile from Leith. Before he had fully come thither, some Scotch harquebusiers with some Scotch and English light-horse were in skirmish before Leith. (See also *Diurnal*, 57; *Holinshed*, ii. 1805.)

Pieprolat was wounded in the head by a shot from a pistolet. On the English side, five or six were wounded, and when they realised that foot-soldiers were coming out of the town, they retired forthwith.

On the 6th the English camp came to Restalrig, where a great skirmish took place. Lord Grey sent to M. de Villeparisis, by the trumpet Drummond, to say that if he would retire his forces, he also would retire his during the time the two gentlemen should go to confer with the Queen. The said Sieur de Villeparisis, with the advice of MM. de Martigues and de la Brosse, replied that they were upon their master's and mistress's ground and within their normal rights, and that to come with an army was a strange way to parley. Nevertheless, if he [Grey] were willing to retire first, he would give order that nothing should be begun on his side. The said Lord Grey sent a second time an English herald who spoke French fairly well, and with him a trumpet, with the same message which Drummond had brought, and to them a similar answer was made. Finally, the said Lord Grey sent to the said Sieur de Villeparisis to say that he would not fall back one step; that what he had done had been done out of friendship to the Queen.

Soon after they fell to a skirmish, in which a good many English were left on the field and of them many were hurt. Towards the end of the encounter some French harquebusiers, having put to flight a party of English horse and foot and having gone on in pursuit of this victory further than they ought to have done in advance of their own army, the English faced about near the gallows on the sea-

² *Ibid.* (2) After the departure of Croftes and Howard, hearing some shots, he drew near the French and gave them knowledge by a trumpeter that it was agreed that the skirmish should cease, whereunto a brave answer was made that they were upon their master's ground, and without more warning discharged fifty or sixty shot at him and a few Scotch Lords in his company. . . . Stow (*Annals*, 1086) gives a detailed account of the sending of the herald Rouge Crosse to the French to bid them return to Leith. Holinshed gives a detailed account of the skirmish (i. 491, 492, ii. 1805.)

vers la Justice ou ont este pris les cappitaines saint Jehan mirepoys, favas, et biron avecques quelque peu de soldatz et troys ou quatre tuez.¹ Les anglois se sont fossoyez alentour de leur camp audit restalrig.

Ledit Jour vindrent parlementer avecques la royne sieurs James Croft et georges havart [Howard] Tout le discours est en une mynute de lettre.²

Articles

Le lendemain vii^e vindrent lesdits Croft et havart devers la royne dessus ledit esperon en ung ^apul^a pavillon qui y avoit este mis pour cest effect ³ Et daultant quil estoit tard presque six heures du soir devant que dentrer envoyarent demander a la royne plus par ceremonye que par necessite si le saufconduit qui leur avoit este envoye pour vingt quatre heures duroit encores et silz pourroient venir soubz lasseurance dicellui Ilz presenterent les ^barticles^b dont la tenure estoit. Nous desirons que lentier nombre de soldatz francois estans presentement en ce royaume soit renvoïee avecques diligence affin que nous puissions a ladvenir vivre en Repoz sans craincte de leur trouble.

Item que nous puissons avoir lieu de poursuyvre telz articles des roy et Royne noz souverains comme Il nous est necessaire pour la pacification ^cet parfaict^c gouvernement du royaume sans alteration de noz antiennes libertez.⁴ La

a—*a* deleted.

b—*b* above the line, *Ledit* deleted.

c—*c* above the line.

¹ According to Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, ii. 59), the skirmish began before ten in the morning and went on till after four in the afternoon; about 300 Frenchmen were slain. The *Diurnal* (57) says 40 slain and 100 taken; Pitcottie (ii. 169), about 100 slain; *Historie of the Estate of Scotland* (i. 82), 100 French lost. Holinshed's account (*Chronicles*, ii. 1806) and Stow's (*Annals*, 1086) are very close to the account in the *Journal*: 'Hereupon, the Englishmen and they fell in a skirmish, which continued for the space of foure houres or more, so hote and earnestly mainteyned on both parts that the like had not lightly beene seene longtime before: yet at the length the Englishmen drove the French footemen over the hill and wan the Crag from them, and put them from a Chappell where they had stood a great while, using it for a covert from the Englishmens shot. Then the enemies that were in Lieth shot off diverse peeces of their great artillerie out of the Towne against the Englishmen, who on the other part brought forth two field pieces . . . whereby the French were forced to

shore; the captains, Saint Jean, Mirepoys, Favas and Biron, were taken with a few soldiers, and three or four were killed. The English have dug themselves in round their camp at the said Restalrig.

That same day there came to parley with the Queen Sir James Croftes and Sir George Howard. Their discussion is recorded in a written minute.

The next day, the 7th, the said Croftes and Howard came to the Queen on the said outwork where a tent had been set up for this purpose; and forasmuch as it was late, almost six o'clock in the evening, before they entered, they sent to ask the Queen, more as a formality than through necessity, if the safe-conduct for twenty-four hours, which had been sent to them, was still valid, and whether they could come under its assurance. They presented Articles of which the tenor was: We desire that the whole number of French men of war at present in this realm be removed with speed so that we may in future live in peace without fear of disturbance from them.

Item. That we may have a right to lay before the King and Queen, our sovereigns, such Articles as are necessary to us for the pacification and perfect government of the realm, without alteration of our ancient liberties. The

retire backe into Lieth being followed well neere to the gates of the Towne. There were slaine in this skirmish of the French about 140 besides them that remained prisoners.' See also *C.F.E.*, ii. 955. April 6. Grey and others to Norfolk: The English killed or took 100 men, losing a good number hurt and slain. Churchyard, in *Chips concerning Scotland* (1817 edition), says the French lost twelve 'men of name' killed; five were taken prisoners, and seven score common soldiers were slain.

² Holinshed (ii. 1806) and Stow (1089) mention the long conversation Sir James Croftes and Sir George Howard had with the Queen Regent.

³ Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, ii. 67); Leslie (*History*, ii. 433); *Historie of the Estate of Scotland* (i. 82); Holinshed (i. 491), all mention the conference held on the blockhouse at the outer gate of the castle. This gate is called *de l'esperon* by the Queen Dowager in a letter to D'Oysel and La Brosse on April 29th. (*C.F.E.*, ii. 1093.)

⁴ *C.F.E.*, 978. The articles desired from the Dowager. Endorsed by Cecil, April 9, 1560. 1. That the whole number of Frenchmen of war be removed with speed. 2. That they may have place to make suit to the King and Queen for such Articles as are necessary for pacification and perfect government.



164 r

royne ayant veu lesdits articles leur remonstra que le premier estoit du tout hors de raison et sur lequel Il ne falloit point entrer en dispute. Que le roy et la royne comme leur avoient dict le Jour dedevant ^aquant^a ne vouloient estre commandez de prince au monde ni de subiect Et que de sa part elle ny voudroit pour rien consentir. Que les affaires y avoient tousjours este traictez par les loix du pais et estatz deuement assemblez Et que du temps de sa regence Il ny avoit Jamais este Rien conclud sans lesdits estatz. Et que chacun est tesmoing des progres de l'insurrection et desobeissance daultcuns particuliers subiectz contre lauctorite. Et combien elle a mys de peine pour y remedier par tous moyens possibles et raisonnables Ilz respondirent quilz nestoient venuz pour excuser les faultes passees mais seulement pour oster ce ^asai^a soupçon que la royne leur maistresse avoit conceu.¹ Et quilz ^bdesi^b ne desiroient que de veoir les choses en bonne pacification. Et que si sa maieste trouvoit lesdits articles desraisonnables ce nestoit sinon une entree et quelle avoit beaulcoup de saiges et prudes personnaiges luy nommant les seigneurs doysel, de la brosse, et évesque damyens lesquels ou partie deulx avecques des escossois sil estoit son plaisir de telle qualite et quel nombre sa maieste trouveroit bon pourroient adviser la dessus et en communiquer avecques daultres de leur coste qui sassembleroient en quelque lieu a ce convenable. La royne leur dict quelle envoyeroit communiquer lesdits articles ausdits seigneurs et quayant entendu leur advis elle leur feroit le lendemain responce De quoy Ilz la supplioient tres humblement disans quilz feroient advertir leurs gens de ne faire empeschement a celui qui Iroit a petit liet pour cest effaict. La suppliant au reste vouloir estre Incline a la paix qui estoit la vraye voie de suyvre Jesus christ qui en est lauteur. Luy disant ledit Croft Madame Vous aves appease tant de grandz differendz Je vous supplie vous

164 v

a—*a* deleted.

b—*b* deleted.

¹ It was suspected that the French, under pretence of repressing a

Queen, having seen the said Articles, pointed out to them that the first was quite beyond reason and could not be discussed. As she had told them the day before, the King and Queen would not receive orders from any prince in the world, much less from subjects, and that she, for her part, would in no wise consent thereto; that the affairs of the realm had always been conducted according to the laws of the land and by the Estates, duly assembled, and that from the time of her Regency nothing had ever been decided without the said Estates; and that all are witness to the progress of the insurrection and disobedience of certain particular subjects and contrary to authority, and how she had laboured to remedy this by all possible and reasonable means. They replied that they had not come to offer excuses for past faults but only to remove the suspicion which the Queen, their mistress, had conceived; that they only wished to see a peaceful settlement; and that if Her Majesty found the said Articles unreasonable, they were but an opening, and she had many wise and prudent persons (naming the Seigneurs d'Oysel, de la Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens), all of whom, or some of them, with some Scots, if it were her pleasure, of the same rank and in such numbers as Her Majesty should think fit, could advise her in these matters, and confer with others from their side, and they could meet in some place suitable for that purpose. The Queen told them that she would communicate the said Articles to the said Seigneurs, and having heard their opinion, would make reply the following day. They begged her most humbly so to do, saying that they would tell their men to allow the messenger for that purpose to go to Leith without let or hindrance; entreating her moreover to incline towards peace, which was the true way to follow Jesus Christ, who was the author of peace, Croftes saying to her: 'Madam, you have composed so many great differences, I beseech you to bring to the settlement of this one all

rebellion in Scotland, sought the conquest of England. Mary Queen of Scots had assumed the title of Queen of England, Elizabeth being considered illegitimate by all true Catholics.

employer a la composition de cestuy cy comme vous avez le moyen de le bien appaiser estans toutes choses en votre main. La royne lui dict quelle avoit tousiours este Incline a la paix et quil ne tiendroît a elle que le tout ne fust conduict a pacification. Leur remonstrans ladite dame que quelque nombre de leur cavallerye avoit passé le Jour de devant par dessoubz le Chasteau contre ce qui avoit este dict. Aquoy Ilz respondirent que ce avoit este sans leur sceu. Et a linstant mesmes quilz sortirent de parler avecques sa maieste mais quilz avoient faict defendre a tous de nen approcher. Et silz le faisoient leur estoient tort. Ils ne sen sauroient plaindre.

Ledit Jour noz gens deffoncerent vingt quatre barricques de vin a Cramont.

Ceste nuyt entrerent environ vingt ou vingt cinq cappitaines francois a cheval dedans les tranches des ennemys et tuerent quelques ungs et emmenerent des prisonniers.¹

Le viii^e la royne envoya les dits articles a petit liect pour entendre surce ladvis de Messieurs qui estoit quil ne se devoit aucunement faire assemblee sur le premier etc.—prisonnier—Lesdits Croft et havart entendirent quil falloit envoyer querir saufconduict de mylord grey nonobstant ce qui avoit este dict toutesfoys etc.

Ledit Jour arryva au camp un recepveur de chastellerault qui apporta nouvelles que levesque de Valence estoit arryve a barvik ou Il estoit arreste.²

¹ Stow, *Annals*, 1087: 'The seventh of Aprill, a new trench was cast beside the Crag, and thereon two peeces of ordnance planted.'

² *C.F.E.*, ii. 936. April 1. Commission to the Bishops of Valence and Amiens and M. de la Brosse: Francis and Mary, the King and Queen of Scotland, wishing to bring back their subjects of Scotland to obedience by clemency and to employ kindness to those who have rebelled, for this purpose have chosen the above persons to advise them of their duty, and have given them full power and commission to assure them that if they return to their obedience they will be pardoned and the past forgotten. See also *ibid.*, ii. 959. April 7. Norfolk and his Council to Cecil: (1) Yesterday the Bishop of Valence arrived here, with the Queen's letter for his safe conduct to the Queen Dowager. . . . Prays Cecil to advertise him of

the means in your power for a true appeasement ; everything lies in your hands.' To him the Queen replied that she had always been inclined towards peace, and that it would be through no fault of hers if the whole affair was not brought to a peaceful conclusion. The said lady pointed out to them that the day before a certain number of their cavalry had passed right underneath the Castle, contrary to what had been said. To which they replied that it had been done without their knowledge ; and that at the very time when they had come for their parley with Her Majesty, all had been forbidden to come near, and if any had done so they were in fault. They did not know what defence to offer.

That same day our men broached twenty-four barrels of wine at Cramond.

That same night about twenty or twenty-five mounted French captains entered the enemy's trenches, killed a number of them and took some prisoners.

On the 8th the Queen sent the aforesaid Articles to Leith in order to have the opinion of the seigneurs thereon ; which was that clearly no assembly should be called to discuss the first, etc.—Prisoner.—The aforesaid Croftes and Howard understood that a safe-conduct must be sent for from Lord Grey, notwithstanding what had been said otherwise, etc.

That same day there arrived in the camp a receiver of [the Duke of] Châtelherault, who brought the news that the Bishop of Valence had reached Berwick, where he had been stopped.

the Queen's pleasure, as it is not meet that the Bishop should abide long in this town—Berwick. Killigrew, who had accompanied the Bishop, writing to Cecil on the same day, says : ' For his treatment by the way the Bishop was well pleased, but his stay in this town (Berwick) is no small grief to him.' (*Ibid.*, ii. 961 (3).)

On Montluc, Bishop of Valence, see Brantome, *Vies des hommes illustres*, éd. Lalande, iv. 40, note, 42, 43 ; v. 363. Also L. Paris, *Négociations sous François II* (392-414), 393 : ' Et de fait le dict seigneur de Norfolk, avecques ses belles parolles, me retint quinze jours.'

Le neufvesme fut envoyé le trompette dromond devers ledit mylord grey pour avoir saufconduit pour deux ou troys gentilshommes pour luy aller porter responce sur Lesdits articles.¹

165 r

Ledit Jour s'estant retire grand nombre danglois en la ville dedem^abourg^a et camguet [Canongate] Les francois donnarent Lalarme si chaulde en leur camp quilz nestimoient avoir loisir dy estre atemps pour saulver leur artillerye et secourir les aultres

Le x^e lord de fenlater [Findlater],² alexandre deskyn,³ et maistre Jehan spens⁴ delivrarent ladite responce a sieur James Croft, sieur henry persy [Percy], le prier de saint andre; et lord de petaro [Pittarrow]⁵ qui sassemblarent au talbbartz [Tolbooth]⁶ avec seurete de coste e dautre Contenant que ou Il estoit desire que les soldatz francois soient renvoiez Il nest Incongneu a toute la noblesse de ce royaume comme Willam montland [Maitland] apporta de france commandement du roy au mois de may dernier a cest effect et fussent departis au mesme ^bJour^b temps neust este la grande desobeissance des subiectz qui sensuyvit 'peu^c apres Et si obeissance estoit offerte avecques ^dseurete^d dicelle Le Roy comme nous pensons pourra estre meu de faire en cest endroit la chose qui se trouvera raisonnable

Quant a ce quilz 'desirent^e d'avoir lieu pour poursuyvre tels articles des roy et Royne qui peuvent estre necessaires a la pacification de ce royaume nous navons Jamais eu Intention de faire aulcun empeschement. Et comme nous serions encores bien aise d'avoir toutes choses traictees qui puissent estre pour le Repoz et parfaict gouvernement dudit royaume accordant aux loix dicellui ainsi quil a esté usé

a—*a* above the line, *urg* deleted. *b*—*b* deleted.

c—*c* above the line, *par* deleted. *d*—*d* above the line, *seurete* deleted.

e—*e* above the line, *poursuyvent* deleted.

¹ Holinshed, i. 492: 'And so the next day she sent ane Drummond a trumpetter with a letter to Monsieur de la Brosse . . . bidding him to passe to the Englishe Campe. . . . But immediately after his departing from the

On the 9th the trumpet, Drummond, was sent to my Lord Grey to obtain a safe-conduct for two or three gentlemen to go to him bearing the reply to the aforesaid Articles.

That same day a large number of English having gone into the town of Edinburgh and the Canongate, the French gave the alarm so hotly in their camp that the English thought that they would not have time to get back to save their artillery and to come to the help of the others.

On the 10th the laird of Findlater, Alexander Erskine and Master John Spens handed over the said reply to Sir James Croftes, Sir Henry Percy, the Prior of St. Andrews, and the laird of Pittarrow, who had met in the Tolbooth, surety having been given on either side. The tenor of it was that whereas it was desired that the French soldiers should be removed, it was not unknown to the whole nobility of the realm that William Maitland had brought back from France in the month of May last, an order from the King to that very effect; that they would have been sent back even at that time had it not been for the great disobedience of the subjects which followed shortly afterwards; and that if obedience were offered, with proper surety for the same, the King (or so we think) might be moved in regard to this point to do anything which should seem reasonable. As for their desire to have a right to lay before the King and Queen such Articles as might be necessary for the pacification of this realm, we have never had any intention to hinder that; and as we should still be very glad to have everything conducive to the peace and perfect government of this realm treated according to the laws of the same, as has been the usage

English Camp, he was sudainely called backe againe, and his letters taken from him.' (See also Leslie, ii. 434.)

² John Gordon, laird of Findlater.

³ Alexander Erskine was captain of Edinburgh Castle under his brother, Lord Erskine.

⁴ John Spens of Condie in Perthshire, advocate to the Queen in 1558.

⁵ Sir John Wishart of Pittarrow.

⁶ The Tolbooth of Edinburgh; see Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i. 389, note 2.

parcy devant du temps des aultres princes. Et a cest effect serions prestz de nommer les personnaiges qui communiqueront pour nous e prendront ordre tant sur ^alastinence^a que aultres choses pour estre traictez en cest endroict le semblable estant faict de Lautre costé.

165 v

En ceste assemblee au talbuitz furent nommez de la part de la royne Messieurs de Villeparisis de la brosse et damyens ou deux diceulx Larchevesque de saint andre le conte de morton et le sieur derskyn. Et de la part de mylord grey et du duc, sieur James croft, et henry persi Le prieur de saint andre, lord de petaro [Pittarrow], et messieurs maxwell et lethington¹ entrarent en communication sur ^alastinence^a et lieu ou se feroit lassemblee que ^alastinence^a seroit de toutes choses tant des armes que de tous Remuemens de terre de costé e dautre et seroit le lieu audit talbuitz, sans toutesfoys Rien conclure pour rapporter le tout a la royne et en communiquer avecques messieurs de petit lict. Ladite dame ne trouva bon que lesdits maxwell² et lethington³ y fussent pour aulcunes offences particulieres quilz luy avoient faict Et pour cest effect Renvoya devers mylord grey affin quil en fust nomme daultres. Ledit grey feit responce a Maistre Jehan spens quil faudroit assembler le duc e les aultres pour en conferer Et que pour ne perdre temps Il supplioit la royne de les vouloir accepter et laisser passer quelquechose plus que la Raison Et quil seroit marry que les aultres eussent entendu que sa maieste faisoit ceste difficulte daultant que cela les pourroit faire entrer du tout en desespoir. Ledit grey usant de langage trop plus doulx quil navoit faict le duc et les aultres presens Et dict entre aultres choses quilz le soupsonnoient. Sire James Croft parlant a part audit spens luy dict Je vous

a—a sic.

¹ *C.F.E.*, ii. 990. April 11. Randolph to Sadler: . . . On this day there meet to commune for the Lords the Lord James, the Master of Maxwell, the Lairds of Petarro and Lethington, Sir James Croftes and Sir Henry Percy; and for the Dowager, M. d'Oysel, La Brosse, the Bishop of Amiens, Earl Morton, Lord Erskine, and the Bishop of St. Andrews.

² Sir John Maxwell was employed in public affairs as commissioner for a treaty of peace with England in December 1552 and again in 1557. He

formerly, in the time of other princes, we shall be ready to that end to name those who will speak for us, and who will take order for the cessation of hostilities as well as for other matters to be treated, the same being done on the other side.

At this meeting in the Tolbooth there were named for the Queen MM. de Villeparisis, de la Brosse and Amiens, or two of them, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Earl of Morton and Lord Erskine; for Lord Grey and the Duke Sir James Croftes and Sir Henry Percy, the Prior of St. Andrews, the laird of Pittarrow, Maxwell and Lethington. They got into communication over the cessation of hostilities and over the place of meeting; the cessation of hostilities to be a complete one, applying to arms and all earth-works on both sides, and that the place of meeting should be the Tolbooth, though nothing was to be concluded until it had been referred to the Queen and communicated to those of Leith. The said lady did not approve of the inclusion of the aforesaid Maxwell and Lethington because of certain private wrongs which they had done her; and for this, she sent again to Lord Grey in order that he might name others instead. The said Lord Grey replied to Master John Spens that it would be necessary to assemble the Duke and others to confer on the matter; and, in order not to lose time, he begged the Queen to be willing to accept them and to pass the matter by even if it were more than could be reasonably expected of her. And he would be very grieved that the others should hear that Her Majesty had made this difficulty, all the more so as that might mean that the whole affair would fail, the said Grey using much more gentle language than he had done in the presence of

was imprisoned by the Governor in 1543 (see *Discours*) and in 1559 was committed to ward in Edinburgh Castle for being, according to Knox, 'ane man zelous and stout in God's caus.' (*Hist. Ref.*, i. 319.)

³ Lethington, since his desertion from Leith and the Queen's party, had been in England in communication with Norfolk and his Council and had been one of the Commissioners who met at Berwick to draw up the Treaty of Berwick on February 27th.

166 r

prye dire a la royne de ma part suyvant la promesse que Jay faiete a sa maieste de luy faire tout le service quil me sera possible en ceste paciffication Je ne my espargneray de toute ma puissance Et que voyant que ces gens Icy ne veullent approcher de la raison Je supplie sa maieste faire en sorte quelle monstre venir a conditions raisonnables, affin que noz angloys puissent congnoistre de quel coste vient le tort

Fut rapporte ledit Jour que nos ennemys avoient en terre huict canons deux doubles canons deux coulevrines et huict aultres pieces moyennes bastardes et aultres Qui estoit en tout vingt pieces

Ledit Jour estant sorti le capporal qui estoit a blacnes [Blackness] avec deux soldatz furent surprins par le scheriff de lythquho et mene devant la place pour sommer les aultres soldatz de se rendre ce quilz reffusarent ¹

Le xi^e du matin la royne envoya devers messieurs du petit liet pour leur faire entendre ce que dessus Lesquelz feirent responce que quant aux personnaiges qui avoient este nommez nestans de semblable qualite Ilz nestoient deliberez sassembler avecques eulx Et si les anglois desiroient que le lieutenant du roy y fust que pareillement le lieutenant de la royne dangleterre sy trovast Et si monsieur de la brosse y estoit quilz nommassent aussi ung chevalier de lordre Mais encores quil fust accorde des personnes et de toutes aultres choses si est ce le tout neanlmoings soubz le bon plaisir de la royne quil leur sembloit estre necessaire. Affin de traicter de bonne foy. Et que les choses fussent myeulx aucturisees. Que la royne ouyst auparavant que sassembler Levesque de Valence envoyé de la part du roy. Et quil estoit vray semblable quayant este depesché de sa maieste apres avoir veu les articles qui avoient este envoyes en france de la part de la royne dangleterre Il apportoit pouvoir du roy a ceulx

¹ C.F.E., ii. 990. April 11. Randolph to Sadler: '... Advertisement came this morning to the Earl of Arran that if he sent with speed twenty

the Duke and the others. And he said amongst other things that they held him in suspicion. Sir James Croftes, speaking apart to the said Spens, said to him : ' I beg of you to say to the Queen, on my behalf, that according to the promise I made to Her Majesty to do her all the service I can in this pacification, I will spare no pains in my power ; and that, seeing that these people will not come near reason, I beseech Her Majesty so to act that she shows herself ready to meet reasonable conditions, so that we English may know on which side the wrong lies.'

It was reported that same day that our enemies had on land, eight cannons, two double cannons, two culverins and eight other pieces, moyens and bastards and others : a total of twenty pieces.

That same day the corporal who was at Blackness, having gone out with two soldiers, was surprised by the Sheriff of Linlithgow and taken before the fort to bid the other soldiers surrender, which they refused to do.

On the 11th, in the morning, the Queen sent to those in Leith to acquaint them with the foregoing. They replied that, as to the persons who had been named, they felt that as they were not equal in rank, there should be no meeting. If the English wished the King's Lieutenant to be present, then likewise the Queen of England's Lieutenant should be there ; and if M. de la Brosse were there, then let them appoint also a Knight of his Order. Nevertheless, agreement should be reached as to the persons and all other matters (if that were all) according to the Queen's good pleasure, which seemed to them to be necessary, so as to treat with good faith. And in order that matters might be better authorised, that the Queen, before meeting, should hear the Bishop of Valence, who had been sent by the King. And that it was very likely that, as he had been sent by His Majesty, who had seen the Articles which had been sent to France from the Queen of England, he brought powers from the King to

soldiers to Blackness it should be delivered into their hands.' The Sheriff of Linlithgow was James Hamilton. (See *C.F.E.*, ii. 485 (3).)

quil plaisoit a sa maieste qui traictassent de son coste de ces differendz ¹

166 v

Ledit Jour nos gens feirent une sortie delautre coste deleau et y alla quelque cavallerye angloise Laquelle Retournant en leur camp passa pres grensde [Greenside] ou Il leur fut tire quelques pieces de sainet anthoine ² et estant ledit Jour le trompette de la royne a petitlict monsieur de martigues luy dict etc. de quoy.

Ledit Jour fut envoye a mylord grey la resolution de messieurs de petit lict qui estoit de ne sassembler au prealable larrivee devers la royne dudit evesque de Valence Lequel luy dict quil estoit venu comme Il estoit a penser Jusques a Barvik avecques saufconduit de la royne sa maistresse et quant aux angloys Il ne luy seroit point fait dempeschement. Et quil en parleroit au duc et aux aultres Et surce envoyerent devers la royne.

Ledit Jour le scheriff de lythguho et le capitaine James

¹ Since the arrival of de Seur as ambassador to the English court negotiations had been proceeding with a view to composing the differences between the Queen Dowager and the Congregation. On March 2nd the ambassador communicated to Elizabeth, Francis II.'s intentions to remove the French forces from Scotland, as soon as the Scots acknowledged their obedience to the King and Queen, and to allow the principal offices to be in the hands of Scotsmen and to allow them liberty of religion. (*C.F.E.*, ii. 809.)

In reply (*ibid.*, ii. 811, March 5) Elizabeth proposed to disband her forces, if the French removed their soldiers from Scotland. If the Scottish nobles refused to live in obedience to the French King and his wife she would use her persuasion or authority to induce them to do so. On March 6th (*ibid.*, ii. 821) England demanded from France the utter cessation of the usage of style and arms of England by the French King and Queen, and the dispatching of commissioners to settle the affairs of Scotland and the withdrawing of the French troops.

On March 7th the Council wrote to Throckmorton in France, so did Elizabeth, giving him instructions to present these articles to the French King and his Council (*ibid.*, ii. 835, 836). On March 7th the Bishop of Valence received his commission from Mary (*ibid.*, ii. 826). Throckmorton informed Cecil on March 9th (*ibid.*, ii. 845) that the Bishop of Valence

those whom it pleased His Majesty to appoint to treat for him in these differences.

The same day our soldiers made a sortie on the other side of the water, and some English cavalry came up, who, returning to their camp, passed close by Greenside, where some pieces on St. Anthony's steeple fired on them. That same day the Queen's trumpet was in Leith, and Mr. de Martigues said to him, etc. Of which . . .

That same day was communicated to my Lord Grey the resolution of those of Leith, which was, not to meet before the aforesaid Bishop of Valence had come to the Queen. Lord Grey replied that the Bishop, it was thought, had reached Berwick with a safe-conduct from the Queen, his mistress. And on the English side, no obstacle would be put in his way. He would speak to the Duke [of Châtelherault] and the others, and thereupon would send to the Queen.

That same day the Sheriff of Linlithgow and Captain

had instructions to desire licence for the Queen Dowager and the French to come out of Scotland through England into France. The articles were delivered to the French King on the 13th (*ibid.*, ii. 859, 881 and *note*). Throckmorton thought that the Bishop was sent to 'drive time.' The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise wrote to the Dowager on March 20th (*ibid.*, ii. 879) that they had hopes of help from Spain; in the meantime the King had sent the Bishop of Valence to understand plainly the Queen's meaning, and to go to Scotland to essay to appease things and to find means to win time. The substance of the message of the Bishop is given on March 21st (*ibid.*, ii. 883) and on March 25th. Extracts from the Instructions to the Bishop (*ibid.*, ii. 898).

* *C.F.E.*, ii. 1009. April 15. Randolph to Killigrew: *P.S.*—'The French refused to talk or have to do with Lord Maxwell and the Laird of Lethington; they also broke the truce with thirty or forty shot of artillery.'

Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, ii. 59: 'The Frensch inclosit within the toun, the Yngliss armye began to plant thair palyeans betwix Leith and Restalrig. The ordinance of the toun, and especiallie that quhilk lay upoun Sanct Antonies Stepill did thame greit annoyance.' The Hospital of St. Anthony was founded in 1418 by Robert Logan of Restalrig. It stood at the south-west corner of what is still called St. Anthony's Wynd.

dodes [Dodds] avecques sa compaignye ne trouverent eschelles audit lythguho pour assaillir Blacnetz.¹

Le xii^e sestant la nuyt eschappé ung sergent des bendes des mains des anglois rapporta que le bruyt estoit entre eulx que petit liet estoit mal fourny dartillerye. Que fust cause que sur lheure Il leur fut faict une salve de quarante ou de quarante deux pieces que grandes que petites. De quoy Il y en eut seize en leur camp tant tuez que blessez.

Ledit Jour vint advertissement que la nuyt prochaine Ilz debvoient mettre leur grosse artillerye sur la montaigne de haguesel [Hawkshill] qui estoit fossoyee alentour quilz debvoient faire une trenchee devers la chappelle de la magdaleine Et en commencer une autre a peleric [Pilrig] le quel advertissement fut sur lheure envoye a petit liet par deux voyes Lune du trompette savye [?] Et dun petit garson qui Retournant le lendemain fut pris et mene au camp des angloys.

Ledit Jour xii^e entrerent en escosse et logerent a dunglas et la autour environ deux mil angloys quinze ou seize cens desquelz gens de pied Rouges cottes e blanches cottes et environ quatre cens chevaulx dont estoient principaulx cheffz sire francois laik [Francis Leek] sire ralbsf saidot [Ralph Sadler] et sire nicolas strange.²

167 r

Le xiii^e a matin apparut leur nouvelle tranchee vers la-dicte chappelle tirant entre haguesel et saint anthoine

Ledit Jour la royne envoya devers le lord grey pour demander saufconduit pour le passage de levesque de valence. Lequel fait responce que quant Il verroit cellui de la royne sa maistresse et du duc de norfolk son lieutenant quil estoit a croyre que ledit evesque avoit estant si avant Il bailleroit le sien Et ne luy seroit faict aulcun empesche-

¹ C.F.E., ii. 1014. April 17. Maitland to Cecil: 'The Earl of Arran has found means that the Blackness is rendered to him.' Stow (1087): 'the 14th the pile of Blackenesse was surrendered to maister Winter.' *Diurnal* (57, 275, xiiij.): 'And the samyn day at nicht the castell of Blaknes wes tane be the schirrefe of Lynlithqw.'

Holinshed (i. 492) says that Blackness was given up on Easter-day in

James Dodds, with his company, found no ladders at Linlithgow for the assault on Blackness.

On the 12th a sergeant of our bands, having escaped by night from the hands of the English, reported that it was rumoured amongst them that Leith was ill-furnished with artillery. This was the reason why, at once, they were given a salvo from forty or forty-two pieces, big and little, with the result that they had in their camp sixteen killed and wounded.

That same day there came advice that on the following night they were going to put their heavy artillery on the eminence of Hawkshill which was trenched round about; that they were going to cast a trench towards the Magdalene chapel and begin another at Pilrig. This advice was immediately sent to Leith by two ways; one, by a trumpet, Savye, and the other, by a little boy who, returning the next day, was taken and carried off to the English camp.

That same day, the 12th, about two thousand English, of whom fifteen or sixteen hundred were foot, red-coats and white-coats, and about four hundred horse, entered Scotland and quartered themselves at Dunglass and thereabouts. Their leaders were Sir Francis Leek, Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Nicolas Strange.

On the 13th, in the morning, their new trench could be seen running towards the said Chapel between Hawkshill and St. Anthony's.

That same day the Queen sent to Lord Grey to ask for a safe-conduct for the passage of the Bishop of Valence. He replied that when he saw the safe-conduct of the Queen, his mistress, and that of the Duke of Norfolk, her lieutenant, which he was sure that the said Bishop had, seeing that he had come so far, then he would grant his, and on the English side no obstacle would be put in the

the morning. In the second volume of the *Chronicles* (1806, 1807) a detailed account is given, day by day, of the English and French activities in the trenches round Leith.

² *C.F.E.*, ii. 996. April 12. Norfolk to Cecil: . . . 'Not being able to assure them of anything until Sir George Howard's return from the Queen, he has sent Sadler and Leeke to content them with fair words.'

ment du coste des angloys ^aMaiz quil ne le pouvoit asseurer des escossoys de la congregation et Jusques a dire que si Il estoit avecques luy Il luy feroit bonne chere maiz quil ne yroit plus avant^a ^bsi les dits escossois nestoient contens^b.¹

Le xiiii^e ayant mis six pieces dartillerye en ladite tranchee bastardines e moyennes tirerent tout le Jour contre la ville de petit liet aux maisons sans y faire meutre dune seule personne Et leur fut respondu de mesmes de la tour saint anthoine du cavallier* du boulevers de logan et de cellui de la mer.²

Ledit Jour sestans troys ou quatre soldatz habillez en femmes et faisans semblant de sen aller de petit liet vindrent a eulx quelques angloys a cheval dont lesdits soldatz en tuerent et admenerent prisonniers ³

Le xv^e a midy feirent noz gens une sortye de petit liet environ mil ou douze cens hommes de pied et soixante chevaulx^c gaignerent les trenchees des ennemys qui estoient loing de la ville et pres de leur camp tuerent la plus grand part de ce qui y estoit le reste pris ^dQui^d fait enclouerent quatre de leurs pieces quilz eussent emmene sans difficulte silz ne se fussent amusez au combat. Rapportèrent len-seigne du cappitaine dunon et prindrent beaulcoup de prisonniers. Entre lesquelz y avoit cappitaines lieutenans e

a—a added in the space between this entry and the next.

b—b completed in the left-hand margin.

c the sentence *a—a* deleted here.

d—d above the line, *ce* deleted.

* A raised work in fortification on which guns were placed.

¹ *C.F.E.*, ii. 1001. April 13. The Duke of Châtelherault and the Council to the Bishop of Valence: 'They perceive by his letter that he is sent to the Queen Dowager and requires a sure passage . . . the Council cannot agree to grant him passage, whereby their enemies may have intelligence to their annoyance. Nevertheless, if he can make it appear that he has sufficient authority to remove this scourge of men of war hanging over their heads and put the realm in quiet, he shall not only have sure passage, but also be honorably received and well treated.'

'Ce second refus me fit résoudre à m'en retourner : mais ledict seigneur (Norfolk) me pria instamment de faire le voiage : m'assurant que milord Gray me feroit conduire seurement à ladite dame royne régente, avant

way. He could not, however, give an assurance for the Scots, members of the Congregation. And he went so far as to say that if the Bishop was with him, he would entertain him hospitably, but that he could go no further if the said Scots were not agreeable.

On the 14th having placed six pieces of artillery in the said trench bastardines and moyens, they fired all day on Leith, on the houses, without killing a single person; and they were answered in a like way from St. Anthony's steeple, from the raised platform, from Logan's bulwark and from the bulwark on the seaward side.

That same day three or four soldiers apparelled like women pretended to come out from Leith. Some English horse came towards them, of whom the said soldiers killed some and took some prisoner.

On the 15th, at midday, our men made a sortie from Leith to the number of a thousand or twelve hundred footmen and sixty horse. They reached the enemy trenches which were far from the town and near their camp and there killed most of those who were in them and took the rest prisoner. This done, they spiked four of their pieces which they could have carried off without difficulty had they not had all their attention occupied by the fight. They brought back Captain Dunon's ensign and took

que parler ny voir aucun de la congrégation.' (Paris, *Négociations sous François*, ii. 393, 394.)

^a Stow (1087): 'The foureteenth day of Aprill, being Easterday, the Englishmen shot off their great ordinance and the Frenchmen answered them againe all that day.'

'Loggens bulwark' is mentioned by Randolph to Cecil as standing clean whole on August 15th. (*C.F.E.*, iii. 418.) The Logans of Restalrig were an old family of great influence from their possessions at Leith and Restalrig. The superiority was purchased by the Queen Regent from Robert Logan for £3000 Scots in 1555. In 1559 the town of Leith left the Congregation and surrendered to D'Oysel; Knox blames the Laird of Restalrig, Robert Logan, for this defection. (*Hist. Ref.*, i. 374, 426, 427.)

^b Stow (1087): 'The same day nine French men apparelled like woomen came fourth of Lieth, and counterfeiting some light demeanor, trained one of the English scowts within their danger, whom they tooke, and chopped off his head, which they set upon the toppe of one of their Church steeples.' The same account in Holinshed (ii. 1807).

167 v

enseignes. Il y eut plus de deux cens anglois tuez e aultant de blessez. Tout leur camp vint dessus noz gens et descendit leur Infanterye assez furieusement du long de leur tranchee par le dehors du coste de la mer Leur cavallerye ^aqui^a conduysoit le filz du lord grey voulut charger noz gens comme Ilz commencerent a se retirer ou arquebuzades ne luy menquerent point et fut contrainct prendre le hault devers leur trenchee. Ce pendant saprocherent leurs gens de pied Et estans ^bdesia^b au combat avecques les nostres voulut ladite cavallerye tenter une aultre charge du long du grand chemin de petit liect pensant donner sus noz gens a lentrete de la porte ou le filz du lord grey eut deux harquebuzades une en l'espaule lautre en la cuisse et une grand partie de sa compaignye de demy lances deffaicte. Et fut si bravement faict teste a toute la force de lennemy quil fut contrainct se retirer linfanterye de se Jecter en leur tranchee, et la cavallerye de se retirer devers Edinbourg. Nos gens se retirerent sans perte aulcune que de deux hommes qui encores Rentrerent dedans petit liect Et y en eut seulement huict ou dix blessez sans danger de mort.¹

Le xvi^e vint devers la royne ung Jeune homme anglois accompaigne dun herault e dun trompette et apporta une lettre ouverte de monsieur de Valence du vii^e aprvil Et le

a—*a* sic.

b—*b* = déjà.

¹ Stow (1087): 'The fifteenth day of Aprill, a fiftie horsemen, and about five hundred harquebusiers, who making to the new trenches, were upon the Englishmen that warded upon such a sodaine, that they slue and wounded no small number, and possessing the trenches awhile, stopped the touch holes of three peeces of the artillerie . . . enemies were expelled and sixteene of them slaine, drave them into the towne and made of them great slaughter.' In *C.F.E.*, ii. 1026. April 18. Norfolk to Cecil, and ii. 1048. April 20. Grey to Norfolk: . . . he has received intelligence that at the same enterprise Captains Sharlebois the younger, Piemont, Pyeres, and de Lorges were slain, Captain Lagarde sore wounded, and thirty of the bravest gentlemen of their band slain; besides whom seventy-four were slain of the companies of Captains Harbierves and Rycarville. The number slain and hurt amounts to 250. Pitscottie (ii. 169) puts the number at a hundred. The *Diurnal* (57, 58): 'And upoun the xv day of the moneth . . . at 12 houris befor none, thair come out of Leith at the port callit Sanct Anthones

many prisoners, amongst whom were captains, lieutenants and ensigns. More than two hundred English were killed and as many wounded. The whole of their camp came down on our men and their infantry descended with some fury along their outer trench on the seaward side. Their cavalry, under Lord Grey's son, would have liked to charge our men as they were beginning to withdraw; there was no lack of harquebusades, and their cavalry was constrained to take to the high ground towards their trench. Meanwhile their foot had come up, and being already engaged with our troops, the said cavalry would have liked to try another charge along the main Leith road, thinking to attack our men at the entrance by the port. Here Lord Grey's son received two harquebuse wounds, one in the shoulder, the other in the thigh; a great part of his company of demi-lances was routed. And so brave a stand was made against the whole force of the enemy that they were compelled to withdraw, the infantry throwing themselves into their trench and the cavalry withdrawing towards Edinburgh. Our men withdrew without any loss except two men, who later came back to Leith. There were only eight or ten wounded, and those not in any danger of their lives.

On the 16th a young Englishman, accompanied by a herald and a trumpet, came to the Queen and brought an open letter from M. de Valence, dated the 7th of April.

port, the crowner of the Frenchemen, with him xl horsemen and xxx hagbuteris, and raid the reddie way to the Inglis trinschis; and in the menetyne the Frenche futemen, to the number of J^m men, all hagbutaris, ischit furth of the port. . . . At this skirmist was slane of the Inglis ije xl futemen, and sex scoir hurt; of Frenchemen iij^{xx} slane or mae, and diverse hurt, but newer ane tane on aither syid.' (Cf. Knox's account, *Hist. Ref.*, ii. 60; Leslie, ii. 437; Holinshed, i. 492, ii. 1807.) Paris, *op. cit.* (375): 'Une saillie que feit monsieur de Martigues, le lundi de Pasques, où il fut maître de leurs tranchées depuis neuf heures jusqu' à une heure après-midy, . . . et après avoir gaigné deux enseignes et mis de cinq à six cens hommes à mort, et pris quarante prisonniers . . . gaigna aussi quatre pièces d'artillerie . . . se retira à son aise avec perte seulement de deux soldats, lesquels il feit amener tous blessés au Petit-Lict.'

mesme Jour le duc de chastellerault luy en avoit envoye une du xii^e.

Le xvii^e la royne envoya devers my lord grey alexandre Erskyn et Maistre Jehans spens pour avoir saufconduit pour ledit sieur de Valence Lequel sen remiet au duc de chastellerault et aultres sieurs de sa compaignye qui luy en baillerent ung conditionné Le duc de chastellerault et aultres sieurs du conseil descosse etc.¹

La royne feit donner une chesne audit anglois et luy bailla ledit saufconduit pour le porter audit sieur de Valence de la part duquel Il estoit venu devers elle avecques une lettre par laquelle elle remectoit a sa discretion et ponderation de laccpter ou non.²

168 r

Ledit Jour quelques soldatz de dombarre estans sortis pour rompre le chemin a six milles de la venant de barvik au camp preirent quelques prisonniers marchans e aultres qui estoient saizis de quelques lettres angloises par lesquelles se trouva que la perte dhommes que les anglois avoient faict depuys leur venue en escosse estoit plus grande que lon ne pensoit.³

Le xviii^e ayant le dit lord grey faict plaincte que maistre Winter ayant envoye ung homme en lisle avecques ung trompette e y estant descendu soubz la parolle du cappi-

¹ Paris, *op. cit.* (394): 'Un sauf-conduit des sieurs de la congrégation, dont le contenu estoit: qui si estant venu par devers eulx je monstrois pouvoir suffisant de négocier la paix, ils me feroient conduyre à la royne régente, autrement non.'

² *Ibid.*, 'Laquelle dame m'escripvoit aussi que oultre que le sauf-conduit estoit indigne pour ung serviteur d'ung tel roy et royne que je servois, si je m'y voulois fier j'estoys en danger de m'en retourner sans avoir parlé à elle.'

³ *C.F.E.*, ii. 1078. April 27. Norfolk to Cecil: 'By the taking and overthrow of the Dunbar men their letters will pass now with more safety.' *Ibid.*, ii. 1074, April 25 and 26. Grey to Norfolk: An ambush having been laid to catch the French coming out of Dunbar, the English took and slew fifty-eight, whereof forty-five are taken. The *Diurnal* (58, 276): 'Upone the tuantie day of Apryle foirsaid, the laird of Ormestoun, with certane horsemen, awatit Frenchemen quhilk was in Dunbar, quhen thaj wer

And that same day the Duke of Châtelherault had sent him one dated the 12th.

On the 17th the Queen sent Alexander Erskine and Master John Spens to my Lord Grey to procure the safe-conduct for the said Sieur de Valence. He remitted the matter to the Duke of Châtelherault and other lords of his company, who issued a conditional one: 'The Duke of Châtelherault and the other lords of the Scottish Council, etc.'

The Queen made a present of a chain to the said Englishman and gave him the said safe-conduct so that he might take it to the said Sieur de Valence, on whose behalf he had come to her. She also gave him a letter [for Valence] wherein she left it to his own discretion and considered opinion whether to accept the safe-conduct or not.

That same day some soldiers from Dunbar, having made a sortie of some six miles in order to cut the road which led from Berwick to the camp, took several prisoners, merchants and others, who were found to be in possession of English letters, which revealed that the number of men lost by the English since they came into Scotland was greater than had been thought.

On the 18th the said Lord Grey, having complained that a man sent by Mr. Winter to Inchkeith with a trumpet, and landing on Captain Lussagnet's parole, had been

cumand furth to hunt, and tuik of thame to the number of lix personis, of the quhilkis was capitane Pirret, capitane Hay, and fyve or sax slane.'

Pitscottie (ii. 169) mentions a skirmish on the 17th in which forty Frenchmen were slain. In *C.F.E.*, ii. 1049. April 20. Killigrew to Cecil: '... Winter, on the 17th, gave the town so hot an alarm by sea that the cry was heard in Edinburgh.' In Stow (*Annals*, 1088): 'The 17 of Aprill, Maister Winter caused diverse of the ships boats, being well manned, to give a great alarme at the side of the towne towards the water, discharging many basses and harquebusiers of croke into the towne, during which time there was a piteous cry made by the women and children within the towne.' Holinshed (ii. 1807) says the same.

taine lassaignet Il avoit esté retenu ladedans.¹ La royne escripvit a monsieur de Villeparisis a ce propos Et print par la occasion "denvoyer" dy envoyer ung trompette Et les advertir de toutes choses car Il ny avoit eu moyen denvoyer depuys troys ou quatre Jours.

Le xix^e fut faicte la seconde despesche de la parsonne de auldrox bough [Auld Roxburgh].²

Ledit Jour a matin ^bapparub la nouvelle tranchee des ennemys pres la chappelle de la magdalene devers la mer et se feit quelques escarmouches

Ledit ^cxx^e a matin^e Jour fut baille deux cens livres au sire lord de balwy [Balwearie] maitre william scot ³ pour essayer de mettre secretement quelques vivres en ^dlisle^d lisle

Le xx^e a matin apparut ladite trenchee quelque peu avancee et non gueres plus avant que la terre labourable et y eut escarmouches le Jour e sur le soir.

Le xxi^e arriva devers la royne monsieur levesque de Valence par la voye des anglois qui le amenerent seurement de barvik a edinbourg et fut receu du lord grey et camp des anglois fort honnorablement avecques toutes honnestes parolles Il ne parla point aux escossoys "devers" devant venir devers la royne et promit quil retourneroit devers eulx a deux heures apres midi cequil feit toutesfoys le tout fut Remis au lendemain.⁴ sa commission tendoit a paix. Instruction.

a—a deleted.

b—b sic.

c—c deleted.

d—d deleted.

e—e deleted.

¹ C.F.E., ii. 1016. [April 17.] Admiral Winter's answers to the Duke of Norfolk's articles: 'Inchkeith has 140 soldiers and 70 women, boys, and others. Drink they have none but water, wheat they have to serve for ten or twelve days; other victual little or none. Their great relief is oysters and periwinkles, which they get at low water mark about the isle, and fresh fish with angling rods. . . . The wall and ramparts are fourteen feet of stone and sixteen of earth thick.'

² See *supra*, p. 90, note 4, and mention of William Ker or Carr, the parson of Auld Roxburgh, in *Acts of the Lords of Council* (1501-1554), p. 493.

³ Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, ii. 7) mentions the families who were confederates of the French in Fife—'Seafeld, Weames, Balmowto, Balwearry, and otheris, ennemyes to God and traytouris to thair country.'

detained there, the Queen wrote to M. de Villeparisis on this point. She took the opportunity to send a trumpet to advise them of everything, for there had been no means of sending to them for three or four days.

On the 19th a second dispatch was sent by the parson of Auld Roxburgh.

That same day, in the morning, the enemy's new trench was seen, near the Magdalene Chapel, on the seaward side. There were several skirmishes.

That same day two hundred livres were given to the laird of Balwearie, Mr. William Scott, to try to put secretly some victuals on to Inchkeith.

On the 20th, in the morning, the said trench was seen to be a little further forward, but not much further than the ploughed fields. There were skirmishes during the day and towards evening.

On the 21st M. the Bishop of Valence reached the Queen. He came through the English, who took him safely from Berwick to Edinburgh. He had been received by Lord Grey and the English camp very honourably and with very fair words. He did not have speech with the Scots before coming to the Queen; he promised to return to them at two o'clock in the afternoon, which he did. Nevertheless the whole matter was put off till the next day. His commission was directed towards peace. Instruction.

⁴ *C.F.E.*, ii. 1032. April 19. Norfolk to Cecil: *P.S.*—'The Bishop of Valence journeys to-morrow into Scotland'; *ibid.*, ii. 1033 (2), Norfolk to Grey: 'To-morrow the Bishop of Valence takes his journey hence, lodging at night at Haddington that he may be in the camp Sunday.' Holinshed (ii. 1808) and Stow (1088): 'The 20 of April, the Bishop of Valence, accompanied with Sir Henry Percie and thre hundred horsemen, came to Lestericke.' Paris (*op. cit.*, 394): 'Sur l'entrée du camp, trouvis ledit mylord Gray avec plusieurs cappitaines qui s'estoient advancés pour me venir recueillir, et après avoir bien parlé ensemble me bailla compagnie pour me mener au chasteau, où je trouvis la royne régente, qui avoit faulte de santé principalement et de toutes autres choses excepté de grandeur de cuer et de bon entendement.'

Ceste nuyt les anglois meirent leur grosse artillerye en leur nouvelle tranchee Et ceste nuyt la et tout le Jour tirerent contre les eglises saint christofle et saint anthoine¹

Le xxii^e ledit sieur de Valence alla devers le duc et les aultres² leur proposer cequil avoit a leur dire de la part du roy et de la roync leurs souverains qui "concernoit"^a principalement troys choses labolition des fautes passees, la conservation de leurs privileges, libertes, e capitulations faictes et de Retirer les soldats francois Reservant ce quil seroit necessaire pour les forteresses moyennant leur deue obeissance.³ Ce qui fut trouve le meilleur du monde mesme entre les anglois Et furent soubdain ses propositions redigees par escript en leur Langaige publiees par toute leur armee et envoyees en angleterre. La responce du duc et ses adherens fut remise au lendemain.

Le xxiii^e estant retourne devers eulx demanderent la desmolition de petit lict. Aquoy ledit evesque leur ayant fait responce quil nen avoit aulcune charge, dirent quilz navoient donc plus a faire avecques luy. Et le traicterent fort Indiscrettement meisrent gens de tous costes de son logis Jusques en sa garderobbe Et degrez de sa chambre a ce que personne ne communiquast avecque luy.⁴

Le xxiiii^e ledit ^bJour^b sieur de Valence prest a sen aller

a—*a* above the line, *consernoit* deleted.

b—*b* deleted.

¹ Holinshed (ii. 1808) and Stow (1088): 'The same night (20), nine peeces of ordinance were planted in the new trench, so that the next day the same peeces were shot off toward St. Anthonies Church, whereby the peeces of ordinance that lay in the same steeple were dismounted by them and likewise those that lay in the steeple of St. Nicolas Church.' Pitscottie (ii. 170): 'Wpoun the xx day of Apryle the principall blokhous withtin the toun of Leytht called Santtantons kirk was doung doune be schottis of cannons and sic lyk, and the parochie kirkis thair quhair thair weweris lay.' Cf. Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, ii. 59, 60) and *Historie of the Estate of Scotland* (i. 84). In *C.F.E.*, ii. 1054. April 22. Grey, Croftes and Sadler to Norfolk: The steeple is stated to be out of action and unable to do further annoyance.

² Holinshed (ii. 1808) and Stow (1088): 'The bishop of Valence after he had talked with the Queene, returned to commune with the Lords of

That night the English put their heavy artillery into their new trench, and that night and all day they fired on the churches of St. Christopher and St. Anthony.

On the 22nd the said Sieur de Valence went to see the Duke and the others, to put before them what he had to say on behalf of the King and the Queen, their sovereigns. Which concerned chiefly three things: an amnesty for past offences; the conservation of their privileges and liberties and treaties already made; the withdrawal of the French soldiers, retaining only those necessary for the fortresses, on condition that they returned to their due obedience. There could be nothing better, so it was thought, even by the English, and these propositions were at once drawn up in writing in their tongue and made known throughout their army and sent into England. The reply from the Duke and his party was put off till the next day.

On the 23rd, [the Bishop] having returned to them, they demanded the demolition of Leith. To which the said Bishop made answer that he had no instructions thereon. They then said that they would have nothing more to do with him, and treated him most inconsiderately, putting people in all parts of his lodging, even into his privy apartment and on the steps of his bed-chamber, so that no one could communicate with him.

On the 24th the said Sieur de Valence, being ready

the congregation.' In *C.F.E.*, ii. 1054. April 22. Grey, Croftes and Sadler to Norfolk (2): . . . In the afternoon he returned to the camp to confer with them, and delivered to the Duke of Châtelherault, the Earls of Arran and Glencairn, and Lord James, sundry letters of credence from the French King and Queen.

³ Several copies of the offers made by the Bishop of Valence are in the Archives of the Foreign Office, Paris. (*Mémoires et documents*, Angleterre, reg. 15, fol. 83, 86, 89, 116-128; reg. 21, fol. 117. Espagne, reg. 233, fol. 264.) See also Paris, *Négociations*, 392-414; *C.F.E.*, iii. 124. (May 24th.)

⁴ *C.F.E.*, ii. 1076. April 26. Maitland to Cecil (3): 'On their insisting that the fortification of Leith must be demolished, he plainly said that he had no commission to raze any fortress.' In Paris (*op. cit.*, 404): ' . . . me livrèrent ès mains du seigneur de Massol pour me conduire à mon logis et me garder d'en sortir ny de traficquer avec personne.'

169 r

envoya ung proteste par escript a lord grey fut renvoye querir et estant la praticque renouee demanda quil en fust consulter avecques les serviteurs du roy qui estoient a petit liect ainsi quil estoit fort raisonnable et ne fust que pour leur honneur¹ cequilz ne vouloient accorder respondans quilz nen feroient riens daultant que lord grey dict que Jamais homme de guerre ne permit que les assiegez eussent communication avecques ceulx desquelz Ilz attendoient le secours. Insistans tousjours a ladite demolition. Et que si le roy se contente de telle obeissance que les aultres roys descosse ont eu deulx Laquelle Ilz luy veullent prester. Il nest besoing que ladite ville demeure fortiffiee ne layant pointe este de leur temps. Que sil est en Intention dentreprendre sur eulx davantaige Ilz ne sont deliberez de lendurer sil leur est possible. Et peult ledit sieur faire compte que toutes les foys quilz congnoistront quil veuille entreprendre sur eulx la moindre chose du monde plus que les aultres ont eu Il aura quant et quant une rebellion. Que si ladite fortification est "pour"^a seulement avoir acces et descente quant elle sera rasee Il y aura aussi facilement. Surquoy ledit sieur de Valence leur dict que avant que parler plus avant Il fauldroit Resouldre quelz moyens Il y avait pour "satisfaire"^b sasseurer de leur deue obeissance et aultres droictz concernans les affaires de la royne.² fut finalement conclud que le lendemain a huict heures sassemleroient les anglois et quatre de la congregation pour en communiquer avecques ledit evesque et troys aultres qui seroient deputez par la royne regente. Ce pendant fut

a—*a* added above the line.

b—*b* deleted.

¹ Paris (*op. cit.*, 404, 405) : 'Le jour après ne faillirent à bon matin me faire solliciter à m'en aller; mais pour le déplaisir que j'avois à m'en aller avec si peu de fruit de mon voiage, je voulluz encore esseier de rouvrir la négociation qui avoit esté interrompue; envoyay quelques remonstrances à milord Gray.' . . . 'sur ce que je faisais instance que messieurs d'Amiens, de la Brosse et d'Oysel y fussent appelés, me fust respondu que cela ne se pouvoit faire.'

C.F.E., ii. 1076. April 26. Maitland to Cecil: (5) 'On the 23rd the Bishop wrote to Lord Grey a long discourse of his proceedings; . . . and also desired to speak with his Lordship . . . (6) 'On the 24th he showed them diverse considerations why the Dowager could not think it reasonable that

to depart, sent a written protest to Lord Grey; [the courier] was sent back to fetch [Valence], and the negotiations were resumed. [Valence] asked to consult the King's servants in Leith which was most reasonable and due if only as a point of honour. This they would not grant, replying that they would do nothing in the matter, inasmuch as Lord Grey had said that a soldier never allowed the besieged to hold communication with those from whom they expected help, insisting all the time on the said demolition; that if the King would content himself with such obedience as other Scots kings had had from them, they were willing to render him such obedience; that there was no need for the said town to remain fortified, it never having been so in their time; that if there were any intention of further action against them, they had determined not to endure it, so far as lay within their power. The said Seigneur could take into consideration that every time it came to their knowledge that the King intended to take some unprecedented action against them, however slight, there would forthwith be a rebellion; that if the said fortification is there only that they may have means of access and landing, they can be had easily when it has been razed. Thereupon the said Sieur de Valence said to them that before pursuing the matter further, it must be settled what assurance they would give for their due obedience and the other rights of the Queen in her affairs. It was finally agreed that on the morrow at eight o'clock the English and four of the Congregation would meet to confer with the said Bishop and three others appointed by the Queen

Leith should be rendered . . . besides that La Brosse, D'Oysel, and Martigues would think their honour touched; wherefore she desired that she might have their advice. This request was partly refused him, as it is not convenient that the besieged should have comfort of their friends without, or that those without have intelligence of those within.'

² Paris (*op. cit.*, 405): 'rappelé au logis dudict mylord Gray, où se trouvèrent aussi les seigneurs de la congrégation, qui me dirent que pour le bien du roy et de la royne, et repos de leurs subjects d'Escosse, il estoit nécessaire que le Petit-Lict fût desmoly, aultrement, il ne falloit espérer que nouveaux troubles et différends.'

envoyé de nuyt a messieurs de petit liect¹ pour entendre sur ce leur advis les advertissant au surplus que larmee de mer seroit preste au commencement de Juing.

169 v

Il y avait bruyt au camp des angloys quilz disoient tenir du coste de flandre et dieppe Quil y avoit de grandz tumultes en france pour le faict de la religion. Et que la bretagne estoit toute revoltee gentilz hommes e peuple²

Ledit Jour fut tire de leur nouvelle tranchee pres la magdalene cinq au six cens coups de canon contre les eglises saint christofle et saint anthoine.

Le xxv^e en attendant ladite responce retourna ledit sieur de Valence devers le duc et les aultres accompaigne du sieur d'Ersdyn lord de finlater et maistre Jehan spens³ avecques ung memoire de certaines choses Premièrement comme Ils avoient usurpe lauctorite etc fait plaincte ledit sieur de Valence de quoy Ilz refuserent la venue des sieurs estans a petit liect devers la royne puy quilz avoient accordee devant son arrivee Respondirent que lors Ilz navoient encores faict aulcun approche Leur demanda quelle seurete Ilz vouldroient bailler de lobeissance quilz debvoient a leurs souverains Insista sur les pointz contenuz audit memoire Que veu quil fust advise de desmolir

¹ In the Archives of the Foreign Office, Paris (*Mémoires et documents*, Angleterre, reg. 15, fol. 83), there is a letter from Mary of Lorraine to La Brosse, D'Oysel and Pellevé in Leith, April 23rd, 25th.

² *C.F.E.*, ii. 780. Feb. 27. Mundt to Cecil: (2) 'Yesterday it was reported from Geneva that the idols had been cast out of the churches throughout Aquitaine, and that the same would be speedily done in Provence. Already it is whispered that there is a great agreement among the nobility and others throughout France, who will no longer endure the haughty and adulterous rule of the Guises.'

Ibid., ii. 881. March 21. Throckmorton gives an account of the rising at Amboise. . . . 'There is a stir of Gascons . . . the like in Brittany and Normandy.' (Cf. *ibid.*, ii. 930. March 30. Francis Edwards to Cecil.)

Ibid., ii. 994. April 12. Throckmorton to Cecil: (2) 'It is said that great offers have been made to the Earl of Arran by Gascony, Poitou, Brittany, and Normandy, if he would descend into those parts.'

³ *C.F.E.*, ii. 1076. April 26. Maitland to Cecil: (7) 'On the 25th he desired

Regent. Meanwhile word was sent by night to those of Leith to ask their advice on this, and also to inform them that the army which was to come by sea would be ready by the beginning of June.

There was a rumour in the English camp, which they said came from Flanders and Dieppe, that there were great tumults in France on account of religion, and that the whole of Brittany, the gentry and the common people, was in revolt.

That same day five or six hundred cannon-shot against the churches of St. Christopher and St. Anthony were fired from their new trench near the Magdalene.

On the 25th, while awaiting the said reply, the said Sieur de Valence, accompanied by Lord Erskine, the laird of Findlater and Master John Spens, returned to the Duke and the others with a memorandum on certain points. Firstly, as they had usurped the authority, etc. The said Sieur de Valence complained of their refusal to allow those in Leith to come to the Queen, as had been agreed before his coming. They replied that all that time they had made no approach. He asked them what surety they would be willing to give for the obedience they owed their sovereigns. He insisted on the points contained in the said memorandum. That seeing it was suggested that Leith should be demolished, it would be impossible to

that some of the Dowager's party might confer in his company with some of the Congregation. There came with him Lord Erskine, the laird of Findlater, and Mr. John Spens ; the Lords appointed the Lord James, the Earl of Glencairn, and the Master of Maxwell, in company with Maitland, Sadler, and Croftes. . . . In the end it was concluded that the Dowager should put in writing what she would agree to anent the demolition of the fortifications and the removal of the French, and what security she would demand for their obedience.'

Paris (*op. cit.*, 405) : ' Au jour et lieu assignés, se trouvèrent deux du conseil de la royne d'Angleterre, comme témoins. Du costé des Escossois fut retenu le prieur de Saint-André, le conte de Glincarne, le seigneur de Massol, et le secretaire d'Arthon. Avecques moy vint le seigneur d'Osguin, ung maistre d'hostel de la royne régente et ung secrétaire d'Escossois.'

le petit liet Il seroit Impossible d'accorder du moyen parce que les anglois estans les plus fortz Il est vray semblable quilz se meetroient en notre place. Ilz dirent que la royne regente baillast par escript toutes les seuretez quelle trouveroit raisonnables Et on les accepteroit volontiers pourveu que le petit liet fust demoly.¹

Les anglois ayant faict ung fort de leur trenchee soubz la chappelle de la magdalene laissant force de gens de pied dedans Et de leur cavallerye feirent ceste nuyt une autre trenchee apelerie se camperent en un valon fort pres dicellui.²

Ledit Jour les sieurs de sartraboz [Sarlabous] et octavian bosso receurent deux cens escuz par ilay [Islay] herault.

Le xxvi^e a matin vint la responce de messieurs de petit liet contenant que puy que le secours debvoit estre prest au commencement de Juing et quilz avoient moyen dattendre pour tout ledit moys Ilz supplierent tres humblement La royne ne prendre party Indigne de la grandeur du roy de la royne e delle Car desmollissant le petit liet Il ny auroit place ny force pour porter tiltre de roy et y estre obey.³

[Advis] de $\beta \rho 3 \text{ yt } v r \text{ te } r \tilde{q} t \text{ v t } H.$

Ledit Jour passarent de restalrig par le galsade et pres les moulins de Justice clerc pour saller camper audit valon seize enseignes dinfanterye fut beaulcoup danglois tue de lartillerye de petit liet.

¹ See *C.F.E.*, ii. 1070. April 25. The Queen Dowager's answer to the Lords of the Congregation. Paris (*op. cit.*, 407): 'Enfin nous arrestames que partant ce jour nous adviserions et baillerions par escript les moiens et seurtés que voudrions demander et que le jour après nous y seroit respondu.'

² *C.F.E.*, ii. 1073. April 25. Grey and others to Norfolk: (3) 'The fort is now towards some strength, the charge whereof is committed to Captain Vaughan and twelve score soldiers. When it is put in order, they intend to remove the camp to the south-west side of the town.' Holinshed (ii. 1809) and Stow (1089): 'The 25 of Aprill, the Pioners finished the new fort, named Mount Pelham, to the gard whereof Captaine Vaughan was appointed with 1200 souldiors. This fort was raised on the south side of

come to an agreement about the means, because the English, being the stronger, it was very likely they would take over the place of the Frenchmen. They said that the Queen Regent should put in writing what sureties she would consider reasonable and they would accept them willingly, provided Leith were demolished.

The English, having made a fort in their trench under the Magdalene Chapel, leaving a goodly number of footmen and of their cavalry therein, they made this night another trench at Pilrig, and camped in a valley quite near thereto.

That same day the Sieur de Sarlabous and Octavian Bosso received two hundred crowns by Islay herald.

On the 26th, in the morning, there came the reply from those of Leith, stating that since help was to be ready at the beginning of June, and since they could hold out for the whole of the said month, they begged the Queen most humbly not to take any decision unworthy of the greatness of the King, or of the Queen, or of herself; for if Leith were demolished, there would be no fortress nor strength to support the King's title and to enforce obedience.

This is the counsel of . . . [*cipher*].

That same day sixteen ensigns of cavalry passed from Restalrig, by the calsay and by the Justice Clerk's mills, to a camp in the said valley; many of the English were killed by the artillery fire from Leith.

the towne, the plot whereof was cast square with foure bulwarkes at everie corner, and 12 battering peeces planted in places convenient. . . . The same night also, 2000 footemen with the pioners were sent to the other side of the towne, beyond the Canon milles, where the pioners cast a trench for the safe lodging of the army, which remooved the next day from Lestericke downe into the valley by the said Canon milles, called the red Braies.'

Both these authorities mention a skirmish on the 25th between a great number of horse and foot issued forth of Leith and the English light-horse.

³ Archives, Foreign Office, Paris: (*Mémoires et documents, Angleterre*, reg. 15, fol. 83-91.) Letters exchanged between Mary of Lorraine and La Brosse and D'Oysel.

Ledit Jour a matin furent envoyes les articles des poinetz que la royne demandoit pour la deue obeissance. Ou Il est demande à la royne regente etc ¹ Et lapres disnee estant levesque de Valence retourné devers eulx pour continuer ceste negociation de paix la pratique fut rompue sur la revocation de la ligue dangleterre que les sieurs de la congregation ne voulurent accorder ainsi quil est deduit en des mynutes de lettres envoyees a petit liet du xxvii^e apvril 1560.² Et sur le soir envoya ledit sieur de Valence demander congé a lord grey de sen aller qui fust remis au lendemain

Le xxvii apparurent les trenchees des ennemys entre le villaige de pelerie et la courtine du Wast de petit liet fut tout le Jour escarmouche et tire de coste e dautre ³

Ledit Jour a matin ledit sieur de Valence envoya de rechef demander son dit conge qui luy fut encores Remis a lapresdisnee.

Le xxviii^e arriva devers la royne maistre estienne Wilson avecques une lettre de messeigneurs les cardinal de lorraine et duc de guise du xii^e mars venu par la voye de flandre Et descendu a abardin [Aberdeen] Ladite lettre contenant etc.⁴

¹ C.F.E., ii. 1070. April 25. The Queen Dowager's Answer to the Lords of the Congregation. The Queen will condescend to that which is reasonable . . . provided the said Lords do for their parts as follows :

(1) That they and their adherents will return to their obedience to the Regent, or to any other that shall happen to have commission of their Sovereigns.

(2) That all leagues with foreign powers, especially that with the Queen of England, shall be discharged and revoked, and the pledges given brought home.

(3) That such of the principal Lords as shall be named by her shall give pledges.

(4) That all bands be discharged, and the army of England shall presently depart.

(5) That all places, such as Dumbarton, pertaining to their Sovereigns as their patrimony, be delivered up.

(6) That the said Lords at the next Parliament shall exhort the Estates to keep this contract, and any that refuse are to be declared enemies of the realm.

A copy exists in the archives of the Foreign Office, Paris. (*Mémoires et documents*, Angleterre, reg. 21, fol. 117, pièce 72.) See also Paris, *op. cit.*, 408-412.

That same day, in the morning, were sent the Articles on the points the Queen demanded for their due obedience. In which it is demanded on the part of the Queen Regent, etc. After dinner, when the Bishop of Valence had returned to them in order to continue the negotiations for peace, the conference was broken off, over the question of the revocation of the league with England. This the Lords of the Congregation would not grant, as is set out in the written minutes sent to Leith on the 27th of April 1560. Towards evening the said Sieur de Valence sent to ask Lord Grey for permission to depart, which was put off till the next day.

On the 27th the enemy trenches were seen between the village of Pilrig and the curtain-wall on the west side of Leith; all day there were skirmishes and firing on both sides.

That same day, in the morning, the said Sieur de Valence sent again to ask for leave to depart, which was once more put off until after dinner.

On the 28th Master Stephen Wilson came to the Queen with a letter from Messeigneurs the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, dated the 12th of March. He had come by Flanders and landed at Aberdeen; the said letter contained, etc.

² *C.F.E.*, ii. 1076. April 26. Maitland to Cecil: (9) ' . . . The Bishop could not digest the league, and they would yield no further; and so the treaty was broken up on both parts.' Cf. *ibid.*, ii. 1081. April 28. The Lords of the Congregation to Queen Elizabeth.

³ *C.F.E.*, ii. 1088. April 28. Grey to Norfolk: ' Yesternight he caused the pioneers to entrench nearer the town; and lest they might be molested by the French, who were outside the town in a trench which they had digged, he ordered . . . to approach the town in a covert manner and seek to cut off such French as were planted in said trench. They finding 200 of them charged them and drove them into the ditches of the town, and slew and hurt a great number of them.' (Cf. Stow, 1089; Holinshed, ii. 1809.)

⁴ *C.F.E.*, ii. 1093. April 29. The Queen Dowager to MM. d'Oysel and de la Brosse: ' Received yesterday a letter from her brothers, a copy of which she sends. . . . The Bishop of Valence went his way yesterday.'

Pitscottie (ii. 170): ' Wpoun the 28 day of Apryle the Inglish men gaif the toune allarum and slew that night 1^o men or thairby.' (Cf. Holinshed, ii. 1809.)

Ledit Jour partit Ledit sieur de Valence pour sen retourner.

170 v Ceste nuyt les anglois cuydans gaigner le moulin y perdirent plusieurs hommes avancerent leur tranchee Jusques aupres ^ade^a du grand chemin de petit lict approchans le boulevert saint anthoine

Le xxix^e fut tiré plusieurs coups de coste et dautre les anglois tirerent fort au moulin Et y eut la nuyt quinze hommes tuez en leurs trenchees.¹

Le xxx^e preit le feu en la ville de petit lict aupres de la courtine de Wast au milieu de ladite courtine et estant le vent grand y eut plusieurs maisons bruslees ²

Ce pendant les anglois nespargnerent la pouldre a tirer aux maisons prochaines dudit feu de coste e dautre

Ledit Jour la royne feit une ample depesche au roy et a messeigneurs ses freres³ de tout ce que sestoit passe depuys la depesche de laulmosnier ⁴ mesme lentree et negociation de levesque de Valence.

MAY

Le premier de may ne se feit grand chose de coste ny dautre sinon escarmouches a lacoustumée et quelques coups Les anglois disoient attendre leur renfort de angleterre devant que fere bresche et donner assault Et que dans

a—a deleted.

¹ *C.F.E.*, ii. 1093. April 29. The Queen Dowager to MM. d'Oysel and de la Brosse: *P.S.*—(30th). 'There have been slain this last night fifteen English in the trenches. . . . Is very sorry to see the great inconvenience of the fire in Leith, and fears for their munitions.'

² *Pitscottie* (ii. 170): 'And wpoun the xxx day of this moneth the Inglishmen bruntt the mylnes of Leytht withtin thair wallis and brocht witht thame the haill goodis that was withtin thame.' See also *Diurnal* (58): 'Upoun the last day of Aprile 1560, thair was ane pairt of the toun of Leith brunt be ane suddane fyre, throw chanceing of fyre in ane certane powder being in ane gairdhaus within Leith.'

Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, ii. 69): 'Ane suddane fyre chanceit in Leith, quhillk

That same day the said Sieur de Valence started out on his return journey.

That night the English, thinking to win the mill, lost several men there; they advanced their trench close to the main Leith road near St. Anthony's bulwark.

On the 29th several shots were fired on one side and on the other; the English fired heavily on the mill. That night fifteen men were killed in their trenches.

On the 30th a fire broke out in the town of Leith, near the curtain-wall on the west, in the middle of the said curtain-wall; the wind being strong, several houses were burnt.

Meanwhile the English did not spare their powder, firing on the houses near the said fire, on both sides.

That same day the Queen sent an ample dispatch to the King and to Messeigneurs her brothers concerning all that had happened since the sending of her almoner, even the arrival and negotiations of the Bishop of Valence.

MAY

On the first of May, nothing much was done on either side, only there were skirmishes as usual and some shots. The English said that they were waiting for their reinforcements from England before making a breach and giving the assault, and that in three days they would have dis-

devourit many housses and mekill victuall; and sa began God to fecht for us.' See also Holinshed (ii. 1810); Stow (1089). *C.F.E.*, ii. 1100. April 30, Grey to Norfolk: 'This present Tuesday night about supper time, a very terrible fire arose amongst the houses on the south-west part of Leith, and continues yet burning marvellous vehemently, which they help by shot as much as may be to increase.' *P.S.*—'Yet it burns, yet, yet.'

³ Archives of the Foreign Office, Paris (*Mémoires et documents*, Angl., reg. 15, fol. 93). Mary of Lorraine to her brothers, 30th April 1560.

⁴ William Carr, parson of Roxburgh, Almoner to the Queen Dowager. See *supra*, p. 90, note 4.

troys Jours Ils auroient tout depesché. Ce pendant faisoient des eschelles.¹

171 r Le deuxiesme ^ace^a passa la Journee comme la precedente tirans quelques coups de leur fort aux maisons du ^bbina^b long de la courtine de Wast quelques ungs de leur trenchee a saint anthoine a la citadelle au moulin et au boulevert de Wast.²

La nuyt feirent une trenchee sur le chemin de labbaye a la porte de Ricarville [Riccarton] au bout du Jardin du logan [Logie's Green]. Et meirent quelques pieces plus hault audit chemin a Carrell holl [Quarry-holes].

Le iii^e a troys heures de matin commencerent leur batterye au mylieu de la courtine de Wast du commencement tirerent de vingt deux pieces. Et apres diminuerent tousiours Jusques a douze. Et continuerent leur batterye Jusques a midy denviron quarante vollees. Et au reste de la Journee en feirent que sept ou huit. Ce pendant la Citadelle saint nicolas et le boulevert saint christofle faisoient souvent voler la pouldre parmy leurs gabions *³

Ceste nuyt les francois environ dix heures ayant donne Lalarme au fort pres la magdalene tirerent deux pieces et plusieurs arquebuzades. Les anglois sortans de pelleric pour aller secourir ledit fort trouverent embuscade. sattacha pres le boulevert saint cristofle une telle escarmouche quil y

^a—*a sic*.

^b—*b* deleted.

* Great baskets filled with earth used to protect gunners.

¹ Holinshed (ii. 1810); Stow (1090): 'The first of May the Frenchmen early in the morning set up their may-poles in certaine bulwarkes, and 14 ensignes, the which being discovered of them in the campe, they saluted them with a peale of great ordinance, and likewise the French answered them againe, and so continued the most part of that day.'

² Holinshed (ii. 1810); Stow (1090): 'The second of May the pioners made the trenches for the artillery to be planted in battery. The night following they placed the artillery in the new trench, and the next morning the same battery went off, and continued all that day.'

³ *C.F.E.*, ii. 1075. April 26. Norfolk to Cecil: (3) of Leith: '... There is no defence to the water side ward, but bords with sand cast against it; and no other part of the town much stronger, except it be towards the north-

patched the whole business. Meanwhile they were busy making scaling ladders.

On the second, the day passed exactly as the preceding day; some shots were fired from their fort on to the houses along the west curtain-wall; some from their trench on to St. Anthony's, on to the citadel, on to the mill, and on to the west bulwark.

That night they made a trench on the road to the Abbey at Riccarton port at the end of Logie's Green, and they put a few pieces higher up on the said road at the Quarry-holes.

On the 3rd, at three o'clock in the morning, their battery began to fire on the middle of the west curtain-wall. To begin with, they fired with twenty-two pieces and afterwards gradually lessened them to twelve. Their battery continued to fire until about midday, about forty volleys; during the rest of the day they fired only seven or eight. Meantime St. Nicolas's citadel and St. Christopher's bulwark often made the dust fly among their gabions.

That night the French, about ten o'clock, having raised the alarm near the Magdalene fort, let off two pieces and several harquebusades; the English coming out of Pilrig to succour the said fort, fell into an ambush; there started such a skirmish near St. Christopher's bulwark that two

west part, where they have made a citadel. . . . ' In an undated letter in the Foreign Office, Paris (*Mémoires et documents*, Angl., reg. 20, fol. 374), an anonymous writer describing the preparations made by the French in Leith says: 'La citadelle du Petit-Lict est desja si haulte et en tel estat qu'on ya mis des pieces dessus qui balent bien loing et jusques au chasteau dudit Lislebourg.'

Pitscottie (ii. 170): 'Wpoun the iii day of Maij the zeir forsaid the Inglishmen witht the congregatioun past to the other syde of the watter of Leytht besyde Bonitoun and trinchit thair and condemnitt the blokhous besyde the mylne of Leytht and siclyk the brige.'

Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, ii. 65): 'The greitt campe removit fra Restalrig to the west syde of the Watter of Leith; and sa war the cannounis plantit for the batterie, and did schute at the south-west wall.' *C.F.E.*, iii. 28. May 4. Grey and others to Norfolk: (1) 'Yesterday the battery was applied with diligence to make a breach.'

demoura deux cens anglois mortz sur le champ. Et y en eut plus de deux cens blessez.¹

Escarmouche notoire. Les anglois confesserent le lendemain avoir perdu cent hommes Et le matin emmenerent neuf chartees de blessez en la ville.

Ceste nuyt les anglois feirent une trenchee de boneton [Bonnington] a la citadelle Retournant ladite trenchee du long de leau vis a vis du moulin

171 v Le iiii^e a matin tirerent quelques volles comme silz vouloient continuer leur batterye du Jour de devant au mylieu de Ladite courtine de Wast puy Laissans la dite courtine en tirerent quelques unes au flanc du boulevart saint anthoine. Sur le soir sattacha une grosse escarmouche aupres de leur dite trenchee ou les anglois furent repoussez par plusieurs foys dedans ledit boneton nonobstant quelques pieces que de leur trenchee de pelleric donnerent Incessamment parmy les françois. Et ne fut si tost ladite escarmouche cessee que les françois faisans une saillie par la porte saint anthoine sen attacha une autre ^a trop^a plus grosse et plus longue. Et dura lescouppetere * une grosse heure e demye comme si ce eust este une salve de mil harquebuziers a ung coup²

Ceste nuyt les anglois descendirent leur trenchee de boneton du long du bort de la riviere Jusques en bas de la coline par devant le moulin qui ceste mesme nuyt fut bruslé³

^a—^a added above the line.

* A prolonged volley of shot.

¹ In the Archives of the Foreign Office, Paris (*Mémoires et Documents*, Angl., reg. 21, fol. 94), there is an unsigned letter to the Queen Regent from a Frenchman escaped from Leith: . . . 'le vendredy auparavant, troisieme dudictmois (mai) lesdictz Anglois, aians battu de xxiiii pieces donnerent ung assault qui dura depuis onze heures dusoir jusques a deux heures après mynuict, faisans lesdictes nuictz maintenant aussi clair que du jour, là ou lesdictz Anglois et Escossois luthériens perdirent environs trois cens hommes et y furent repoussez vivement.' (See Teulet, *Relations politiques*, ii. 131, and the letter given by Paris (*op. cit.*, 373, 374) by an unknown writer to the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine, 13 Mai 1560: 'le vendredy paravant, iiii^e dudit mois, les Anglois donnèrent un assault qui dura depuis onze heures du soir jusques à deux heures après minuit . . .

hundred English remained dead on the field and more than two hundred were wounded.

An outstanding skirmish. The English acknowledged the next day that they had lost a hundred men, and in the morning they took nine cart-loads of wounded into the town.

That night the English made a trench from Bonnington to the citadel, the said trench turning back along the waterside opposite the mill.

On the 4th, in the morning, they fired several volleys as if it were their intention to continue their cannonade of the day before on the middle of the said west curtain-wall ; then, lifting their fire from the said curtain-wall, they fired several volleys on the flank of St. Anthony's bulwark. Towards evening a big skirmish began near their said trench, where the English were several times driven back into the said Bonnington, notwithstanding some pieces which fired ceaselessly on the French from their trench at Pilrig. No sooner was this skirmish over than the French, making a sally by St. Anthony's port, began another skirmish, much more violent and much longer. And the volley of shot went on for a good hour and a half as if it had been a salvo of a thousand harquebusiers all firing at once.

That same night the English brought their trench down from Bonnington along the edge of the water as far as the foot of the hill facing the mill, which was burnt that same night.

Là où c'est que les Anglois et Escossois perdirent environ trois cens hommes et furent vivement repoussez.')

² Holinshed (ii. 1910) ; Stow (1090) : ' The fourth of May . . . towards night the Frenchmen that were in the trench under the Citadell, made a sally upon the Englishmen . . . but could not prevaile.'

³ *Ibid.* : ' The same night the Englishmen conveyed two culverings over the water to scour the mills, and before the breake of the day, they had brent one of the same mills.' In *C.F.E.*, iii. 38. May 5. Grey to Norfolk : (1) Caused trenches to be cut on the north-west side for the destruction of the mills that grind their corn, and yesternight caused two pieces to be planted in one trench for that purpose, but the French, fearing the ordnance, abandoned them this morning, so that the English found no resistance, and burnt the mills.

Le ^{ve} tirerent quelques coups aux boulevertz saint anthoine du Wast citadelle et a la courtine.

Ledit Jour la royne envoya ung trompette a lord grey avecques une Lettre adressante a monsieur de villeparisis pour luy faire envoyer quelque ^aungente^a par nostre baptisse [Baptiste] sur le dos de laquelle lettre estoit escript en chiffre Inserir les advis delentreprise des anglois et aultres discours Laquelle lettre lord grey dict quil envoye roit par son trompette.¹ Et le retint Renvoyant lors le trompette dromond

Il y avoit six Jours quil navoit este possible faire passer personne a petit liect qui ne fust pris en chemin

172 r

Ledit Jour le sieur octavyan bosso ayant faict equipper ung batteau a dombarre se meit dedans pour passer en france

Le ^{vi}e retourna ledit dromond devers lord Grey savoir sil avoit envoyé ladite lettre, le quel luy fait responce que son trompette layant ^bvoulub^b bailler lon ne lavoit poinct voulu escouter disant que sil ne se retiroit on luy enverroient des harquebuzades. ledit dromond luy supplia de luy faire donc rendre la lettre puy quil ny avoit moyen de la faire tenir Auquel ledit sieur de grey ^cluy^c dict quil ne savoit quelle estoit devenue. Et sen estant revenu Jusques en la ville le renvoya querir par ung herault Estant retourné ^dpar^d devers Luy Luy monstra Ladite lettre quilz avoient essaye dinterpreter maiz Ilz ny seurent trouver autre apparence de Lettre ne chiffre que comme si on vouloit

a—*a* above the line, *urgent* deleted.
c—*c* deleted.

b—*b* deleted.
d—*d* deleted.

¹ *C.F.E.*, iii. 37. May 5. The Queen Dowager of Scotland to D'Oysel: (1) Has heard nothing from him since the arrival of the enemy at Leith. Has sent divers to him, and has learnt that they have all been taken; (3) What was written by M. Baptist was in good earnest, and she prays him to send her the remedy. In *C.F.E.*, ii. 1093, (3) the Queen writing to D'Oysel about her illness on April 29 says: 'My health is better than it was wont

On the 5th they fired several shots on the bulwarks on the west and at St. Anthony's, on the citadel and on the curtain-wall.

That same day the Queen sent a trumpet to Lord Grey with a letter addressed to M. de Villeparisis asking him to send some ointment by our Baptiste; on the back of this letter was written in cipher: 'Insert the advice touching the enterprise of the English and other information.' This letter Lord Grey said he would send by his trumpet, and he kept it, sending back the trumpet Drummond.

For six days now it had been impossible to get anyone into Leith; they all were taken on the way.

That same day the Sieur Octavian Bosso, having fitted out a ship at Dunbar, embarked in order to pass over to France.

On the 6th the said Drummond went back to Lord Grey to find out whether he had sent the said letter. Lord Grey replied that though his trumpet had wished to hand it over, they had been unwilling to listen to him, saying that if he did not withdraw they would send him some harquebusades. The said Drummond then begged him to return the letter since there was no way of getting it delivered. To this the said Lord Grey replied that he did not know what had become of it. He [Drummond] had got back into the town when a herald came to look for him, and having returned to Lord Grey, he was shown the said letter which they had tried to make out, but they could not find any sign of writing or cipher other than what one

to be, but I am still lame, and have a leg that assuageth not from swelling. If any lay his finger upon it, it goeth in as into butter. You know there are but three days for the dropsy in this country.' Later (May 17, 19, 21. *C.F.E.*, iii. 104 (1)), writing to D'Oysel, she says that her leg is better, 'the heat is gone; she has been her own doctor and surgeon.' Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, ii. 70): '... Quhais seiknes daylie increassing, greit craft sche usit that Monsieur D'Osell mycht have bene permitit to have spokin with hir; ... bot that denyit, sche wrait as it [had] bene to hir chyrurgian and apothecar, schawing hir seiknes, and requyreing sum droggis. . . .'

escripre sur une fueuille de papier mouillé. Ledit lord grey dict au trompette quil estoit ung espion. et quil avoit merite destre pendu Auquel le trompette respondit que Luy ayant monsté une lettre signee de la royne le papier blanc au reste et nect de tous costez quil avoit aultant doccasion de dire que ladite lettre avoit este barbouillee entre ses mains que ledit sieur de grey pouroit avoir de le charger davoir commis quelque faulte en cela car Il navoit veu autre chose que la lettre Laquelle Il luy avoit apportee ouverte ainsi quil Lavoit receue du secretaire de Ladite dame Ledit grey luy dict quil estimoit bien quil ne luy avoit este monsté quil y eust quelque chose cache mais que telles dissimulations nestoient gueres louables et quil pensoit bien que cela navoit este fait sans le sceu et commandement de la royne mais que sil tenoit celluy qui lavoit fait Il le chastieroit bien.¹

172 v

Ledit Jour quelques mariniers francois estans prisonniers a brautiland depuys troys moys se saisirent dun batteau et se sauverent a dombarre.²

Ledit Jour firent leur monstre entre le camp et le chasteau ceulx qui avoient esté levez des villes. Et deux enseignes de soldoyez le tout montant environ deux mil cinq cens hommes.³ Tout ledit Jour et la nuyt ensuyvant battirent le flanc du boulevart saint anthoine le boulevart de Wast pres le moulin Et la mesme nuyt avancerent leur tranchee de boneton pres La citadelle en forme descaille *

* Cf. the use of the word on pp. 156 and 160 below; and see Ducarge: *Glossarium* s.v. Eschaillo.

¹ Cf. the account in Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, ii. 70). The paper "blanc au reste et nect de tous costez" suggests the use of alum. Mary Queen of Scots writing to M. de Mauvissière (5 jan. 1584) tells him that "la meilleure et plus secrette escriture est d'alun destrampée en bien peu d'eau claire vingt-quatre heures avant qu'on veuille escrire; et pour la lire faut seulement mouiller le papier en quelque bassin d'eau claire; l'escriture secrette paroist blanche, assez aisée à lire jusques à ce que le papier se resèche." (Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, v. 402.)

² C.F.E., iii. 101. May 17. Grey and others to Norfolk: P.S.—

would have found if one had tried to write on a sheet of wet paper. The said Lord Grey told the trumpet that he was a spy and deserved to be hanged. To which the trumpet replied that since he had shown Lord Grey a letter signed by the Queen, the rest of the paper being white and clean on all sides, there was just as much occasion for him to say that the said letter had been spoiled whilst in his hands as there was for the said Lord Grey to charge him with having committed some fault in this matter, for he had seen nothing else but the letter, which he had brought to Grey, open, as he had received it from the said lady's secretary. The said Grey replied that he well imagined that he had not been shown that there was something hidden in the letter; such dissimulations were not very laudable, and he well knew that the thing had not been done without the Queen's knowledge and command; but that if he had the man who had done it, he would punish him severely.

That same day some French mariners who had been prisoners at Burntisland for three months, stole a boat and escaped to Dunbar.

That same day a muster was held between the camp and the Castle, of those who had been raised from the towns with two ensigns of hired soldiers, the whole amounting to about two thousand five hundred men. All that day and the following night they battered the flank of St. Anthony's bulwark, and the west bulwark near the mill. And that same night they brought their trench forward from Bonnington near to the citadel in the form of a 'traverse' beginning in the middle of the salient of the

'Yesterday the Admiral took eleven French mariners, who having been taken about March 20 in the Frith, had been licensed by letters from the Lords of the Congregation to pass into France; and who, taking Dunbar in their way, stole a boat to transport themselves into France, but were encountered by the Admiral.'

* Holinshed (ii. 1811); Stow (1090): 'This day (6th) the earle of Arguile, and diverse other noble men of Scotland, came to Edenborough with two thousand horsemen and footemen, who shewed themselves in order of a muster on the hill underneath the castle.'

commencant au mylieu de demyronde de ladite trenchee et rendant le demy cercle sur le bord du bree [Braes].¹

Le vii^e au poinct du Jour donnerent assaut par tous les endroictz de la ville avecques eschelles qui dura l'espace de deux heures et demye ou troys heures dont Ilz furent repulsez. des deux enseignes nouvellement souldoyees nen Revint que six ou sept. Le cappitaine alinphant [Oliphant] et son enseigne tuez. Le drappeaut y demoura. y eut troys cappitaines anglois tuez. Les anglois e escossoys confesserent y avoir perdu mil ou quinze cens hommes. Il sest trouve dans les fossez quatre cens quarente ung hommes mortz. Et alentour desdits fossez soixante quatre de compte faict par ceulx de la place sans ceulx quilz veirent
 173 r emporter par les ennemys en se retirant Il ny eut que quinze hommes tuez en la ville et quelques blessez sans danger.²

Ledit Jour feirent courir le bruyt que la nuyt ensuyvant Ilz y retourneroient Et furent tout le Jour les sieurs escossoys et angloys a la garde des trenchees. Comme Ilz disoient pour laisser ce pendant reposer leurs gens Et en attendant quil se faisoit des eschelles plus longues que les aultres quilz disoient sestre trouvees trop courtes. Les blessez disoient quil ny avoit beaulcoup de gens ^a dans la ville^a de guerre dedans la ville et que le plus grand dommaige quilz avoient Receu estoit des coups de pierre des goujatz et des ^bgarses^b garses.³

a—*a* deleted.

b—*b* deleted.

¹ *C.F.E.*, iii. 44. (1) May 7. Grey and others to Norfolk: ... 'Yesterday ... they caused the officers of the ordnance to make two breaches: one on the west side of the town, on both sides of the river which is impaled; and the other on the bulwark of the church on the south-west side and in the curtain of the same.' See also *ibid.*, iii. 46. May 7. Sir George Howard to Norfolk: (1) 'On Monday were two batteries laid, the one to beat a pale between the citadel and the town, the other to beat the curtain and bulwark of the church.' For details of the fortification of Leith, see the plans in D. H. Robertson, *The Sculptured Stones of Leith* (1851), and Grenville Collins, *Great Britain's Coasting Pilot* (1774).

² *C.F.E.*, iii. 44. May 7. Grey and others to Norfolk, where they

said trench and turning back again in a semi-circle on the edge of the Braes.

On the 7th, at break of day, they made the assault on all sides of the town with scaling ladders. This lasted for two and a half or three hours, and they were repulsed. Of the two ensigns of newly levied hired soldiers, only six or seven returned. Captain Oliphant and his ensign were killed and the colours left behind. Three English captains were killed. The English and Scots acknowledged that they had lost a thousand or fifteen hundred men. In the trenches were found four hundred and forty-one dead, and round about the said trenches sixty-four, according to the reckoning of those on the spot, without counting those they saw carried off by the enemy as they withdrew. There were only fifteen men killed in the town, and a few wounded, but not dangerously.

That same day they spread the rumour that on the following night they would come back. All day the English and Scots lords were guarding the trenches in order, as they said, to allow their men a little rest in the meantime. And during this pause, they made for themselves ladders which were longer than the others, which, they said, had been found to be too short. The wounded said that there were not many men of war in the town, and that the greatest hurt they had received had been from the stones thrown down by the sutlers and the trollops.

acknowledge their failure to take Leith and count 1000 hurt and slain. See also *ibid.*, iii. 46, 48, 50, 58; Holinshed (ii. 1811); and Stow (1091): . . . 'but yet their attempt wanted the wished successe: for what through the policy of the french, in stopping the current of the river that night, and what by reason of the unfittesse of the ladders, being too short, the assailants were repulsed.' The *Diurnal* (59, 276) puts the loss at 400; Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, ii. 66, 67) blames Sir James Croftes.

^a This bears out Knox's statement (*Hist. Ref.*, ii. 67): 'The Frenche menis harlotis, of quhom the maist pairt war Scottis hureis, did na less creweltie than did the souldiaris; . . . sum continewallie cast staneis, sum careit chymnayis of burnying fyre, sum brocht tymmer and uther impedimentis of wecht, quhilk with great violence thay threw over the wall, upounoure men. . . .'

Le mesme Jour fut propose en leur conseil par le duc de chastellerauld et conte de huntly dassaillir le chasteau dedinbourg Ce que plusieurs sieurs escossoys ne trouverent bon et ne voulurent consentir.

Le viii^e Les anglois Receurent lettres de la royne dangleterre par lesquelles elle leur mandoit quilz ne se hastassent poinct quil se preparoit une armee en france assez grande pour Invasir lescosse et langleterre mais quelle ne seroit preste devant la fin de Juing

Ledit Jour sen allarent hors du fyrth six gros vaisseaulx angloys

Ledit Jour la congregation feit encores assembler quatre enseignes de soldoyes ou Il y avoit environ troys cens hommes en tout

173 v Ledit Jour ung tabourin* de la congregation estant alle a petit liet pour veoir quels prisonniers y estoient. Luy fust dict quil y retournast le lendemain. Et ce pendant le cappitaine sarlaboz [Sarlabous] luy prya de bailler ung mot de lettre de recommandation a une des damoiselles de la royne sur le dos de laquelle lettre avoit ung chiffre cache.

Le ix^e fut baille audit tabourin une autre lettre avecques ung mouchoir ou estoit ladvertissement de lentreprise pour lors de lennemy qui estoit de myner la citadelle du coste de leau saint anthoine et principalement le petit boulevard pres le moulin.¹

Ledit Jour lord de findlater et maistre Jehan spens furent avecques assurance devers les Sieurs de la congregation au moulin de Justice clere les Rechercher de la part de la royne envoyerent quelques uns devers elle pour conferer et regarder quelques bons et honnestes moyens de pacifier les choses et eviter plus grande effusion de sang. Lesquelz sieurs ne voulurent Rien faire sans la presence des anglois respondirent presentz lord grey Sir James Croft

* A drummer belonging to a company of footmen.

That same day it was proposed in their council by the Duke of Châtelherault and the Earl of Huntly to assault the castle of Edinburgh. Several Scottish lords did not approve, and would not consent to this.

On the 8th the English received letters from the Queen of England, in which she ordered them not to make any haste; that an army big enough to invade Scotland and England was being prepared in France, but that it would not be ready before the end of June.

That same day six big English ships left the Firth.

That same day the Congregation once more made a muster of four ensigns of hired soldiers, in which there were in all about three hundred men.

That same day a drummer from the Congregation, having gone to Leith to find out how many prisoners were there, was told to return the next day. Meanwhile Captain Sarlabous asked him to take a letter of recommendation to one of the Queen's gentlewomen, on the back of which letter was a hidden cipher.

On the 9th the said drummer was given another letter with a handkerchief, containing information about the enemy's present enterprise, which was to mine the citadel on the water-side, St. Anthony's, and particularly the small bulwark near the mill.

That same day the laird of Findlater and Master John Spens went, with assurances, to the Lords of the Congregation at the Justice Clerk's mill, to ask them, on the Queen's behalf, to send some persons to her in order to confer and consider some good and honourable means for pacifying the matter and preventing further shedding of blood. The said lords were unwilling to do anything without having the English with them. In the presence of Lord Grey, Sir James Croftes and Mr. Sadler, they

¹ *C.F.E.*, iii. 76. May 11. Grey and others to Norfolk. (4) and (5) mentions an attempt to mine the citadel.

et maistre sadler quilz nestoient deliberez envoyer personne devers la royne que premierement elle ne leur asseurast la demolition de la forteresse de petit lict et denvoyer les gens de guerre ¹

Lord grey dict ausdits fenlater e spens quil sesbayssoit comme Ilz se tenoient au service de la royne regente veu quelle oppressoit la liberte de leur pays et y avoit faict venir les francois pour en faire conquete Spens respondit que par les estatz du royaume elle avoit este establie leur regente Et que durant sa regence et gouvernement tous bons escossoys estoient tenuz de luy obeyr et faire service Surquoy le duc prenant la parolle allegua quelle avoit este depossedee dudit gouvernement et nestoit plus a Reconnoistre pour regente Auquel ledit Spens replicqua quelle y avoit este receue avecques plus grande assemblee desdits estats et "plus" sollennellement par le commun accord de tous quelle nen avoit este depossedee entemps de trouble et sedition et en trop moindre nombre Delaquelle repliche duquel ledit duc Irrite dict quil nestoit pas vray. Et reprenant lord grey la parolle dict quilz parloient en bons e fidelles serviteurs

Le x^e arriverent environ iiij^e harquebuziers au camp des anglois venans de bervik ² Et sen allarent encores quelques ungs de leurs grandz vaisseaulx hors le fyrth.

Le xi^e Retournerent de la part de la royne lesdits fenlater et spens devers lesdits sieurs Dirent que ladite dame avecques ladvis des lieutenants e ambassadeurs du roy et de la royne qui estoient dedans ladite ville de leuth elle saccorderoit volontiers a leur demande pourveu quilz donnassent seurete de leur obeyssance au roy et a la royne

a—a above the line.

¹ *C.F.E.*, iii. 94. May 14. Maitland to Cecil: (1) On the 10th came two gentlemen from the Queen Dowager, who declared that she had commiseration for the afflicted state of the country; . . . and declared the good will she had to see the matter pacified. (2) Answer was made that without the settlement of these two points there could be no agreement, viz. the removing of strangers and the demolition of the new fortifications.

² *C.F.E.*, iii. 76. May 11. Grey and others to Norfolk: (4) Announces the arrival of 400 men from Berwick. See also *ibid.*, iii. 104. May

replied that they had decided not to send anyone to the Queen unless she first assured them that the fortifications of Leith would be demolished and the French soldiers sent away.

Lord Grey told the said Findlater and Spens that he was astounded that they were still in the service of the Queen Regent, seeing that she was oppressing the liberty of their country and had brought in the French in order to make a conquest of it. Spens replied that she had been made their Regent by the Estates of the realm, and that during her regency and government all good Scots were bound to obey her and do her service. Thereupon the Duke spoke, and alleged that she had been deposed from the said government and was no longer recognised as Regent. To which the said Spens replied that she had been appointed at a much fuller meeting of the aforesaid Estates, and much more solemnly by the common consent of all; and that she had been deposed in a time of dissension and sedition by a very much smaller number. To this reply of Spens the said Duke, annoyed, replied that it was not true. And Lord Grey, taking up the conversation, said that they spoke as loyal and faithful servants.

On the 10th about four hundred harquebusiers who had come from Berwick arrived in the English camp; and still more of their big ships left the Firth.

On the 11th the said Findlater and Spens returned on the Queen's behalf to the said lords. They declared that the said lady, on the advice of the lieutenants and the ambassadors of the King and Queen who were in the said town of Leith, granted their request most willingly, provided that they gave her sureties for their obedience to the King and Queen. This they said they were willing

17, 19, 21. The Dowager of Scotland to D'Oysel: (2) Their cavalry has gone, and there has arrived within the last eight days in two bodies, about 700 men from Berwick. According to Holinshed (ii. 1811): 'Wednesday the eyght of May, in the after noone, Sir George Howarde, and Sir Richarde Lee departed towards Barwike wyth certayne Companies of horsemen. Fryday the tenth of May . . . came a supplie from Berwike, of 450 souldiours.'

ainsi. Ce quilz dirent vouloir faire. Et a ceste fin conclurent denvoyer le lendemain devers elle pour en communiquer.

Le xii^e vindrent devers la royne Le prieur de saint andre lord Routhwen le maistre maxwell et lethington feirent la reverance a ladite dame et devant quentrer en communication furent disner avecques monsieur derskyn.¹ Apres disner estans retournes devers la royne entrarent en propos commencerent la prier et se plaindre sur le sejour quavoient faict les francois par deca et les nouvelles bandes que la royne y avoit faict venir en temps de paix audits anglois quant Il nenestoit point de necessite Les taxes qui avoient este levees pour employer a la fortification de lisle aux chevaux. Les officiers francois qui avoient este constituez aux plus grandz offices du royaulme comme garde des sceaulx.² Et que lon leur avoit voulu changer leur loix. La royne leur respondit quant au sejour des gens de guerre en temps de paix ny la venue des nouvelles bandes navoient Jamais este que pour loccasion que en fut donnée par lelevation des subiectz. Et que le roy en ce temps la estoit deslibéré de les Retirer hourmys les garnisons accoustumees pour la garde des places Quilz savoient bien comme elle avoit este sollicitée de tout le royaulme de faire besongner a la fortification de lisle. Et que quant a largent qui estoit pourveu des taxes les officiers escossoys lavoient mange Et estoit assez congneu par les comptes du tresorier comme la plus grande partie avoit este employee au fort de Lango [Langholm] ³ Et a quelle fin Ledit fort avoit este faict. Et quant aux offices etc navoit mis ung garde des sceaulx sans le consentement de parlement auquel Il fut receu daultant quil avoit este

174 v

¹ C.F.E., iii. 76. May 11. Grey and others to Norfolk: P.S.—The Dowager sent Mr. John Spence and the Laird of Findlater to the Lords, saying that she was desirous to pacify these troubles, and would offer them all that reason would. Whereupon the said Lords, though very unwilling, have (upon long consultation) sent the Lord James, Lord Ruthven, the Master of Maxwell, and the Laird of Lethington to her. See also *ibid.*, iii. 94. May 14. Maitland to Cecil: (3) The Lords thereupon sent the Lord James, the Lord Ruthven, the Master of Maxwell and

to do, and to that end they agreed to send to her the next day in order to confer on the matter.

On the 12th there came to the Queen the Prior of St. Andrews, Lord Ruthven, the Master of Maxwell, and Lethington; they paid their respects to the said lady, and before starting to confer, they had dinner with M. Erskine. After dinner, having returned to the Queen's presence, they entered into conversation. They began to entreat her and to complain of the stay that the French had made in those parts, and of the fresh bands of soldiers which the Queen had brought in during a time of peace with the English, when there was no necessity for so doing; of the taxes which had been levied for the fortification of Inchkeith; of the French officers who had been appointed to the most important offices in the realm, as, for example, that of Keeper of the Seals; and of the desire to change their laws. The Queen made answer that as for the soldiers they would not have stayed in peace time, nor would the new forces have come, had it not been for the occasion furnished by the uprising of her subjects. And at that very time the King had determined to remove them, with the exception of the usual garrisons in the forts. They well knew that the whole realm had entreated her to proceed with the work of fortifying Inchkeith. And as for the money raised by taxes, the Scottish officers had got through that. And it was sufficiently shown by the Treasurer's accounts that the greater part had been used for the fort at Langholm, and they knew why the said fort had been made. And as for the offices, etc., a Keeper of the Seals had not been appointed without

the writer to the castle. When they came there on the 12th inst., they opened their griefs.

² 'M. du Rubay garde des sceaulx d'icelle dame' (*i.e.* Mary of Guise). According to the marriage treaty of 1558 (*A.P.S.*, ii. 513a), the Queen Regent had given Rubay some of Huntly's power as Chancellor, which brought him into much odium with the Scots. (See Knox's jesting reference in *Hist. Ref.*, i. 262.)

³ The entries in *Accts. Treas.*, x. (1551-1559), show that a sum of over £450 was spent on the fort of Langholm. This was the only place on which any considerable sum was spent.

175 r

accorde par le feu roy henry que dieu absolve, que tous escossoys pourroient tenir offices e benefices en france comme les naturels subiectz.¹ Et au regard des loix quelle ne savait quil eust Jamais este "contrevenu" contrevenu a pas une. Et si ainsi estoit que lon y eust Innové quelque chose Ilz sen devoient plaindre et le remonstrer. Le prieur replicqua que devant aulcune esmoction Il estoit arresté que la royne sen alloit en france. Et que monsieur le marques y venoit vice roy.² Et quel estoit vray semblable que ce nestoit pour y estre sans gens et forces. Surquoy lethington fut contrainct tesmoigner quil savoit bien quil ne fust venu avecques luy plus de quarente personnes et quil sen devoit venir en poste par angleterre avecques quinze chevaux. La royne les asseura que son Intention estoit lors de faire seulement ung voyaige par dela pour retourner Icy. Et en estoit la principale cause voyant La diversite dopynyons et religion de faire avecques le roy et en passant avecques la royne dangleterre quil se trouva quelque moyen de ^bconcorde^b concille e assemblee pour y donner ordre et reduyre le tout au meilleur chemin pour le salut des ames et eviter aux scandales qui pourroient ensuyvre a faulte de cela. Leur remonstrant que mondit sieur le marquis son frere neust voulu passer par deca pour y demourer tousiours (comme Ils estimoient) Mais estoit seulement durant labsence de ladite dame Laquelle avoit delibere de sen revenir bien tost par deca pour y demourer tousiours. Sur les offices Le prieur replicqua quil ne sen commectoit point en france de si grand que garde des sceaulz a escossoys ny a autre sinon a ceulx de la nation propre qui a la verite avoient plus parfaicte congnoissance des loix meurs du peuple coustumes e langage que ne pourroit avoir ung estrangier. La royne dict que cela se devoit remonstrer aux estatz quant Il fut receu en parlement. Apres ces disputes La royne feit appeler Monsieur

a—*a* deleted.

b—*b* deleted.

¹ The privilege, granted in 1513, that the Scots should hold full citizenship in France, was renewed in the marriage treaty of 1558, and the same

the consent of Parliament, by whom he was accepted; moreover, the late King Henry, whom God assoil, had granted that all Scots could hold offices and benefices in France equally with the native subjects; and as for the laws, she did not know of a single one which had ever been contravened. And if there had been any innovation, they should state their grievance and lodge a protest. The Prior replied that before any disturbance arose, it had been decreed that the Queen should go to France, and that M. le Marquis should come as viceroy, and that it was most likely he would not be without men and an army. Thereupon Lethington was obliged to attest that he well knew that with him there had been no more than forty people, and that he was to come by post through England with fifteen horses. The Queen assured them that her sole intention at that time had been to make a journey to France and to return to Scotland. And the principal cause had been (having seen the diversity of opinions and of religion) to treat with the King and, on her way, with the Queen of England, to find some means of holding a council and an assembly to take order and to bring all into a better way for the saving of souls and the avoiding of the scandals likely to ensue were this not done. She pointed out that M. le Marquis, her brother, would not have wished to come to Scotland to stay there always, as they thought, but only during her absence; for she had determined soon to return to their country and to remain there always. As regards the offices, the Prior replied that in France no such exalted one as that of Keeper of the Seals was ever committed to any Scot, or to anyone except to a native subject who, in truth, had more perfect knowledge of the laws, manners, customs, and language of the people than a stranger could ever have. The Queen said that must be represented to the Estates since he had been accepted in Parliament. After this discussion the Queen sent for M. Erskine, the Clerk Register

privilege was conferred upon the French in Scotland. (See *A.P.S.*, ii. 507, c. 6; and Teulet, *op. cit.*, i. 312-317.)

² See *supra*, p. 79, note 5.

175 v

derskyn Le clerc des registres¹ et maistre Jehan spens. Et estans proposez les pointz de leur demande qui estoient La demolition de la fortification de la ville de petit liet. Et de la nouvelle fortification faicte a dombarre. Sur laquelle le sieur de Ruthwen se monstreroit comme en toutes choses plus oppiniastre que aulcun des aultres. Et de renvoyer les gens de guerre. Ilz offrirent telle obeissance au roy et a la royne qui les roys descosse avoient eu le temps passé. Et pour seurete dicelle que toute la noblesse du royaume feroient une bande les ungs avecques les aultres par laquelle Ilz seroient tenuz tous ensemble et ung pour tous de poursuyvre a leur despens ceulx qui feroient emotion ou prendroient les armes contre Lauctorite.² Quand a la revocation de la "Lui^a Ligue que cestoit chose Impossible. Quil ny avoit Rien contre lhonneur du roy. Et que lon passast oultre Que cecy appaisé devant quil fust ung temps tout cela se perdroit. Et demoureroient entiers subiectz comme Ils avoient esté auparavant. Au regard de la forteresse de dunbritant [Dumbarton] elle avoit este baillee au duc par parlement. Et quil feroit seureté de son obeissance. Sur la demolition de la nouvelle fortification de dombarre Leur fut repetté ce que leur avoit este respondu par levesque de Valence quil est permis a chacun de meliorer et fortifier sa maison; Et quil avoit este dict que cela demoureroit. Les ostaiges Ilz nen pouvoient bailler. En fin estans les choses quasi accordees assavoir que ladite fortification de leithz seroit demolie. Et que les gens de guerre sen yroient sinon quatre cens pour la garde de dombarre et lisle moyennant lobeissance. La royne demanda que les seigneurs de la brosse, damyens e de Villeparisis estans a petit liet ou deux diceulx eussent seureté pour venir devers

a—a deleted.

¹ James Makgill of Nether Rankielour was Clerk-Register in 1554. He later joined the Reformers and became a friend of John Knox. (See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, ii. 156, note 2; see also Brunton and Haig, *Senators of the College of Justice*, 99-100.)

² *C.F.E.*, iii. 94. May 14. Maitland to Cecil: (4) On the 13th the persons aforesaid offered to her that if she would agree that presently

and Master John Spens. And having put forward the points of their petition, which were the demolition of the fortifications of the town of Leith and of the new fortifications at Dunbar—on which point Lord Ruthven showed himself, as in everything else, more unyielding than any of the others—and the withdrawal of the men of war, they offered the same obedience to the King and Queen as had been given to the kings of Scotland in the past and, as surety therefor, all the nobility of the kingdom would make a ‘band,’ with one another, by which they would be bound altogether and each for all, to pursue at their own expense any who made disturbances and took up arms against authority. As for the revocation of the league [with England] that was impossible; there was nothing in it contrary to the King’s honour, and they could pass that by. If things were pacified, before very long all this would be forgotten, and they would remain wholly devoted subjects, as they had been before. With regard to the fortress of Dumbarton, it had been handed over to the Duke by Parliament; and that he would give surety for his obedience. On the question of the demolition of the new fortifications at Dunbar, the answer was repeated to them which the Bishop of Valence had used: that it was permissible for each one to improve and fortify his own place, and that it had been agreed that they should remain. Hostages they could not give. At last, an agreement having been almost reached, namely, that the said fortifications of Leith should be demolished and that the men of war should depart (except for four hundred to keep Dunbar and Inchkeith, provided they offered their obedience), the Queen requested that the Seigneurs de la Brosse, Amiens and Villeparisis, then in Leith, or two of them, might have surety to come to her so that she might

all the French men of war should be removed, reserving only the number of 100 persons for guard of Dunbar and Inchkeith, the Lords would give all obedience to the King and Queen their Sovereigns that they or their predecessors were wont; and if any should be inobedient, the rest would become his enemies, and they would be content that all other matters debatable were ordered by the nobility and the Estates.

176 r

elle pour en advoir leur advis. De quoy Ilz dirent navoir point de commission mais quilz en parleroient a mylord grey ; Et a monsieur le duc ¹ Et que le lendemain Ilz en apporteroient La responce.

Ceste nuyt les ennemys avancerent leur trenchee ung peu plus pres de la citadelle en forme dune autre petite escaille prenant sur le bort du brey [braes] et sur le demy "rond" rond qui savancoit le plus. Noz gens sortirent sur eulx et en tuerent quelques ungs en ladite trenchee.² Et passa ung batteau de petit lict en lisle par le mylieu de la flotte angloise.

Le xiii^e retournerent devers la royne les susdits prier lord Ruthwen maistre maxwell et lethington lesquelz feirent responce de la part des angloys et de la congregation quilz nestoient desliberez de donner seureté a ceulx que Ladite dame demandoit pour venir devers elle que premierement elle neust resolu et arreste larticle de renvoyer les francois Luy allegans que par la commission de levesque de Valence elle avoit toute puissance ³ La royne dict que cestoit chose quelle ne pouvoit faire sans avoir leur advis pour beaulcoup de considerations Et que a tout lemoings Ilz permissent que quelque ung allast devers eulx de sa part pour en conferer. Dequoy Ilz dirent Navoir point de commission. Et que le lendemain Ilz envoyeroient ou en apporteroient la responce.

Ledit Jour estans sortis de petit lict quelques ^bgarses^b e goujatz Pour amasser des coquilles La mer retournee Il y eut quelques garses et goujatz tuez par les ennemys et

a—a deleted.

b—b above the line, *garçons* deleted.

¹ *C.F.E.*, iii. 94. May 14. Maitland to Cecil: (3) . . . In the end they found that nothing could be agreed upon, without the advice of some being in Leith; and therefore she desired that MM. d'Oysel and de la Brosse, and the Bishop of Amiens, or any two of them might come and speak with her. Not having instructions to answer that demand they reported it to the Council.

² *C.F.E.*, iii. 91. May 13. Grey and others to Norfolk: (2) . . . This morning at one o'clock 200 French issued out in camisado and entered the trenches near the citadel, but were soon driven out with the loss of

have their advice. On this point they said that they had no commission, but that they would mention it to my Lord Grey and to the Duke, and would bring the answer to this request the next day.

That same night the enemy advanced their trench a little nearer to the citadel in the shape of another small 'traverse,' starting on the edge of the Braes and on the salient which had been pushed further forward. Our men came out to attack them and killed some of them in the said trench. A boat passed from Leith to Inchkeith through the midst of the English fleet.

On the 13th there returned to the Queen the aforementioned Prior, Lord Ruthven, the Master of Maxwell, and Lethington who made answer on behalf of the English and the Congregation that they had determined not to give surety to those persons whom the Queen had requested to be allowed to come to her unless, first of all, she passed and decreed the article for the withdrawal of the Frenchmen. They asserted that the Bishop of Valence's commission gave her full power so to do. The Queen said that was something she could not do, without having their advice, and that for many reasons. At least they might allow some one to go to them on her behalf to consult with them. As to this they said that they had no commission, and that the next day they would send or would bring the reply.

That same day, some trollops and sutlers having come out from Leith to gather shell-fish, the tide being out, some of the trollops and sutlers were killed by the enemy and

five or six besides many hurt, and but one Englishman slain. According to Holinshed (ii. 1812) and Stow (1091): 'The twelve of May about midnight, the Frenchmen to the number of two hundred sallied forth of the towne, minding to give a camisado to the Englishmen that kept watch in the trenches at the west side of Mount pelham, but they were descried and repulsed.'

³ *C.F.E.*, ii. 987. April 11. Instructions from Francis II. to the Queen Regent of Scotland: (4) Further, as the Queen of England has insisted so much with the Bishop of Valence, because he has no powers to promise anything to the rebels, . . . a general power is now sent, which the said Regent may use as she shall see good for the Kingdom of Scotland.

176 v

aultres prisonniers ¹ Entre aultres ung petit garson francois qui fut mené a lord grey auquel ledit grey demanda silz avoient bien encores vivres pour quinze Jours Le garson respondit quil avoit ouy dire aux cappitaines quil nestoit en la puissance des anglois de les avoir par force ny par famine de quatre ou cinq moys.

Le xiiii^e furent les anglois et ceulx de la congregation en conseil au palais sainte croix Et ne fut point envoye de responce a la royne. les anglois mynoient du coste de la citadelle. se tira force harquebuzades de la trenchee

Ledit Jour fut pris le cappitaine chapperon ² venant de france par angleterre avecques passeport de la royne dangleterre lequel ne luy servit daulcune chose que dun ^aappast^a pour tomber es mains de ceulx de la congregation Il fut amene au duc de chastellerauld.

Les mariniers francois qui sestoient saulves de bomtiland [Burntisland] ont este pris.³

Le xv^e arrivarent environ trois cens hommes venant de berrick.⁴ Les anglois continuoient leur myne a la citadelle une autre secrette a saint anthoine.⁵

Le seiziesme se fait sur le soir une escarmouche devers la citadelle estans sortis noz gens Jusques sur le hault Entre la trenchee de revers et boneton y eust plusieurs anglois des nouveaulx venuz tuez e blesez.

a—^a above the line, appast deleted.

¹ *C.F.E.*, iii. 91. May 13. Grey and others to Norfolk: (2) Yesterday divers soldiers of the town of Leith having issued forth to gather cockles and periwinkles on the shore, Lord Grey ordered Thomas Clerk and his band of light horsemen to set upon them, who slew forty or fifty of them.

² *C.F.E.*, iii. 103. Maitland to Cecil: (1) On the 15th inst. Captain Chaperon came hither, sent by the Duke of Norfolk, having diverse packets directed to the Queen Dowager and the French. Cf. *ibid.*, iii. 101. May 17. Grey and others to Norfolk: (1) . . . They let him (Chaperon) stay at Musselburgh until they had consulted with the Lords of Scotland as to the delivery of his letters. Being brought to Holyrood House to the Duke and the Lords they determined that he should not see the Queen. See also *ibid.*, iii. 104. May 17, 19, 21. The Dowager of Scotland to [D'Oysel]: (5) On Wednesday a gentleman coming from France through

others taken prisoner; amongst others, a little French boy who was taken to Lord Grey. Lord Grey asked him whether they had food enough for a fortnight. The boy replied that he had heard the captains say that it was not within the power of the English to take them by force, or by famine, under four or five months.

On the 14th the English and those of the Congregation were in Council at the palace of Holyrood; no answer was sent to the Queen. The English were mining near the citadel; a goodly number of harquebusades were fired from the trench.

That same day Captain Chaperon was taken while coming from France through England with a passport from the Queen of England, which served him little except as a trap so that he might fall into the hands of those of the Congregation. He was taken to the Duke of Châtelherault.

The French mariners who had escaped from Burntisland have been taken.

On the 15th about three hundred men arrived from Berwick. The English were going on with their mine at the citadel, and with a secret one at St. Anthony's.

On the 16th there was a skirmish towards evening in the direction of the citadel, our troops sallying out as far as the height between the salient trench and Bonnington. Several of the English, newcomers, were killed and wounded.

England was taken, who is in the Duke's hands and with whom she has not yet means of speaking, but he appears to be Captain Chaperon.

(Chaperon had travelled to and from Scotland and France with important papers. See *C.F.E.*, ii. 886 and 988.)

³ See *supra*, p. 142, note 2.

⁴ Pitscottie (ii. 170): 'And wpon the xv day of Maij the ladderis and men of weir came fourtht of Bervick to the number of v^o men or thairby.' And Holinshed (ii. 1812): 'Wednesday the xv of May, Sir Frauncis Leake came to the campe with a supplie of five hundred men from Barwike.'

⁵ *C.F.E.*, iii. 104. May 17, 19, 21. The Dowager of Scotland to [D'Oysel]: (1) Has notice that besides the mine which the English make at the citadel, they are making another at St. Anthony, more secret and known to few of the Scots.

Ledit Jour fut envoyé quatre cens livres au sieur de sarlaboz [Sarlabous] ¹

177 r

Le xvii^e La royne envoya ung duplicata de la depesche faicte dudit Jour par Maistre estienne Wilson a Monsieur ^{de} bo^a de Boithvil lequel se trouvant poursuyvy et des anglois e des escossoys rebelles en sorte quil ne savoit quasi ou se deliberer de faire ung voyaige en france en attendant le secours. Ladite dame le Recommande fort affectionnement rendant tesmoignaige des grandz e dignes services par luy faict sans Jamais avoir varie.²

Ledit Jour fut rapporte a la royne par homme qui avoit este dedans les mynes des anglois que celle de la citadelle estant seullement avancee de dix ou douze pas ou Ilz trouvoient la terre merveilleusement ferme et dure Et en avoient les ennemys grande esperance ³ Il fut faict plusieurs advis pour envoyer a petit liect par diverses voyes

Ledit Jour le prieur de saint andre le maistre maxwell e lethington vindrent parler a monsieur derskyn au Jardin de thronton [Thornton] Et monstrans quilz avoient envye de chercher querelle Luy dirent que les sieurs estoient bien Informes comme le chasteau favorisait les francois Et quil avoit este envoye dicellui de largent a dombarre Mais que si lesdits sieurs vouloient Il ny auroit que pour quatre heures a prendre ledit chasteau Le sieur derskyn se sentant picque leur respondit quil ne leur en falloit quune pour les bien desloger de la ou Ilz sont Le chasteau estoit assez mal fourny de pouldres e munitions quil estoit contrainct espargner pour la necessite.

La nuyt les anglois aulgmenterent ung peu leur trenchee pres la citadelle commencent sur la plus grande escaille tirant devers le havre neuf.

a—a deleted.

¹ Cf. *C.F.E.*, iii. 37. May 5. The Queen Dowager of Scotland to D'Oysel: (3) . . . Has twice, within the last ten days, sent four hundred crowns to Sieur Sarlabos.

² *C.F.E.*, iii. 104. May 17, 19, 21. The Dowager of Scotland to [D'Oysel]: (3) . . . Bothwell has asked leave to go to France; she has sent an ample despatch by him, and another by Wilson, a kinsman of the Bishop of Dunblane, who has just returned from France.

That same day were sent four hundred livres to the Sieur de Sarlabous.

On the 17th the Queen transmitted a duplicate of the dispatch sent that same day by Master Stephen Wilson to Bothwell, who, finding himself at enmity both with the English and with the rebel Scots, not knowing what to do, had decided to make a journey to France until help arrived. The said lady recommends him most lovingly, bearing testimony to the great and worthy services rendered by him, without ever having faltered in his fidelity.

That same day it was reported to the Queen by a man who had been in the English mines, that the one at the citadel had only progressed some ten or twelve paces, for they were finding the earth surprisingly hard and firm. Of this mine the enemy had great hopes. Several advices were drawn up to be sent to Leith by various ways.

That same day the Prior of St. Andrews, the Master of Maxwell, and Lethington came to speak with M. Erskine in the garden of Thornton. Making it clear that they were trying to pick a quarrel, they said to him that the lords were well aware that the Castle favoured the French and that money had been sent thence to Dunbar; but that if the said lords wished, the said Castle could be taken within four hours. Lord Erskine, considering himself offended, replied that on his side it needed only one hour to dislodge them from where they were. As the Castle was not well provided with powder and munitions, he was obliged to be careful through necessity.

That night the English slightly extended their trench near the citadel, beginning on the largest 'traverse' in the direction of Newhaven.

* *C.F.E.*, iii. 104. May 17, 19, 21. The Dowager of Scotland to [D'Oysel]: (4) . . . This afternoon, the man who has seen the mines has told her that there is water in the mine at St. Anthony; but that in that by the citadel they find the earth hard and firm. They have commenced mining at the last trench, advancing towards the citadel, . . . the beginning is with masonry, the remainder not; and the ground is so compact that the mine is like a vault; hence they have great hope.

Le xviii^e fut amene a la royne le susdit garson francois qui dict que devant quil fut pris noz gens avoient ^acontremyné^a en la citadelle.¹

177 v

Ledit Jour estans sortis cinq ou six ^bhommes^b chevaulx de petit lict du coste des sables furent rencontres de huict ou neuf chevaulx angloys fut tire coups de pistoletz e despee Les anglois dirent que le cappitaine dromont y avoit este tue.

Le xix^e noz gens feirent une sortye Jusques devers le fort des anglois pres la chappelle de la magdalene. La cavallerye desdits anglois qui estoit a Restalrig sestant assemblee Les voulut charger a la retraicte sur les sables entre ledit fort et petit lict ou les francois leur faisant teste avecques quelques harquebuziers furent repulsez y demoura quelques ungs sur le champ et y eut plusieurs hommes e chevaulx blessez angloys.

Ledit Jour fut baille ung advisement au petit garson francoys de lentreprise des ennemys et des mynes quilz faisoient Lequel ung gentilhomme escossoys avoit promis faire rentrer a petit lict la nuyt en changeant les sentinelles. Ce quil dict depuys navoir sceu faire mais quil avoit tiré ^ala^c ledit advisement dedans la ville avec une flesche

Le xx^e fut homme dedans la myne des angloys a la citadelle et rapporta quilz la conduysioient par deux endroietz et que de lun Ilz estoient desja sur le bort de leaue e vouloient passer ^apas^d par dessoubz les pallis bien avant pour de nuyt entrer par la dedans La ville dune surprise Dict y avoir este auparavant et que du commencement Il ny avoit que troys hommes de front besongnans mais quelle estoit beaulcoup plus large et y avoit vingt hommes de front.²

a—*a* above the line, *contraincte* deleted.
c—*c* deleted.

b—*b* deleted.
d—*d* deleted.

¹ *C.F.E.*, iii. 104. May 19. The Dowager of Scotland to [D'Oysel]: (5) She has had no means of despatching this until the present day, the 19 May, at which time she hears that the enemy have very much advanced the mine. . . . They say that they know they are countermined, but that

On the 18th the aforementioned French boy was brought before the Queen. He said that before he had been taken our men had countermined by the citadel.

That same day five or six horsemen having come out of Leith on to the sands were met by eight or nine English horsemen. Several pistol shots were fired and swords were crossed. The English said that Captain Drummond was killed there.

On the 19th our men made a sortie as far as the English fort near the Magdalene Chapel. The English cavalry, which was at Restalrig, having gathered, tried to charge them as they returned on the sands between the said fort and Leith, where the French, opposing them with a few harquebusiers, repulsed them. Some were left on the field, and there were several English horses and men wounded.

That same day the little French boy was given advice of the enemy's enterprise and of the mines they were making. A Scottish gentleman had promised to get him into Leith during the night, when the sentinels were being changed. This, he said afterwards, he was not able to do, but he had shot the said advice into the town with an arrow.

On the 20th a man was inside the English mine at the citadel and reported that they were working at it in two places; that from one place they were already at the water's edge and were trying to pass under the palisade and far in, so as to enter the town from there by surprise at night. He said that he had been in the mine previously, at the beginning, when there were only three men working abreast, but that the mine was now much wider and there were twenty men abreast.

theirs is so deep that they pass under the countermine . . . it is said that they have another mine going towards the mill bulwark.

² *C.F.E.*, iii. 104. May 17, 19, 21. The Dowager of Scotland to [D'Oysel]: (6) She has heard to-day (the 21st) that the enemy have reached the water's edge, and want to pass under the palisade of the French to make a sortie within. In the commencement they had only three men abreast at work, but now they have twenty in the said mine.

178 r

Le xxi^e sortirent les françois du coste du boulevard de logan environ six chevaulx Jusques a Carresoll [Quarry-holes] ^adonnerent lallerme^a au camp et apres eulx vingt cinq ou trente harquebuziers qui furent longtemps arrestez entre le camp et la petite trenchee desdits ennemys pres le gay albeufz¹ descendans ceulx du fort et les venans trouver une grande troupe de gens de pied du camp avecques ceulx de Ladite trenchee sattacha une escarmouche fort chaulde e dura bien une heure Que des bastions des courtines des trenchees des ennemys ne se voyoit que feu de grosses pieces e darquebuzades.²

Le xxii^e Les navires angloys estoient seullement au nombre de vingt a vingt deux vaisseaulx Le reste sen estoit alle une partie sortie du fyrth Et quelques ungs devant kylkady.

Ledit Jour a matin apparut une trenchee depuys celle de petit lict a travers le pave Jusques a celle de logan.

Ledit Jour les angloys feirent une petite trenchee de vilage de boneton tirant droict au wast ou Ilz meirent quelques grosses pieces.

Le xxiii^e noz gens feirent une sortye du coste du havre neuf Et estans venuz dix ou douze chevaulx courre sur le hault vers boneton les angloys sortirent dudit boneton pour les Repoulser ou Il y demoura beaulcoup de demy lances et de leurs gens de pied. Lescarmouche fut fort grosse et chaulde.

Le xxiiii^e furent apportez plusieurs blessez en laville de lescarmouche du soir.³ Et se passa la Journee sans escarmouche.

a—a above the line, *Quilz la marc* deleted.

¹ Possibly the ford at Old Bridge End, leading to Holyrood.

² Holinshed (ii. 1812); Stow (1091): 'The one and twentieth of May about seven of the clocke at night, there issued foorth of Lieth six horsemen and a hundred footemen harquebusiers, marching toward Mount pelham, to offer skirmish. Whereupon captaine Vaughan went foorth to

On the 21st the French made a sortie on the side of Logan's bulwark, to the number of six horsemen, as far as the Quarry-holes, and roused the camp; there followed after them twenty-five or thirty harquebusiers, who were held up for a long time between the camp and the small trench made by the enemy near the ford. Those in the fort came down, and a large troop of foot came to them from the camp, with those from the said trench, and a very hot skirmish ensued, lasting well over an hour; from the bastions, the curtain-walls and the trenches of the enemy nothing could be seen but the fire from the big cannon and the harquebusades.

On the 22nd the English ships were only twenty to twenty-two in number. The rest had gone, some right out of the Firth, and some were before Kirkcaldy.

That same day, in the morning, a trench was seen stretching from the one at Leith across the road as far as the one at Logan's bulwark.

That same day the English made a small trench from the village of Bonnington, going straight west, and in it they put several big pieces.

On the 23rd our men made a sortie on the side towards Newhaven, and some ten or twelve horsemen having come for a gallop on the heights towards Bonnington, the English came out of the said Bonnington to drive them off. Many of their demi-lances and foot soldiers were left on the field. The skirmish was a considerable one and a hot one.

On the 24th were brought into the town several of the men wounded in the skirmish the evening before. That day passed without any skirmish.

them very orderly, and skirmished with them a pretie while, in the end the Frenchmen were driven to retire.'

³ Holinshed (ii. 1812); Stow (1091): 'The 24 of May at night about seven of the clocke, the French sallied foorth to the number of 200 footmen and 20 horsemen, meaning, as it appeared, to have wonne the trenches from the Englishmen, whereupon a sore skirmish followed, diverse slaine, and many hurt on both parts: yet in the end the French were driven home by force.'

178 v

Ledit Jour venant ung heuz dangleterre charge de "vivres"^a byeres, farines, davoyne, pain e febves pour les chevaulx et aultres victailles, Et se trouvant devant dombarre en temps calme sortirent quelques batteaulx dudit dombarre chargez de soldatz quilz prindrent.¹

Le xxv^e les anglois en equipèrent ung autre de gens de guerre e artillerye pour essayer dy attirer lesdictz soldatz.

La nuyt environ douze heures les anglois voulurent faire descente en lisle ou Ilz furent battuz. Et estoit le bruyt commun le lendemain parmy leur camp quil leur avoit este mis ung batteau a fondz. Et quil y estoit demouré cinquante cinq hommes.

Le xxvi^e fut depesche lhomme de monsieur derskyn avecques lettres ouvertes pour les affaires dudit sieur derskyn et une autre petite cachee en chiffre.

Ledit Jour estant sorti ung soldat de petit liet pour quelque coup de dague quil avoit donne a ung de ses compaignons fut Interroge par mylord grey de lestat en quoi ^bestoit^b la ville Lequel luy dict que daultant quil sembloit aux francois quil les vouloit affamer estoient reduictz a dix onces de pain ^cpour^c homme en lieu quilz en avoient dix huict du commencement Et que a la sorte quilz faisoient filler leurs vivres Ilz en avoient Jusques au moys de septembre² quilz estoient plus asseurez quilz navoient Jamais esté. Et que si du commencement Il y avoit en quelque peur elle estoit toute passée. Quilz faisoient force contre mynes estimans que les anglois mynoient, Et que les mynes quilz faisoient se trouveroient de nul effect Et pour assurance de cequil disoit, quilz le feissent garder et silz trouvoient aultrement quilz le feissent mourir.

a—*a* deleted.

b—*b* above the line.

c—*c* above the line, *par* deleted.

¹ Holinshed (ii. 1812); Stow (1091): 'The same day (24th) the Frenchmen of Dunbarre tooke an English hoy ladened with beare, beefe, and bacon.'

That same day there came an English hoy laden with beer, flour, oats, bread, and beans for the horses and other victuals, and being before Dunbar in calm weather, some boats came out of the said Dunbar laden with soldiers which they took.

On the 25th the English manned another boat with men of war and artillery in order to try to draw out the said soldiers.

That night, about twelve, the English tried to make a landing on Inchkeith ; they were defeated. The rumour ran in their camp the next day that one of their boats had been sent to the bottom and that they had lost there fifty-five men.

On the 26th M. Erskine's man was dispatched with open letters on the said Lord Erskine's affairs, and another small letter, sealed, and in cipher.

That same day a soldier having come out of Leith on account of a dagger-thrust he had given to one of his companions, he was questioned by my Lord Grey on the state of the town. He told him that, inasmuch as it seemed to the French that he wished to starve them out, they were reduced to ten ounces of bread per man instead of the eighteen they had had at the beginning ; that at the rate they were spinning out their supplies, they had enough to last until the month of September ; that they were in better confidence than they had ever been ; that if at the beginning there had been some fear, it had gone ; that they were making many a countermine, having calculated that the English were mining ; that the mines the English were making would be found to be useless ; and for assurance of what he said, let them keep him prisoner, and if they found matters to be otherwise, let them put him to death.

² Paris (*op. cit.*, 376) cites a letter to the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine : ' Messieurs, je vous envoie l'état du nombre des vivres que j'ay laissés dedans le Petit-Lict, . . . il est aussi aysé à juger par ledit estat, ils en ont à bon escient jusqu'à la fin du mois d'aoust et quelque peu davantage. . . '

179 r Le xxvii^e Les sieurs de la congregation feirent proclamer en la ville Dedinbourg ung parlement au xx^e Jour de Juillet.¹

Laroyne Le xxviii^e fut faicte une petite depesche par robert Malade. Craig.² Les navires anglois estoient devant petit licte seulement au nombre de douze, ung de la lisle et ung aultre alendroict de restalrig.

Ledit Jour partirent ^ale conte^a du camp Les ^bconte^b de huntly, prieur de saint andre, conte dargil [Argyll], et lethington pour aller solliciter les aultres seigneurs destre de leur faction.

Le xxix^e a matin apparut une trenchee commençant audit bonneton tirant au north Qui sembloit estre pour favoriser lescaramouche.

Ledit Jour fut rapporte a la royne que les angloys conduysioient une branche de leur myne De leur tranchee dudit boneton a la poincte du boulevart de la citadelle par dehors le fosse et la retournoient entre ladite poincte Et le flanc regardant saint nicolas Quilz en faisoient encores une pour rompre le flanc opposite dudit saint nicolas.

Le xxx^e fut envoye l'advertissement de ladite 'royne' myne a ceulx de petit licte. Eut escarmouche sur les sables ou Il y eut huict ou dix angloys tuez. La nuyt noz gens sortirent es trenchees des ennemys ou le maistre maxwell fut blesse. une grosse piece enclouée.

179 v Le dernier de may les angloys tirerent quasi tout le jour de leur fort de montpellan [Mount Pelham] de leur trenchee de pelleric de troys endroictz de boneton, et de l'entree de leur myne de la citadelle.

a—*a* deleted.

b—*b* *sic*.

c—*c* deleted.

¹ Pitscottie (ii. 171): 'Item wpoun the xxviij day of Maij ane parlieament was proclaimitt to the tent day of Junij heirefter.' See also *C.F.E.*, iii. 218 (3).

On the 27th the Lords of the Congregation proclaimed a parliament in the town of Edinburgh for the 20th day of July.

On the 28th a short dispatch was sent by Robert Craig. ^{Illness} The English ships before Leith were only twelve in number; of the there was one beyond Inchkeith, and another in the ^{Queen.} roadstead opposite Restalrig.

That same day there left the camp, the Earl of Huntly, the Prior of St. Andrews, the Earl of Argyll, and Lethington to go soliciting the other lords to join their faction.

On the 29th in the morning there was seen a trench beginning at the said Bonnington and stretching towards the north. It seemed to have been made for skirmishing purposes.

That same day it was reported to the Queen that the English were driving one arm of their mine from their trench at the said Bonnington to the point of the bulwark at the citadel, outside the ditch, and there turning it back between the said point and the flanking facing St. Nicolas; that they were driving yet another arm to break the flanking facing the said St. Nicolas.

On the 30th advice about the said mine was sent to those in Leith. There was a skirmish on the sands, where eight or ten English were killed. That night our men raided the enemy trenches, where the Master of Maxwell was wounded. A big gun was spiked.

The last day of May the English fired nearly all day from their fort at Mount Pelham, from their trench at Pilrig, in three places from Bonnington, and from the entrance to their mine to the citadel.

² *C.F.E.*, ii, 256. Nov. 14, 1559. Killigrew and Jones to the Queen: (3) . . . One Craig, a Scotch merchant, brought hitherto to the French Queen letters of safe conduct for his trafficking with France, from the Queen Dowager and M. D'Oysel.

JUING

Le premier Jour de Juing a matin se trouverent en la radde devant petit lict Dix ou douze "mynes" moyennes navires oultre les precedentes qui y estoient demourees et faisoient en tout vingt sept ou vingt huict vaisseaulx.

Ledit Jour la royne commenca a se trouver fort mal.

La nuyt les angloys assemblarent leur trenchee de bone-ton tirant au North avecques celle daupres de la citadelle

Le ii^e se fait une fort grosse escaramouche sur les sables ou les angloys furent repulsez Jusques dessoubz leur fort de montpellan.

La nuyt environ les unze heures se fait une autre escaramouche du coste de la Citadelle ou les ennemys confessent avoir perdu trente escossoys, et douze ou quinze angloys, Et quelques demy lances.

180 r Le iii^e arriverent environ quatre cens hommes de renfort au camp paysans de levesche de durhame a Larrivee desquelz sept ou huict furent emportez de lartillerye de petit lict Dont leur conducteur nomme thomas tarsy [?] estoit Lun.

Le iiie les angloys rompirent la tour saint anthoine ou Ilz estimoient quil y eust quelques pieces. Le bruyt estoit que leur myne estoit tombee.

Fut envoye ung advisement a petit lict

Ledit Jour fut prise une lettre du iii^e avecques quelques anglois allans a barrvik. Et aultres lettres parlans de communs affaires, Laquelle sire georges howard escripvoit au duc de Northfolk, par laquelle Il Luy mandoit que sire henry persy avoit ceste nuyt la este avecques Luy, et confere de quelque matiere qui estoit passee de monsieur doysel audit persy, ^bDont dont Il ne vouloit luy escripre

JUNE

The first day of June, in the morning, there were ten or twelve medium-sized boats in Leith roads as well as the ones mentioned before, which had stayed there, and that made a total of twenty-seven or twenty-eight ships.

That same day the Queen began to be very ill.

That night the English joined their trench which went northwards from Bonnington with the one near the citadel.

On the 2nd there was a very violent skirmish on the sands. The English were driven right back to a point below their fort at Mount Pelham.

That night, about eleven, there was another skirmish near the citadel, where the enemy acknowledged that they had lost thirty Scots and ten or twelve English and some demi-lances.

On the 3rd about four hundred men arrived in the camp as reinforcements, peasants from the bishopric of Durham. On their arrival, seven or eight of them were carried off by the guns of Leith, including their leader, Thomas Tarsy by name.

On the 4th the English brought down the tower of St. Anthony's, where they thought there were some pieces [of artillery]. There was a rumour that their mine had fallen in.

An advice was sent to Leith.

That same day a letter, dated the 3rd, was taken with some English on their way to Berwick. There were also other letters, dealing with ordinary affairs. The first letter was written by Sir George Howard to the Duke of Norfolk, in which he informed him that Sir Henry Percy had been with him that very night to confer on a certain matter which had passed between Monsieur D'Oysel and the said Percy, of which he did not wish to write more,

180 v

davantaige, Daultant que ledit persy Luy avoit promis luy en escrire amplement. Mais quant a la ^aResponce^a Questoit de la ville Il estoit Informé que la douairiere estoit en grand danger de sa vye et navoit parle depuys vingt quatre heures Que la ville nestoit en si mauvais estat que ledict duc avoit entendu Car luy mesmes avoit veu pres de quatre vingtz testes de bestes a corne qui estoient sorties de la ville pour pasturer quil y avoit pain e grains pour en faire ainsi quil avoit entendu assez pour six sepmaines Que leur pouldre et munition estoit fort diminuee mais que pour cela Ilz nestoient oysiz et nespargnoient de l'employer tous les Jours sur eulx Que leur pouldre ny la batterye de leur grosse artillerye naugmentoit Et quil ^bluy^b sembloit que plus tire en ung Jour quil nestoit besoing de tirer en dix, Quil avoit beaulcoup daultres choses a escrire Lesquelles Il vouloit plustost declarer ^cde^c a bouche.¹

La nuyt la royne se trouva fort foible Et nayant depuys sept ou huict Jours mangé maiz beu a toutes heures se trouvant le cerveau ung peu commence ^da^d a Resver.

Le v^e a cinq heures de matin arriva le cappitaine Vigneau avecques un petit vaisseau francois a dombarre Dequoy le sieur de Sarlaboz advertit Incontinent la royne sans adventurer les Lettres quavoit apporte ledit Vigneau Jusques a ce quil pleust a sa maieste donner ordre quelles luy fussent apportees seurement

Ledit Jour de matin Le seigneur Derskyn envoya artus Erskyn son frere avecques ung trompette pour faire entendre aux seigneurs de la congregation lestat et extremite ou Il voyait la royne regente, Les supplians permectre que monsieur damyens vint devers sa maieste affin que sil estoit a ce coup la volunte de dieu lappeller a soy Il peust rendre compte au roy et a la royne et a messeigneurs ses freres de ce quil luy plairroit luy donner charge. A quoy

a—*a* above the line, *Les* deleted.
c—*c* deleted.

b—*b* above the line, *nen* deleted.
d—*d* deleted.

¹ *C.F.E.*, iii. 164. June 6. Percy to Norfolk: (1) Reports the sending of a trumpeter to D'Oysel, who said: ' . . . if so be I durst come forth of

particularly as the said Percy had promised to write fully. The reply which he had from the town informed him that the Queen Dowager was in great danger of her life and had not spoken for twenty-four hours ; that the town was not in such a bad state as the Duke had heard ; for he himself had seen nearly eighty head of horned cattle which had come out of the town to graze ; that they had sufficient bread and corn, to judge from what he had heard, for six weeks ; that their powder and ammunition were very low, but they were not inactive because of that, every day they were unsparing in their use of it on their enemies ; that neither their powder nor the batteries of their heavy artillery had increased, and yet it seemed to him that there was more firing in a day than there was need for in ten ; that he had many other things to write which he would rather declare by word of mouth.

That night the Queen was very weak ; she had eaten nothing for the last seven or eight days but had taken drinks constantly ; her mind had begun to wander.

On the 5th, at five in the morning, Captain Vigneau arrived with a small French ship at Dunbar. The Sieur de Sarlabous immediately informed the Queen of this ; he did not risk the letters which the said Vigneau had brought, until it pleased Her Majesty to give orders for their safe conveyance.

That same day in the morning Lord Erskine sent Arthur Erskine, his brother, with a trumpet, to let the Lords of the Congregation know the state and extremity in which he saw the Queen Regent, begging them to allow the Bishop of Amiens to come to Her Majesty, so that if it was God's will to call her to Him, he might give an account to the King and Queen and to Messeigneurs her brothers of anything she might wish to entrust to him. To which

the town unsuspected to the soldiers and noblemen, I assure you I would be glad to speak with Sir Henry.' (3) On Monday he sent this bearer with the effect of this letter, commanding him to put it into his boot hose, and if he were taken to destroy it, which has chanced. . . . (4) The Dowager of Scotland is in great danger.

181 r

Ilz feirent premierement responce que quant a eulx Ilz en estoient contens mais quil falloit quilz en ^acommuniqu^a communicassent avecques le conseil dangleterre. Ce quilz feirent et sy condescendoit lord grey Mais le duc de chastellerault ny voulant consentir fut finalement respondu quilz ne le pouvoient faire sans la permission du duc de Norfolk devers lequel Il falloit envoyer Qui estoit adire quilz nen vouloient Rien faire.

Ledit Jour vint advertissement a la royne de la part de lord de Traguillar [Craigmillar] que lundi dernier iii^e dudit moys monseigneur Levesque de Valence monsieur de rendan [Randan] ¹ et de la part de La royne dangleterre le secretaire Cecille [Cecil] Le doyen de ^bdur^b durhan [Durham] sire James Croft et sire Saidler ² [Sadler] estoient arrivez a Barvick venans par deca pour traicter la paix.

Ledit Jour le seigneur de Sarlaboz renvoya ledit Vigneau et ne sceut estre si tost depesche quil neust deux ou troys Roberges dangleterre a la queue en passant pres fastollet [Fastcastle] Il print un navire angloys lequel Il emmena.

Le vi^e ung homme de monsieur Derskyn apporta le paquet a la royne Et fut Maistre estienne Wilson depesche pour sen aller en france.³

Le vii^e Les ^aconte^c de huntly Argel [Argyll] et gleicarn [Glencairn] Les ^aprieur^c de saint andre et coldingan [Coldingham] et abbe de sainte croix vindrent faire la reverence a la royne ⁴

a—a deleted.

b—b deleted.

c—c sic.

¹ *C.F.E.*, iii. 8. May 2. Commission of Francis and Mary to the Bishops of Valence and Amiens, MM. de la Brosse, d'Oysel, Charles de Rochefoucauld, Seigneur de Randan, instructing them to go to Scotland and negotiate for the restoration of amity between France and England. Cf. *ibid.*, iii. 79.

² *C.F.E.*, iii. 125. May 25. The Queen's commission to treat with the King and Queen of France, commission authorising Cecil, Dr. Wotton, Sadler, Sir Henry Percy, and Sir Percy Carew to treat upon all disputes which have arisen between them and herself. (Cf. *ibid.*, iii. 134. May 26. Instructions for Scotland. (2) Cecil and Wotton shall repair to New-castle by the 5th of June, and there meeting the Bishop of Valence and De Randan upon such matter as they shall gather . . .)

they made reply first of all that they were agreeable, but that they would have to communicate with the English Council, which they did; Lord Grey complied, but the Duke of Châtelherault would not consent, and it was finally answered that they could not grant this without the permission of the Duke of Norfolk, to whom it would be necessary to send. Which was as much as to say they wished to do nothing in the matter.

That same day came an advice to the Queen from the laird of Craigmillar, that on Monday last, the 3rd of the month, the Bishop of Valence, M. de Randan, and, on behalf of the Queen of England, Secretary Cecil and the Dean of Durham, Sir James Croftes and Sir [Ralph] Sadler, had reached Berwick on their way to Scotland to treat of peace.

The same day the Sieur de Sarlabous sent back the said Vigneau, and no sooner had he started than he had two or three English ships of war on his tail. As he passed near Fastcastle, he took an English ship which he carried off with him.

On the 6th one of M. Erskine's men brought the packet of dispatches to the Queen, and Master Stephen Wilson was sent to France.

On the 7th the Earls of Huntly, Argyll and Glencairn, the Priors of St. Andrews and Coldingham, and the Abbot of Holyrood came to pay their respects to the Queen.

Paris (*op. cit.*, 378). François II. to the Bishop of Limoges. 21 May 1560: 'J'avois despêché le sieur de Rendan, gentilhomme ordinaire de ma chambre. . . .'

² In the Archives of the Foreign Office, Paris (*Mémoires et documents*, Angl., reg. 15, fol. 113), there is a minute from James Cullen to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, 13th of June: 'Messeigneurs, j'ay pris la hardiesse de vous escrire du vi^e de ce moys par M^e Estienne Wilson avec une despeche signée auparavant de la Royne, madame votre seur . . .'

⁴ *C.F.E.*, iii. 172. June 7 and 8. Randolph to Norfolk: (4) *P.S.*—'This morning at 8 o'clock the Duke, the Earl Marshal, and Lord James went into the Castle to the Queen; they found her to their judgement worse than she was yesterday, her lips, hands, and legs very cold, her tongue and wits failed her very greatly, and she herself without hope of life.' See Holinshed (i. 493) for the Queen's speech to the nobles.

Le viii^e sortirent quelques chevaulx de petit liet du coste des sables et prindrent quelques moutons devers le fort de montpellan quilz menerent dedans la ville.

Ledit Jour Monsieur le duc de chastellerault vint vers la royne.¹

181 v

Ledit Jour Ladicte dame se trouvant fort malade feit son testament ²

Le ix^e Le conte daran [Arran] vint vers la royne Laquelle allant tousiours et venant perdit ^aLe soir^a la parolle Les anglois faisoient grande provision deschelles

Le ^blundi^b x^e Ladite dame fut tout le Jour sans parler et environ ung quart dheure apres ^cmidi^c minuyt Rendit Lesprit adieu.³

Ledit Jour fut par ceulx de lisle avecques deux batteaulx pris ung navire aInstrelin [Stirling] en la radde charge de vins, bieres, seigle et aultres victuailles. Les angloys meisrent le maistre dudit navire aux fers ^dqui qui^d estoit descendu en terre disans que cestoit une faincte quil avoit faict pour Lanvitailler.⁴

Le xi^e fut faicte la dissection du corps dont le foye et le

a—*a* above the line.

c—*c* deleted.

b—*b* above the line.

d—*d* sic.

¹ In the Archives of the Foreign Office, Paris (*Mémoires et documents*, Angl., reg. 15, fol. 113), there is a letter from James Cullen to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise: . . . 'le conte d'Arquil et le Prieur de St. André qui depuis le viii^{me} de ce moys quilz la vindrent premièrement visiter avecques les contes de Huntly et Glencairne ne bougèrent quasi de ce Chateau . . . le duc de Chastellerault il est venu deux fois et son fils une. . . .'

The account in the *Diurnal* (276, 277) runs: 'deceissit in the castell of Edinburgh, and maid the erle Merschall and schir Johne Campbell of Lundie knycht hir executouris. Befoir hir departing, sho causit fetch to hir James duke of Chattellarault, James commendatare of Sanctandrois and utheris lordis asseidgeris of Leith, and at thair cuming sho exhortit thame to be faithfull and obedient subjectis to the quenis grace hir dauchter. . . .'

On the 8th some horsemen came out of Leith on to the sands and took some sheep near the fort of Mount Pelham and drove them into the town.

That same day, Monsieur the Duke of Châtelherault came to the Queen.

That same day, the said lady, being extremely ill, made her will.

On the 9th the Earl of Arran came to the Queen. Though still up and going about, towards evening her speech failed her. The English were making a big stock of scaling ladders.

On Monday, the 10th, the said lady did not speak all day, and about a quarter of an hour after midnight gave up her spirit to God.

That same day, those on Inchkeith, with two boats, took a ship from Stirling, in the roads, laden with wines, beer, rye and other victuals. The English clapped the master of the said ship in irons, because he had gone ashore, saying it was a ruse on his part to land stores.

On the 11th the body was dissected. The liver and the

* The Queen's will, in Latin, and dated 8 June, is in the Archives of the Foreign Office, Paris (*Mémoires et documents*, Angl., reg. 15, fol. 112).

* *C.F.E.*, iii. 206. June 17. Anonymous to D'Oysel: 'The Queen Dowager died on the 11th inst. before 1 o'clock at midnight.' The letter from Cullen to the Guises says: 'laquelle il a pleu à Dieu appeller à soy mardy dernier unziesme de ce moys demye heure après la minuit. . . .' The *Diurnal* (59) gives the 10th, 'at 12 houris at evin'; Stow (*Annals*, 1092) and Leslie (ii. 441) both give the 10th; Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, ii. 71) gives the 9th: 'Schort thairefter sche fynischeit hir unhappy lyfe; unhappy, we say, to Scotland, fra the fyrst day sche enterit into it, unto the day sche depairtit this lyfe . . . "God, for his greit mercyis saik, red us frome the rest of the Guysiane blude. Amen, Amen."'

* In Cullen's letter to the Guises: . . . 'Au demourant, Messeigneurs, il arriva il y a deux jours ung navire d'Istrelin chargé de bières et de quelques farines entre l'isle et quincor et estant le M^e descendu en terre ceulx de l'isle avecques deux batteaulx qu'ils ont, allèrent aborder ledit navire et l'ont pris. Les Angloys disent que c'est une feincte que ledit M^e de Navire a faict pour l'envitailler et le tiennent aux fers.'

cueur se trouverent sans une seulle goutte de sang Le fief* fort gros et enfle Jaulne comme saffran dedans et dehors Le cueur assez petit et couvert de graisse, Le cerveau plain de grande humidite La etc.¹

Le xii^e ceulx de Lisle feirent une saillye monstrans quelque resiouissance Et ceulx du petit liet de mesmes

Le ^axx^a xiii^e a matin sapparut fort advance, Le cavallier des anglois en leur trenchee pres la citadelle

Le xiiii^e se fait une grosse escarmouche sur les sables La mer estant retiree ou Il y eut vingt huict anglois tue gens de pied et dix demy lances.²

182 r

Le xv^e Le duc de Chastellerault envoya demander quelques tapisseryes de la royne pour prepara Les Logis de Messieurs de Randen dErsdyn de Valence et secretaire ^bCicille^b et le doyen de dyrhan [Durham] ambassadeurs qui debvoient La nuyt prochaine estre a edinthon³ [Haddington].

a—*a* deleted.

b—*b* above the line, *Petrie* deleted.

* for *fiel*.

¹ *C.F.E.*, iii. 218. June 20 and 22. Randolph to Killigrew: (3) . . . 'Saw the Dowager's corpse; she lies in a bed covered with a fair fine white sheet, the tester of black satin and the bed stock hanged round about to the ground with the same. . . . Her burial is deferred till the Lords of Parliament are assembled; the first day thereof is decimo Julii. . . .' The body was taken to France and buried in the monastery of Saint Pierre de Reims, where her sister, Renée, was abbess of the nunnery.

² Holinshed (ii. 1812); Stow (*Annals*, 1092): 'The fourteenth of June a certaine number of Frenchmen came foorth of Lieth to gather cockles on the sands towards Mountpelham, whereof the Englishmen perceiving, set upon them, slue 70, and took 16 of them prisoners.'

heart were found to be without a single drop of blood ; the gall very large and swollen, as yellow as saffron, inside and out ; the heart rather small and covered with fat ; the brain full of fluid ; etc.

On the 12th those in Inchkeith made a sally, with some show of rejoicing, and those in Leith the same.

On the 13th, in the morning, the English platform in their trench near the citadel was seen to be much advanced.

On the 14th there was a violent skirmish on the sands, the tide being out, and twenty-eight English foot were killed, and ten demi-lances.

On the 15th the Duke of Châtelherault sent to ask for some tapestries belonging to the Queen, in order to prepare the lodgings of MM. de Randan, Erskine, Valence, Secretary Cecil and the Dean of Durham, ambassadors who were to be at Haddington the following night.

³ Holinshed (ii. 1812) ; Stow (1092) : 'The sixteenth of June, the commissioners came to Edenborough.' The *Diurnal* (59) says: 'Upone the xvj day of Junij 1560, thair come to the burgh of Edinburgh four ambassatouris . . . twa of France and tua of England ; . . . and thairefter the Frenchemen was ludgit in Mr. Johne Robertouns ludging, and the Inglis-men in Mr. Thomas McCalzeaneis ludgeing.'

C.F.E., iii. 206. June 17. Anonymous to D'Oysel : (1) 'Before M. de Randan and the Bishop of Valence, Secretary Cecil and Dr. Wotton came to Edinburgh two days ago. . . .'

Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, ii. 72) : 'Upone the saxtene day of June, efter the death of the Quene Regent, came in Scotland Monsieur Randan, and with him the Bishop of Valance, in commissioun fra France, to entreat of peace. Fra Ingland thair came Sir Williame Cicill, chief Secretary, and Doctor Wottoun.'

INDEX

Aberdeen, 133.
Allard, Louis, ship-captain, chased, 59; at Newhaven, 61; fight with English ships, 71.

Alnwick, 3.

Amiens, Bishop of. *See* Pellevé, Nicolas.

Angus, Archibald, 6th Earl of, favours the English cause, 19.

Argyll, Archibald, 4th Earl of, 3, 6, 27 *n*; favours French alliance, 39, 41; to receive French gold, 31 *n*, 35 *n*, 45.

Arran, James, 1st Earl of, his marriage, 8 *n*, 27; collar of order given to, 35 *n*.

—, —, 2nd Earl of. *See* Châtelherault.

—, —, Lord Hamilton, Earl of, 59 *n*, 78 *n*, 79.

Ayr, Sheriff of, favours the English cause, 19.

Beaton, Cardinal David, claims to have been appointed Regent, 3; imprisoned, 3, 21; charged with forgery, 4; set at liberty, 5, 17; enters into secret band, 6; his influence on Arran, 7; his position strengthened, 8; at Stirling, 9; meets French envoys there, 10, 11, 27, 29; his alleged scheme to divorce Arran, 12; Henry VIII.'s opinion of, 14; to receive French gold, 31, 33 *n*, 45; well disposed to French alliance, 41, 47.

—, Janet, daughter of Sir David, 8 *n*.

Berwick, English Council at, 63; Montignac at, 77; Elizabeth's treaty with rebels made at, 79, 91; Monluc reaches and is held up at, 105, 113, 123; English robbed of letters at, 121, 171; soldiers arrive from, 149, 159; English Commissioners reach, 175.

Blackness, 111, 115.

Boleyn, Anne, her daughter to marry Arran's son, 41.

Bonnington, English fort at, 55, 137 *n*, 139, 143, 159, 165, 169.

Bosso, Octavian, messenger between French court and Scotland, sent from Dunbar, 78 *n*, 79, 83, 91 *n*; paid for services, 131, 141.

Bothwell, Adam, Bishop of Orkney, captured near Isle of May, 74 *n*, 75.

—, James, 4th Earl of, corresponds with Queen Regent, and receives answer, 90 *n*, 91; asks leave to go to France, 160 *n*, 161.

—, Patrick, 3rd Earl of, 19, 27 *n*; favours French alliance, 39, 41; to receive French gold, 31 *n*, 35 *n*, 45.

Brittany, in revolt, 129.

Buccleugh, Lord (Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh), receives French gold, 31.

Burntisland, 59, 67, 143, 159.

Canongate, 107.

Canonmills, 131 *n*.

Carr, Mark. *See* Ker, Mark.

—, William, parson of Roxburgh, almoner to Queen Regent, 90 *n*, 91, 123, 135 *n*.

Cassillis, Gilbert, 3rd Earl of, favours English cause, 19.

Cawdor, Sir John Campbell, Thane of, to receive French gold, 31 *n*, 33 *n*, 35 *n*, 45.

Cessford, Sir Walter Kerr of, receives French gold, 31.

Chaperon, Captain, carries letters between France and Scotland, 158 *n*, 159.

Charles v., Emperor, 43.

Châtelherault, Duke of (James, 2nd Earl of Arran), Governor of Scotland, proclaimed, 3; favours the English marriage, 4, 17, 41; plots to overthrow him, 6, 13; joins the French party, 7, 11; his parentage, 8, 19; projected marriage with Mary of Lorraine, 12; rivalry with Lennox, 13; favours the Protestant cause, 19, 27; at Stirling, 21; his rule in Scotland, 27, 29; receives French envoys, 35; to consult

- the French king on the Queen's marriage, 41, 45; to receive French gold, 33 *n*; at head of Protestant Lords, 53; with his son rebels against Queen Regent, 78 *n*, 79; dissensions from Queen Regent, 81 *n*, 85; meets English envoys at Preston, 90 *n*, 93, 105; letter to Monluc, 116 *n*; issues safe-conduct to Monluc, 121; sees Monluc, 125; proposes assault on Edinburgh Castle, 147; declares deposition of Queen Regent, 149; refuses to let Chaperon and Bishop of Amiens see Queen Regent, 158 *n*, 159, 175; visits dying Queen Regent, 176 *n*, 177; asks for Queen Regent's tapestries, 179.
- Citadel of Leith, 54, 139, 143, 149, 157, 159, 161, 163, 169, 171.
- Clackmannan, French troops at, 65.
- Clerk's Mills, 131, 147.
- Coldingham, English army at, 89.
- , Prior of (Monsieur de). *See* Stewart, John.
- Congregation. *See* Lords of Congregation.
- Cramond, wine at, 105.
- Croftes, Sir James, attempts at pacification, 54; letter quoted, 56 *n*; recommended by Queen Elizabeth, 57 *n*; letters to, 58 *n*, 59 *n*; captain of Berwick, 88 *n*; leader of English Army to Scotland, 91; envoy from Lord Grey to Queen Regent, 97; talk with Queen Regent and reply, 101, 103; at Tolbooth conference, 107, 108 *n*, 109; talks to Spens, 111; letters quoted, 83 *n*, 124 *n*, 125 *n*; at conference, 129 *n*, 147; at Berwick, 175.
- Cullen, James, Captain in Queen Regent's fleet, 58 *n*, 59; his ship captured, 61; restitution demanded, 69; writes to Guises, 177 *n*.
- Dalkeith, Duke of Norfolk at, 93.
- D'Elbœuf, René de Lorraine, Marquis, 79.
- De Seure, Chevalier, French ambassador to England, 82 *n*, 112 *n*; letters from, 83, 89.
- Dieppe, rumours from, 129.
- Douglas, Lady Margaret, daughter of Earl of Angus, proposed marriage with Lennox, 8, 19.
- Douglas, Sir George, brother of Earl of Angus, favours English cause, 19; a fugitive, 11, 37.
- D'Oysel, Henri Cleutin, Seigneur D'Oysel et de Villeparisis, fortifies Leith with French troops, 52; receives letter, 57 *n*; reaches Edinburgh with French troops, 68 *n*; sends trumpet to English leader, 69; appointed Lieutenant-General for Scotland and in command of Leith forces, 69 *n*; receives letter from Queen Regent, 73 *n*; sees Chester herald, 77 *n*; sends document to French king, 78 *n*; in Glasgow, 85; in Leith, 89 *n*; at Restalrig defies Lord Grey, 99; at Tolbooth meeting, 109; letters from Queen Regent, 123 *n*, 127 *n*, 131 *n*, 133 *n*, 134 *n*, 140 *n*, 156 *n*, 158 *n*, 160 *n*, 161 *n*, 162 *n*, 163 *n*, 169 *n*; asked for ointment by Queen Regent, 141; told of mine at St. Anthony, 159 *n*; has business with Sir Henry Percy, 171; trumpet sent to, 172 *n*; commission of Francis and Mary to, 174 *n*; hears of Queen Regent's death, 177 *n*.
- Dumbarton, 8-11, 17; French money and munitions lodged at, 21, 25, 29, 33; English fleet near, 39; fortress handed over to Châtelherault by Parliament, 155.
- Dunbar, Winter's ships go to, 69; Octavian Bosso at, 79, 83, 141; French soldiers at, 120 *n*, 121; French prisoners escape to, 143; demand that fortifications be demolished, 155; English at, 167; Captain Vigneau at, 173.
- Dundee, 11, 37 *n*.
- Dunglass, English at, 115.
- Dysart, soldiers set out from, 59.
- Edinburgh, 23; French troops near, 69; rabble in, 91; English trumpet arrives in, 95; Monluc reaches, 123; noblemen of Scotland at, 143 *n*; Congregation proclaims Parliament at, 169.
- Castle, Lords imprisoned in, 35; Queen Regent retires to, 89, 93; proposal to assault, 147; Regent dies at, 176 *n*, 177.

- Edward, Prince, son of Henry VIII., projected marriage with Mary, 4, 21, 41, 43.
- Elizabeth, Princess, daughter of Henry VIII., proposed marriage with Arran, 7, 41.
- , Queen, her accession, 51; supports the Congregation, 53; Winter not authorised by, 61, 63; appoints Lord Grey Warden of East and Middle Marches of England, 71; Norfolk and, 74 n, 77, 87; concludes agreement with rebel Lords, 79; Throckmorton and, 82 n, 83 n; writes to Queen Regent, 85; Scotsmen kept at expense of, 91; considered illegitimate by Catholics, 103 n; and Bishop of Valence, 104 n, 157 n, 174 n; sends Articles to France, 111, 112 n; forbids English in Scotland to hurry, 147; gives passport for Chaperon, 159; authorises envoys to treat of peace, 174 n, 175.
- Erskine, Alexander, brother of John, 6th Lord Erskine, meets envoys of the Congregation, 107; sent to Lord Grey, 121.
- , Arthur, brother of John, 6th Lord, 87 n, 173.
- , John, 5th Lord, to receive French gold, 31 n, 45.
- , —, 6th Lord, attempted mediation by, 92 n, 93; meets Lord James Stewart and Lethington, 97; represents Queen Regent in negotiations with English envoys, 108 n, 109, 129, 151, 153, 161; sends letters, 167; prepares lodging for English ambassadors at Haddington, 179.
- , —, of Dun, Reformer, talks to Lord Erskine, 97.
- Eyemouth, English army at, 89.
- Falkirk, troops at, 67.
- Fast Castle, English ship taken near, 175.
- Fernando. *See* Santandero, Fernando.
- Fife Ness, English ships near, 57; Bishop of Orkney captured near, 75.
- Firth of Forth, English fleet in, 53, 57, 61, 63, 83; six English ships leave, 147.
- Flanders, 81, 133.
- Fleming, Malcolm, 3rd Lord, to receive French gold, 31 n, 35 n, 45.
- Francis I., King of France, sends La Brosse and Ménage, 14, 23; Scots nobles and, 17, 39; Earl of Lennox and, 25; Earl of Arran and, 35; letters from, 39; proposes marriage for Queen of Scots, 41; suggested help against England from, 43, 45.
- Francis II., Dauphin and King of France, betrothed to Mary Queen of Scots, 51; married, 55; mentioned in Queen Regent's speech, 65; his negotiations with Elizabeth, 82 n, 112 n; Articles of pacification to be referred to, 101, 103; sends Monluc and others back to Scotland with powers to treat, 104 n, 111, 113, 127; gives order to William Maitland, 107; sureties for obedience to, 149, 155; his instructions to Queen Regent, 157 n; Elizabeth's commission to treat with, 174 n; writes to Bishop of Limoges, 175 n.
- Glasgow, French envoys detained at, 9; Lennox and Council meet envoys at, 21; foot-soldiers of Congregation at, 81; Martignes and soldiers set out for, 83; D'Oysel arrives at, 85.
- Glencairn, William, 4th Earl of, favours English cause, 19; to receive French money, 33-5 nn.
- Greenside, English cavalry pass, 113.
- Greenwich, Treaty of, 6, 15.
- Gray, Patrick, 4th Lord, to receive French money, 33-5 nn.
- Grey de Wilton, Arthur, Lord, Warden of the East and Middle Marches of England, labours for pacification, 54; writes to Lord Home, 71; leads army into Scotland, 88 n, 91; appeals to Queen Regent, 95; sends message to D'Oysel, 99; asked for safe-conducts, 105, 107, 133; refers to coming of Monluc, 113, 115-17; Erskine and Spens sent to, 121; complains of detention of trumpet, 121; receives Monluc, 123; negotiates with Monluc, 125-7; writes to Norfolk, 133 n, 137 n,

- 139 *n*, 150 *n*, 156 *n*, 158 *n*; letters from Queen Regent to D'Oysel arouse his suspicions, 141, 142 *n*; with Lords of the Congregation, 147; commends loyalty of Findlater and Spens, 149; questions French boy, 159; questions English soldier, 167; willing to let the Bishop of Amiens visit the Queen Regent, 175.
- Grimani, Papal Legate in Scotland, 5, 8 *n*, 9; his impressions of Scotland, 6, 10; reports scheme to depose Arran, 12-13; misinterprets policy of French envoys, 13-14.
- Guise, François, Duc de, letter sent to, 83; letters to, 84 *n*, 86 *n*, 138 *n*, 167 *n*, 176 *n*; letters from, 113 *n*, 133; death of Queen Regent reported to, 177 *n*.
- Haddington, 61; ambassadors expected at, 179.
- Hamilton, Châtelherault retires to, 85.
- , James, Sheriff of Linlithgow, 111.
- , John, Abbot of Paisley, 7.
- Harvey, Robin, ex-monk, sent to learn of English army, 93; employed as courier between France and Scotland, 93 *n*.
- Hawthill, English artillery to be put at, 115.
- Hay, Thomas, 8 *n*.
- Henry VIII., King of England, releases prisoners taken at Solway Moss, 3-4; proposed marriage of his son to Queen of Scots, 7, 41; threatens to capture Papal Legate, 9, 11; his dealings with Scottish Governor, 14, 17; his partisans in Scotland, 19-21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 33, 37; his fleet off Dumbarton, 39; enlists the Emperor against Scots, 43.
- Holyrood, treaty of Greenwich ratified at, 7; rabble loot stables at, 91; English and Congregation in Council at, 159.
- Home, Alexander, 5th Lord, Scottish Warden of the East March, 71; letter of Lord Grey to, 71; attempts to mediate, 92 *n*.
- Home, Elizabeth, 8 *n*.
- , George, 4th Lord, receives French gold, 31, 33-5 *nn*.
- Howard, Sir George, Envoy to Queen Regent, 57 *n*, 97, 99 *n*, 171; interview with Queen Regent, 101; requires safe-conduct, 105; leaves for Berwick, 149 *n*; writes to Duke of Norfolk, 171.
- Hume, Lord. *See* Home, Lord.
- Huntly, George, 4th Earl of, 3, 6, 19, 27 *n*; to receive French gold, 31 *n*, 34, 35 *n*, 45; favours French alliance, 39, 41; proposes to assault Edinburgh Castle, 147; loses power to Rubay, 151 *n*; solicits Lords to join faction, 169; visits Queen Regent, 175.
- Inchkeith, soldiers sent to, 57 *n*, 75; ships near, 61, 71, 75; surrender demanded, 72 *n*; victuals for, 73, 75, 123, 177; English attacks on, repulsed, 73, 81, 167; trumpet sent to, 121; taxes for fortification of, 151; garrison to be kept at, 155; boat passes to, 157; sally from, 179.
- Isle of May, ships seen near, 57, 83.
- James v., King of Scots, 3, 19, 21, 29, 33 *n*, 35 *n*.
- Ker (Carr), Mark, receives French gold, 31.
- Kirkcaldy, soldiers at, 59; ships before, 165.
- Knox, John, inaccuracy and bitterness of, 53-5; quotations from his *History* and letters, 58, 59, 65, 78, 83, 89, 90, 93, 97, 100, 107, 109, 113, 117, 119, 122, 124, 134, 137, 141, 142, 145, 151, 177, 179 *nn*.
- La Brosse, Gaston, son of Jacques de, comes to Scotland, 52.
- , Jacques de. First Mission with Jacques Ménage: in Scotland, 5; disembark at Dumbarton, 9; their impressions of Scotland, 9, 23; they see the Earl of Lennox, 9, 23-7; meet the Queen and Beaton, 10, 27-29; urge sending of French aid, 12, 43; present their credentials to the Governor, 35; suggest the marriage of Lennox to the Queen Dowager, 12, 13, 39.

- Second Mission : arrives in Scotland, 52 ; safe-conduct, 56 *n*, 85, 87 ; in Leith, 89 *n* ; his passing to English camp, 106, 107 *n* ; represents Queen Regent at Tolbooth conference, 108 *n*, 109 ; sent for by Queen Regent, 155, 156 *n* ; commissioned by Francis and Mary to treat for peace, 174 *n*. Letters to, and from, 56, 57, 66, 67, 72, 78, 84, 86, 131, 133, 134 *nn*.
- Langholm, expenditure on fort of, 151.
- Leek, Sir Francis, 115.
- Leith, 54-5, 59, 71, 75, 81, 89, 97, 103, 105, 109, 113, 115, 117, 119, 125, 129, 131, 133, 134 *n*, 136 *n*, 137 *n*, 141, 147, 149, 155, 157, 163, 165, 167, 169, 171, 177, 179.
- , Water of, 54, 137 *n*.
- Lennox, Matthew, 4th Earl of, 17 ; acts with Beaton, 4 ; assists Beaton in French interests, 5 ; removes Mary to Stirling, 6 ; signs agreement with Queen Regent, 7 ; put forward as next heir to throne, 7, 19 ; goes over to English cause, 8-9, 19 ; proposed marriage with Lady Margaret Douglas, 8, 9, 19 ; signs 'paction' with Queen and Cardinal, 10 ; pursues double policy, 11, 37 ; his projected marriage with Queen Regent, 12-13, 39 ; mistrusted by French envoys, 13, 39, 46 *n* ; rivalry with Arran, 13, 39-41 ; in Glasgow, 21, 23 ; entrusted with French money and munitions in Scotland, 25, 43 *n*, 47 *n* ; relations with Francis I., 25 ; hinders French alliance, 27, 29 ; enlisted in French cause, 29 ; receives French gold, 31, 33-5 *nn*, 45.
- Linlithgow, horsemen at, 67 ; troops leave, 69 ; hackneys and others captured at, 85 ; Sheriff finds no ladders at, 115.
- Livingstone, Alexander, 5th Lord, to receive French gold, 31 *n*, 34-5 *nn*, 45.
- Logan, Robert of Restalrig (1) : founds Hospital of St. Anthony, 113 *n*.
- , Robert of Restalrig (2) : sells superiority, 117 *n*.
- Logan's bulwark, 54, 117, 165.
- Logie's Green, 137.
- London, Chevalier de Seure at, 83.
- Lords of the Congregation receive Queen Regent's answer, 133 ; muster four ensigns, 147 ; send drummer to Leith, 147 ; Findlater and Spens go to, 147 ; proclaim a Parliament, 169 ; hear of Queen Regent's extremity, 173. *See also notes at* 61, 78, 83, 85, 92, 112, 117, 124, 130, 132, 133, 143, 150.
- Loretto, 59, 93.
- Lorraine, Charles, Cardinal of, letter from de Seure sent to, 83 ; de Brosse and Pellevé report to, 84 *n*, 86 *n* ; Erskine mentioned in letter to, 87 *n* ; Carr brings intelligence to, 91 *n* ; writes to Queen Dowager, 113 *n*, 133 ; Queen Regent writes to, 135 *n* ; letters to (quoted), 138 *n*, 167 *n*, 175 *n*, 176 *n*.
- , Mary of, widow of James v., 5 ; signs agreement with Lennox, 7, 8, 9, 29 ; meets French envoys at Stirling, 10, 27, 29, 41 *n* ; her projected marriage with Lennox, 12, 39 ; scheme to make her Regent, 13 ; imprisoned and set at liberty, 17, 19, 21 ; receives French gold, 31, 33 *n*, 45 ; well disposed to French alliance, 41, 47 ; becomes Regent, 51 ; asks France for help, 52 ; very ill, 55, 171, 173, 177 ; has letters from John Stewart, 57 ; sends soldiers to Inchkeith, 57 *n* ; sends herald to Admiral Winter, 61 ; receives trumpet from Winter, 63 ; sends message to La Brosse, 66 *n* ; receives letter from Fernando Santandero, 67 ; demands release of John Fenton, 67-9 ; corresponds with Norfolk, 70 *n*, 71, 77, 79 *n*, 81, 84 *n*, 85, 86 *n*, 87, 88 *n*, 89 ; relations with Lennox, 80-1 *nn* ; dissensions with Châtellherault, 81 *n* ; retires to Edinburgh Castle, 89 ; corresponds with Bothwell, 90 *n*, 91, 93 ; receives trumpet from Grey, 95-7, 99 ; receives Croftes and Howard, and gives opinion of their proposals, 101-5 ; sends proposals to Leith, 105, 111 ; receives letter

- from Elizabeth, 104 n; names envoys to Tolbooth conference, 108 n, 109; asks safe-conduct for Monluc, 115, 116 n, 121; receives letter from Monluc, 119; writes to D'Oysel, 123, 140 n, 141 n, 158 n, 159 n, 160 n, 161 n, 162 n, 163 n; objects to surrender of Leith, 126 n; conference arranged with, 127, 129; answers Congregation, 130 n, 131, 132 n, 133; sends Findlater and Spens to Congregation, 147-9, 150 n; visited by Lethington and others, 151-3, 157; asks to see French envoys, 155; sends for Erskine and Spens, 155; visited by rebel Lords and Arran, 175 and n, 177; her death in Edinburgh Castle, 176 n, 177; makes her will, 177; lies in state, 178 n.
- , René de. *See* D'Elbœuf, Marquis.
- Magdalene Chapel, 115, 123, 131.
- Fort, alarm near, 137.
- Maitland, William, of Lethington, at conference near Edinburgh, 97; deserts Queen's party, 97 n, 109 n; his return from France, 107; proposed for Tolbooth meeting, 108 n, 109; writes to Cecil, 128-9 nn, 133 n, 148 n, 154 n, 156 n, 158 n; sent to Queen Regent, 150 n, 151-7; meets Erskine, 161; solicits Lords to join faction, 169.
- Makgill, James, Clerk-Register, sent for by Queen Regent, 153, 154 n.
- Margaret, Queen, widow of James IV., 8.
- Martigues, Sebastien de Luxembourg, Viscount, Duke of Penthièvre, appointed commander-in-chief of French army in Scotland, 82 n; arrives at Leith and leaves for Glasgow, 83, 89 n; with Queen Regent at Leith, 89; advises D'Oysel, 99; speaks to Queen's trumpet, 113; makes sally, 119 n; and proposed surrender of Leith, 127 n.
- Mary, Queen of Scots, taken to Stirling, 6; proposed marriage with Prince Edward, 4, 21, 41, 43; proposal to take her to England, 6, 17, 21; proposed marriage with Lennox, 29; sent to France, 51; immediate successor to English throne, 53; her marriage, 55; Articles to be laid before, 101-3, 107; commission to La Brosse and others from, 104 n; Valence speaks on behalf of, 125; sureties for obedience to, 149-51, 155; commission to treat with, 174 n.
- Maxwell, Master of, attends conferences, 129 n, 150 n; employed in negotiations, 74 n, 108-9 nn, 129 n; sent to Queen Regent, 150 n, 157; in garden of Thornton, 161; wounded, 169.
- , Robert, 5th Lord, favours English cause, 19; prisoner, 11, 35.
- Ménage, Jacques. *See* under his companion, La Brosse, Jacques de.
- Monluc, Jean de, Bishop of Valence, commission of Francis and Mary to, 104-5 nn, 174 n; to see Queen Regent, 111, 113; difficulty over his safe-conduct, 116 n, 121; letter brought to Queen Regent from, 119; reaches Queen Regent, 123; sees Duke of Norfolk, 125, 129; writes to Lord Grey, 126 n, 127; departs, 133-5; his negotiations and commission referred to, 155, 157; reaches Berwick, 175; returns to Scotland, 179.
- Montignac, John de, sent to Queen of England, 70 n, 77, 79, 81.
- Moray, James Stewart, Earl of, natural son of James IV., 3; to receive French gold, 31 n, 33 n, 35 n.
- , James Stewart, Earl of, natural son of James V. *See* Stewart, Lord James.
- Mount Pelham, English entrenched position at, 55, 130 n, 164 n, 169, 171, 177, 178 n.
- Musselburgh, conference at, 93.
- Newbattle, 93.
- Newcastle, English army at, 77; Duke of Norfolk at, 83.
- Newhaven, boat of Allard at, 61; Stothard at, 63; English French extended towards, 161; French sortie towards, 165.
- Noailles, letters of Queen Regent to, 61 n, 62 n; report by, 66 n; account given to, 79; letter to

- Regent from, 80 *n*; herald sent to Regent by, 94 *n*.
- Norfolk, Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of, leads English army, 53; in north of England, 56 *n*, 57, 75, 83; Winter reports to, 58-61 *nn*, 72 *n*; his instructions to Winter, 61 *n*; English Queen's instructions to, 61 *n*; Queen Regent sends to, 70 *n*, 71, 85; his answer, 75-7; at Berwick, 75; reports to Cecil, 79 *n*, 82 *n*, 94 *n*, 95 *n*, 104 *n*, 115 *n*, 118 *n*, 120 *n*, 123 *n*, 136 *n*; herald returns from, 81; Lords of the Congregation write to, 85 *n*; sends trumpet to Regent, 86 *n*, 87-9; reports of Grey to, 92 *n*, 95-8 *nn*, 101 *n*, 118 *n*, 120 *n*, 125 *n*, 130 *n*, 133 *n*, 135 *n*, 137 *n*, 139 *n*, 144 *n*, 147 *n*, 148 *n*, 150 *n*, 156 *n*, 158 *n*; Winter replies to, 122 *n*; writes to Grey, 123 *n*; Howard writes to, 171; Percy reports to, 172 *n*.
- Norham, Treaty of (1551), 71 *n*.
- Pelham, Mount. *See* Mount Pelham.
- Pellevé, Nicolas, Bishop of Amiens, reaches Scotland, 52; writes to La Brosse, 57 *n*, 67 *n*; at Edinburgh, 77 *n*; reports to Guises, 84 *n*, 86 *n*; at Leith, 89 *n*; an adviser of Queen Regent, 103; commission of Francis and Mary to, 104 *n*, 174; negotiates on behalf of Regent, 108 *n*, 109; letter from Regent to, 128 *n*; Regent wishes to send for, 155 *n*, 156; desired to visit dying Queen Regent, 173.
- Percy, Sir Henry, recommended as English envoy, 57 *n*; captain of English light horse in Scotland, 88 *n*, 91; at the Tolbooth conference, 107-9; with Monluc at Restalrig, 123 *n*; confers with Howard and with D'Oysel, 171-3; commission from Queen of England to, 174 *n*.
- Pilrig, English trench at, 55, 115, 131, 139, 169; village of, 133; English ambushed near, 137.
- Pittenweem, soldiers set out for, 59.
- Preston (Prestonpans), 75, 89, 90 *n*, 93.
- Queensferry, English soldiers at, 65; ships at, 67; soldiers of Congregation at, 81.
- Restalrig, English and Scots at, 93 *n*; English camp at, 101, 113 *n*, 163; superiority sold, 117 *n*; soldiers leave, 131 *n*, 137 *n*; English ship opposite, 169.
- Riccarton Port, 137.
- Ruthven, Patrick, 3rd Lord, at conference with Norfolk, 74 *n*, 90 *n*; Provost of Perth, 90 *n*; to meet Bothwell, 93; sent to Queen Regent, 150 *n*, 151-5, 157.
- Sadler, Sir Ralph, envoy of Henry VIII., negotiates in Scotland, 4-7; his reports, 9 *n*, 12 *n*, 14; at Tantallon, 11; bribes and departs, 37; reports to Cecil, 56 *n*; recommended by Elizabeth to Norfolk, 57 *n*; Arran writes to, 58 *n*, 59 *n*; Randolph reports to, 108 *n*; appointed to confer with Lords, 129 *n*; with Lords of Congregation, 147; Elizabeth gives commission to, 174 *n*; at Berwick, 175.
- St. Andrews, 59 *n*, 75.
- , Prior of. *See* Stewart, Lord James.
- St. Anthony's Kirk, 115; French artillery at steeple of, 54, 113, 117; fired on, 124 *n*, 125, 129, 137, 141; attempt to mine, 147, 159; tower brought down, 171.
- bulwark, 135, 139, 143.
- St. Christopher's Church, 54; fired on, 125, 129.
- bulwark, 137.
- Santandero, Fernando, captain of ship captured in Forth, 58 *n*, 59, 61, 67, 69.
- Sarlabous, Corbeyran de, 67, 147, 175; receives money, 131, 161; *Life of*, 66 *n*.
- Scott, Walter. *See* Buccleugh, Lord.
- , William, of Balwearie, 123.
- Solway Moss, Battle of, 3-4, 21.
- Somerville, Hugh, 4th Lord, favours English cause, 19; a prisoner in Edinburgh, 11, 37.
- Spens, John, of Condie, Advocate to Queen Regent, hands her reply

- to Lords, 107; sent to Lord Grey by Regent, 121; sent on embassies to the Lords of the Congregation, 129, 147-9; summoned by Regent, 155.
- Stewart, Lord James, Prior of St. Andrews, to meet Norfolk, 74 *n*; meets Lords at Preston, 90 *n*; talks with Erskine, 93, 97; at Tolbooth meeting, 107, 109; appointed with others to meet representatives of Regent, 129 *n*, 150 *n*; goes to Queen Regent, 151-3, 157; sees Erskine at garden of Thornton, 161; solicits Lords to join faction, 169; pays respects to Regent, 175, 176 *n*.
- Stirling, Queen Mary at, 6; Arran at, 7; Beaton at, 7, 29; La Brosse and Ménage at, 9-10, 21, 27, 47; Queen Dowager at, 11, 29; Lennox at, 29; money sent, and to be sent to, 11, 31, 45; French bands at, 67; hackneys captured on return from, 85; a ship from, 177.
- Strange, Sir Nicolas, 115.
- Tantallon, Sadler at, 11, 14.
- Tarsy, Thomas, 171.
- Tolbooth, Commissioners meet at, 107-9.
- Thornton, conference in garden of, 161.
- Throckmorton, Nicholas, reports to Cecil, 73 *n*, 91 *n*, 93 *n*, 112 *n*, 128 *n*; to Council, 82 *n*; to the Queen of England, 82 *n*, 83 *n*; Elizabeth and Council write to, 112 *n*.
- Tullibody, French troops at, 65.
- Vignault (Vigneau), Captain, 81, 83, 173, 175.
- Villemore, Sieur de, controller, 67.
- Wilson, Stephen, sent secretly through England, 73; comes from France, 133, 160 *n*; brings letter from France to Regent, 133; takes Regent's letters to France, 160 *n*, 161, 175.
- Winter, William, English admiral, sent to Firth of Forth, 53; reports to Norfolk, 58 *n*, 60 *n*, 72 *n*, 122 *n*; enters Leith roads, 60 *n*; Norfolk's instructions to, 61 *n*; sends gentleman to Regent, 62 *n*, 63; his flagship, 67; ransom of Fenton paid in presence of, 69; summons Inchkeith to surrender, 72 *n*, 73, 121; captures Bishop Adam Bothwell, 74 *n*; his 'attempts' in Firth of Forth, 84 *n*, 85, 87 *n*, 88 *n*.

REPORT OF THE FIFTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

THE FIFTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held in the Caledonian Hotel, Edinburgh, on Saturday, 7th September 1940, at 3 P.M.

Mr. John A. Inglis, K.C., Chairman of Council, occupied the Chair at the commencement of the meeting.

The Report of the Council was as follows :—

During the past year the Society has suffered a severe loss by the death of Professor R. K. Hannay, H.M. Historiographer for Scotland. Professor Hannay joined the Society in 1912, and became a member of Council in 1913. After seven years as assistant to Dr. Maitland Thomson, he became Honorary Secretary in 1920. During his eight years' service in that capacity the membership of the Society was increased, the number and quality of its publications maintained, and pressure brought successfully to bear upon public authorities for the better preservation and accessibility of the national and local records. From 1938 until his death he was Chairman of the Council. In 1913 he had edited for the Society *Rentale Sancti Andree*, and in 1916 *Rentale Dunkeldense*; at the time of his death he was engaged in editing for it *Letters of James III and James IV*. Professor Hannay had won an unquestioned primacy among Scottish historians; his unique knowledge was placed ungrudgingly at the disposal of the Society; his kindness and humour were highly esteemed by his colleagues on the Council.

The Society has also lost by death its distinguished ex-President, Lord Tweedsmuir, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.H., Governor-General of Canada and Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh. As John Buchan he had charmed a wide circle of readers by his works of history and fiction; members of the Society will recollect with pleasure his presidential addresses at its annual meetings.

Miscellany Volume VI was issued to members in December. Of its four items two were mediaeval—‘Bagimond’s Roll,’ edited by Mrs. Annie I. Dunlop, D.Litt., and ‘Foundation Charter of Dunbar Collegiate Church,’ edited by the Rev. D. E. Easson, Ph.D. Of the two others, ‘Lauderdale Letters,’ edited by Mr. H. M. Paton, were of the seventeenth century, and ‘Rev. John Mitchell’s Memories of Ayrshire,’ edited by Dr. W. K. Dickson, describe conditions in the eighteenth. In September the *Diary of Johnston of Wariston, Volume III*, edited by Mr. J. D. Ogilvie, was issued. This section of the Diary is not only interesting for the light it throws upon the writer’s character and domestic life, but valuable for the information it affords about public affairs in England as well as Scotland during the years 1655-1660.

Owing to present circumstances the Council have decided to reduce the size of *Miscellany Volume VII*, to be issued for 1939-40, and to issue for 1940-41 a single volume also of somewhat less than the normal size. The former will consist of ‘Diary of Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden, 1657-59,’ edited by Dr. H. W. Meikle; ‘Jacobite Letters in Italy,’ edited by Miss Helen C. Stewart; and ‘The Locharkaig Treasure,’ edited by Miss Marion F. Hamilton. The volume is nearing completion, but owing to unavoidable delays will not be ready for issue until the spring. For the year 1940-41 Miss G. Dickinson is editing the *Journals of Jacques de la Brosse, 1543-60*.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Clyde, LL.D., having been President of the Society for the last four years, now retires from office. The Council desire to record their appreciation of his services to the Society, and particularly of his presidential addresses. The Council propose the Marquess of Bute, K.T., for election as President for the next four years.

In place of the late Professor Hannay the Council have elected Mr. John A. Inglis, K.C., King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, as Chairman. Members of Council who retire in rotation at this time are Mr. R. L. Mackie, Mr. D. B. Morris and Dr. H. W. Meikle. The Council recommend their re-election, and the election of Mr. W. Angus, Keeper of the Registers and Records of Scotland, in place of Mr. Inglis.

In succession to the late Mr. John M. Howden, to whose services as Hon. Treasurer from 1922 to 1939 tribute was paid at the last Annual Meeting, the Council have appointed Mr. J. Douglas H. Dickson, W.S., 66 Queen Street, Edinburgh.

The Society has lost by death or resignation 25 members during the year; 8 new members have joined. The total membership (including 133 libraries) now stands at 482. The Council would again urge the importance of maintaining the membership of the Society in these times and thus making possible the continuance of its contribution to the intellectual life of the country.

The attention of the Council has been drawn to the grave danger that, in meeting the demand for waste paper to be re-pulped in the present emergency, documents of historical value, such as old correspondence, diaries, and deeds, may be destroyed. They ask members to do all they can to secure the preservation of such material.

An abstract of the accounts for 1939-40, as audited, is appended.

In moving the adoption of the Report and Accounts the Chairman began by referring to the work and personality of his predecessor, the late Professor Hannay. He went on to speak of the volumes issued during the year and of the high standard of editorship maintained by the Society. He explained that owing to the state of the Society's finances only one volume would be issued annually during the War. Several of the library members were in Germany or German-occupied countries and he made an appeal for new members. He concluded with a warning against the destruction of documents of historical value from misguided motives of patriotism.

Dr. W. K. Dickson seconded the adoption, which was unanimously carried.

Mr. Inglis then moved the election of the Marquess of Bute, K.T., as President of the Society for the ensuing four years. After referring to the qualifications of the past four Presidents, Mr. Inglis described Lord Bute as personally a researcher, as a munificent helper of research in others and as active in the protection of ancient buildings. No one lived up better to the motto of the Society.

Mr. R. C. Reid, in seconding, said that Lord Bute had inherited a high sense of duty and spoke of his interest in the materials of history and his work for the preservation of buildings and records in Dumfriesshire and Galloway.

Lord Bute was unanimously elected President and took the Chair.

The President then delivered an address entitled 'Some Account of the Loudoun Charters.' He described the earlier Loudoun charters, which from the beginning had been preserved at Loudoun Castle, but had never been properly examined or indexed. It was no easy matter to get these into order, but the earlier ones had now been put in dated sequence and transcribed.

The charters comprised some 1500 documents prior to the date 1600, the earliest being the original Loudoun grant dated about 1180, which contained a somewhat rare feature, namely, a lady as witness. She was Lady Avice, wife of de Moreville the Constable. In another charter, some twenty years later, there appeared a Sir Andrew de Loudoun, who had, up to now, not been known of. Then there was a double of the charter in the Lord Glasgow Muniments of the 55s. lands of Madisland, when it was relet at a nominal rent. This rent, curiously enough, was a pound of cumin seed—a spice which now at least was not used in this country. He suggested that this acknowledgment rent was probably a play upon the name of the grantor of the charter, who was Walter Cummin.

The other acknowledgment rents come across in these documents were more ordinary, such as a sore hawk, a pair of gloves, and a pair of gold spurs. There was also mention of a spur-maker as a profession. There were also two charters of the time of the Bruce to one Arthur Campbell, who received a grant of free barony of the lands of Gillespie in Galloway in 1329, with some lands near Stranraer. They were granted for the service of a ship of twenty oarsmen with stores and equipment.

Lord Bute went on to describe a large number of documents, amongst which was the letters of slains following upon the murder of Edward Cunningham of Auchenhervie in 1527, which brought out the Montgomeries on one side and the Cunninghams on the other. It was a very long document, drawn up by an Edinburgh writer called George Good. After describing some of its main principles, he thought that George Good seemed to have performed the impossible in having apparently pleased everybody, and that under very difficult circumstances. Many of the documents belonged to the Muirs of Rowallan, and although Mungo Muir fell at the

battle of Fawside and John Muir at Flodden, nevertheless the Rowallans had to seek forgiveness in 1529 for being absent at Solway when called out, and the same thing happened at Gladsmuir in 1551, when they failed to help in the relief of Haddington, which had been taken by the English. But after Langside, in 1568, Rowallan was escheated and his tenants fined 40s. each for being on the wrong side.

A vote of thanks was accorded to the President on the motion of Dr. H. W. Meikle.

**ABSTRACT ACCOUNT of CHARGE and DISCHARGE
of the INTROMISSIONS of the HONORARY
TREASURER for the year from 1st November
1939 to 1st November 1940.**

CHARGE.

I. Uplifted from Savings Account with Bank of Scotland	<u>£182 5 1</u>	
II. Subscriptions Received		£453 12 0
III. Past Publications sold		2 12 6
IV. Interest on Savings Account with Bank of Scotland		4 4 11
V. Sums drawn from Bank Current Account	<u>£685 13 7</u>	
VI. Debit Balance at close of this Account, as per Discharge, Branch VI		132 18 9
Sum of the Charge		<u>£593 8 2</u>

DISCHARGE.

I. Debit Balance at close of Account on 1st November 1939	£76 10 7	
II. Cost of Publications printed during year	475 17 6	
III. Miscellaneous Payments	41 0 1	
IV. Sums lodged in Bank Current Account	<u>£638 9 7</u>	
V. Sums lodged in Savings Account	<u>£54 4 11</u>	
VI. Funds at close of this Account—		
1. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland	£150 0 0	
Carry forward	£150 0 0	<u>£593 8 2</u>

Brought forward .	£150	0	0	£593	8	2
2. Balance at credit of Account						
Current with Bank of Scotland	23	9	6			
				£173	9	6
Less—Due to Messrs. T.						
& A. Constable						
Ltd.	£293	12	6			
Due to Hon.						
Treasurer	12	15	9			
				306	8	3
Carried to Branch VI of Charge	£132	18	9			
Sum of the Discharge equal to the Charge .				£593	8	2

EDINBURGH, 12th November 1940.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the year from 1st November 1939 to 1st November 1940 and I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched, closing with a debit Balance of £132, 18s. 9d., made up as follows—

1. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of						
Scotland				£150	0	0
2. Balance at credit of Account Current with Bank of						
Scotland				23	9	6
				£173	9	6
Less—I. Due to Messrs. T. & A.						
Constable Ltd.	£293	12	6			
2. Due to Hon. Treasurer	12	15	9			
				306	8	3
Debit Balance as at 1st November 1940 .	£132	18	9			

HENRY W. MEIKLE,
Auditor.

Scottish History Society

LIST OF MEMBERS

1st November 1941

LIST OF MEMBERS

HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARY.

- ADAM, Lt.-Commander CHARLES KEITH, R.N., Blair-Adam,
Kinross-shire.
- Adamson, Miss Margot Robert, 100 Handside Lane, Welwyn
Garden City, Herts.
- Agnew, Rev. A. T., M.A., B.D., H.C.F., St. George's Vicarage,
Shrewsbury.
- Ailsa, The Marquess of, Culzean Castle, Maybole.
- Aitken, Miss A., 14 Murrayfield Drive, Edinburgh.
- Alexander, Joseph, 108 Glengate, Kirriemuir.
- Allan, John, M.R.C.V.S., Castle-Douglas.
- Alston, James, 57 Nile Grove, Edinburgh.
- Anderson, Miss H. M., 20 Grosvenor Crescent, Edinburgh.
- 10 Angus, William, Historical Dept., H.M. General Register House,
Edinburgh.
- Argyll, The Duke of, Inveraray Castle, Argyll.
- Arnot, Mrs. Rex, 12 Grosvenor Crescent, Edinburgh.
- Atholl, The Duke of, K.T., G.C.V.O., Blair Castle, Blair-
Atholl.
- BAIRD, Mrs. SUSAN G., of Colstoun, Haddington.
- Balfour, F. R. S., of Dawyck, Stobo, Peeblesshire.
- Balfour-Melville, E. W. M., D.Litt., 2 South Learmonth Gardens,
Edinburgh (*Hon. Secretary*).
- Barron, Rev. Douglas Gordon, D.D., Ardchoile, Aberfoyle.
- Barron, Evan M., *Inverness Courier*, Inverness.
- Batey, Rev. J. Hall, B.Litt., St. Andrew's Manse, Blackford,
Perthshire.

- 20 Baxter, Professor J. H., D.D., D.Litt., 71 South Street, St. Andrews.
- Begg, F. J. Henderson, M.B., Ch.B., Strathbeg, Barton Court Avenue, New Milton, Hants.
- Beveridge, George, Vallay, Lochmaddy, North Uist.
- Blackie, Walter W., The Hill House, Helensburgh, Dumbartonshire.
- Blair, Archibald Warden, M.A., LL.B., 8 Crown Road North, Glasgow, W. 2.
- Boase, Edward R., Advocate, 20 Great King Street, Edinburgh.
- Bonar, John James, Eldinbrae, Lasswade.
- Borenius, Professor T., 178 De Vere Gardens, Kensington, London, W. 8.
- Boyd, Edward, C.A., 27 Melville Street, Edinburgh.
- Boyd, Mrs. Helen T., 15 Moray Place, Edinburgh.
- 30 Boyes, John, 40 Glendevon Place, Edinburgh.
- Brown, James, 10 Scott Crescent, Galashiels.
- Browning, Professor Andrew, M.A., Westdel, Queen's Place, Glasgow, W. 2.
- Bruce, Sir Michael S., Bart., 49 Park Lane, London, W. 1.
- Buchan, J. Walter, Bank House, Peebles.
- Buchanan, G. A., Gask House, Auchterarder.
- Buchanan, Hugh, Private Bag, Taihape, New Zealand.
- Buchanan, H. R., 172 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
- Buist, Frank D. J., The Hollies, Broughty Ferry, Angus.
- Burns, Alan, B.A., Advocate, Cumbernauld House, Cumbernauld, Glasgow.
- 40 Burns, Dr. Charles, Evan Street, Stonehaven.
- Burns, Miss Margaret W., 138 Newhaven Road, Edinburgh.
- Bute, The Marquess of, K.T., Mountstuart, Isle of Bute (*President*).
- Buyers, John A., Poundland House, Pinwherry, by Girvan, Ayrshire.
- CAMERON, ALEXANDER, 4 Bangholm Terrace, Edinburgh.
- Cameron, Lieutenant-Colonel Angus, Firhall, Nairn.

- Cameron, Sir D. Y., R.A., R.S.A., LL.D., Dun Eaglis, Kippen, Stirlingshire.
- Campbell, Buchanan, W.S., Moidart, Currie, Midlothian.
- Campbell, Douglas, 17 East 61st Street, New York, U.S.A.
- Campbell, General Sir F., K.C.B., D.S.O., Tigh-an-Rudha, Ardrishaig, Argyll.
- 50 Campbell, Captain George I., Yr. of Succoth, Crarae, Minard, Argyll.
- Campbell, J. L., of Canna, Isle of Canna.
- Campbell, Mrs. Margaret M., LL.B., 8 Kirklee Quadrant, Glasgow.
- Campbell, Robert R., Board of Education, Whitehall, London, S.W. 1.
- Cant, Rev. Alan, Manse of Creich, Cupar, Fife.
- Carmichael, Evelyn G. M., O.B.E., Berrington Hall, Shrewsbury.
- Carmichael, J. L., Arthurstone, Meikle, Perthshire.
- Carnegie, The Lady Helena, Rohallion, Murthly, Perthshire.
- Chandler, Dr. F. W., 23 Abbey Lane, Woodseats, Sheffield.
- Chapman, George, 17 Graham's Road, Falkirk.
- 60 Clark, Mrs. James, Ravelston, Blackhall, Midlothian.
- Cleary, Vincent, Bank of Montreal, Canada.
- Clyde, The Right Hon. Lord, LL.D., Briglands, Rumbling Bridge.
- Conway, G. R. G., M.Inst.C.E., Apartado, 124 Bis, Mexico, D. F., Mexico.
- Cooper, The Right Hon. Lord, 16 Hermitage Drive, Edinburgh.
- Corsar, Kenneth Charles, F.S.A.Scot., Rubislaw, Braid Avenue, Edinburgh.
- Couper, J. B., Gordon Chambers, 82 Mitchell Street, Glasgow.
- Cowan, Miss Lillias A., St. Kilda, Sidmouth, Devon.
- Cowie, John, 20 Blythswood Square, Glasgow, C. 2.
- Crichton-Stuart, The Lord Colum, M.P., 1 Portland Place, London, W. 1.

- 70 Crockett, Rev. W. S., D.D., The Manse, Tweedsmuir.
 Cross, A. R., B.A., 11 Kirklee Terrace, Glasgow, W. 2.
 Curle, James, LL.D., W.S., St. Cuthbert's, Melrose.
- DALRYMPLE, The Hon. Sir HEW H., K.C.V.O., 24 Regent
 Terrace, Edinburgh.
- Dalyell, of the Binns, Lt.-Colonel Gordon, C.I.E., D.L.,
 Linlithgow.
- Darling, James Stormonth, W.S., Edenbank, Kelso.
- Davidson, Alfred R., Invernahaven, Abernethy, Perthshire.
- Davidson, Captain Duncan G., of Flemington, Gollanfield,
 Inverness-shire.
- Davidson, George M., 41 Snowdon Place, Stirling.
- Davidson, Hugh, Braedale, Lanark.
- 80 Davidson, James T., Westerlea, Kirkcaldy.
- Davidson, W. L., C.A., 142 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow, C. 2.
- Davies, Professor Godfrey, The Huntington Library, San
 Marino, California, U.S.A.
- De Beer, E. S., M.A., 11 Sussex Place, Regent's Park,
 London, N.W. 1.
- De Pree, Mrs. Ruth, Beech Hill, Haddington.
- Dickinson, W. C., Ph.D., D.Lit., London School of Economics,
 Houghton Street, Aldwych, London, W.C. 2.
- Dickson, A. Hope, 9 Succoth Gardens, Edinburgh.
- Dickson, J. Douglas H., W.S., 7 Doune Terrace, Edinburgh
 (*Hon. Treasurer*).
- Dickson, Walter, Lynedoch House, Elcho Terrace, Portobello.
- Dickson, Walter S., Advocate, 6 Circus Gardens, Edinburgh.
- 90 Dickson, William Kirk, LL.D., Advocate, 8 Gloucester Place,
 Edinburgh.
- Dobbie, Sir Joseph, 10 Learmonth Terrace, Edinburgh.
- Dobie, M. R., Military Permit Office, 49 Castle Street,
 Edinburgh.
- Don, Captain William G., Maulesden, Brechin, Angus.
- Donald, Alexander Graham, M.A., F.F.A., 18 Carlton Terrace,
 Edinburgh.

- Donaldson, Gordon, Ph.D., H.M. General Register House,
Edinburgh.
- Donnelly, H. H., LL.B., H.M. General Register House,
Edinburgh.
- Douglas, Miss A. C., 34 Falkland Mansions, Hyndland,
Glasgow, W. 2.
- Duff, J. H., H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.
- Dumfries, The Earl of, 5 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh.
- 100 Dunlop, Mrs. Annie I., Ph.D., D.Litt., Dunselma, Fenwick,
Ayrshire.
- Dunlop, G. B., *Standard* Office, 3 Duke Street, Kilmarnock.
- Dunlop, W. B., Seton Castle, Longniddry.
- EASSON, Rev. D. E., B.D., Ph.D., Old Manse, Mauchline.
- Elliot, Miss Effie M., Balnakiel, Galashiels.
- Ellis, E. Menzies, 3 Belmont Drive, Rutherglen, Glasgow.
- FAIRGRIEVE, ANDREW, Maplehurst, Galashiels.
- Farquhar, Mrs. Gordon, Arden, Helensburgh.
- Ferguson, Peter, Solicitor, Dunoon.
- Fergusson, James, Caponflat, Haddington.
- 110 Findlay, Sir J. E. R., Bart., 18 Lauder Road, Edinburgh.
- Fleming, The Hon. Lord, East Morningside House, Clinton
Road, Edinburgh.
- Fleming, Mrs. Agnes J., 12 Beaufort Gardens, London,
S.W. 3.
- Fleming, Miss Helen J., Dunalastair, Dreghorn Loan, Colinton.
- Fletcher, A. S., C.B.E., News Dept., Foreign Office,
London.
- Forbes, G. O., Yr. of Boyndlie, Fraserburgh.
- Forbes, Miss M. C., 11 Darnaway Street, Edinburgh.
- Fordyce, Professor C. J., The University, Glasgow.
- Forrest, Colonel, Glenmachan, Strandtown, Belfast.
- Forrester, Rev. D. M., B.D., U.F. Manse, Broughton, Peebles-
shire.
- 120 Foulis, George H. Liston, 23 Moray Place, Edinburgh.

- Fraser, Charles Ian, of Reelig, Kirkhill, Inverness-shire.
 Fraser, Edward D., 4 The Highlands, St. Leonards-on-Sea,
 Sussex.
 Fraser, Professor Sir John, K.C.V.O., M.D., 32 Moray Place,
 Edinburgh.
 Fraser-Mackenzie, Mrs., of Allangrange, Bunchrew, Inverness-
 shire.

- GALBRAITH, Professor V. H., 12 Learmonth Gardens, Edinburgh.
 Galloway, T. L., of Auchendrane, by Ayr.
 Gauld, H. Drummond, Craighinning House, Dechmont, West
 Lothian.
 Gibb, Sir Alexander, G.B.E., C.B., LL.D., F.R.S., Queen
 Anne's Lodge, Westminster, London, S.W. 1.
 Gilbertson, J. Stewart, 153 Park Avenue, Madison, New Jersey,
 U.S.A.
- 130 Girvan, Professor John, 11 Eglinton Drive, Glasgow, W. 2.
 Glenconner, The Lord, 4 Buckingham Street, London, S.W. 1.
 Grahame, Lieut.-Col. G. C., Ingleholm, North Berwick.
 Grant, Sir Francis J., K.C.V.O., LL.D., W.S., Lord Lyon King
 of Arms, 18 George Square, Edinburgh.
 Grant, Major Frank L., T.D., St. Margaret's, Roslin.
 Grant, John, 31 George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh.
 Gray, Col. W. B., Governor, St. Helena.
 Grierson, Henry J., W.S., Laguna, Murthly, Perthshire.
 Guthrie, Charles, W.S., 3 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh.
 Guthrie, T. Maule, Rosehill, Brechin, Forfarshire.
- 140 HAMILTON, J. B., 11 Hatton Place, Edinburgh.
 Hay, Lt.-Col. R., Deputy Director-General, Indian Medical
 Service, New Delhi, India.
 Hay, W. J., John Knox's House, Edinburgh.

- Hayward, Robert S., The Hawthorns, Galashiels.
 Henderson, Andrew, 43 Dalhousie Terrace, Edinburgh.
 Henderson, C. Stewart, Sherbrooke, 4 Craigmillar Park,
 Edinburgh.
 Henderson, J. G. B., Nether Parkley, Linlithgow.
 Henderson, Prof. Robert Candlish, K.C., 6 Doune Terrace,
 Edinburgh.
 Henderson, Robert, Whiteyard, Lochfoot, Dumfries.
 Henderson, Sir Thomas, Langlands, Hawick.
 150 Hepburne - Scott, The Hon. G. F. C., Humble House,
 Humble.
 Holt, Mrs. M. S. M., The Crofts, Appin, Argyll.
 Home, The Earl of, K.T., The Hirsell, Coldstream.
 Hope, Trustees of George E., of Luffness, Aberlady, per Blair
 & Cadell, W.S., 19 Ainslie Place, Edinburgh.
 Hornel, Miss E. H., Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.
 Howden, W. H., 195 Scotland Street, Glasgow.
 Hutchison, David M., 82 West Regent Street, Glasgow.
 Hutchison, Major-Gen. The Lord, of Montrose, K.C.M.G., C.B.,
 D.S.O., 19 Montagu Square, London, W. 1.

 Ingram, W., K.C., 61 Great King Street, Edinburgh.
 Innes, Thomas, of Learney, Advocate, Albany Herald, H.M.
 General Register House, Edinburgh.
 160 Insh, G. P., D.Litt., Jordanhill College, Glasgow, W. 3.

 JAMIESON, The Right Hon. Lord, 34 Moray Place, Edinburgh.
 Jarvis, R. C., 110 Framingham Road, Brooklands, Sale.
 Johnston, The Right Hon. Thomas, M.P., Monteviot,
 Kirkintilloch.

 KAY, ALEX., of McClure, Naismith Brodie & Co., Glasgow.
 Keir, D. Lindsay, Vice-Chancellor's Lodge, Lennoxvale,
 Belfast.

Kerr, Sir Archibald Kerr Clark, K.C.M.G., of Inverchapel,
53 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.

Kilpatrick, P. J. W., Bridgend, Colinton.

Kirkwood, Charles G., Duncairn, Helensburgh.

Knox, J. M., 57 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.

170 LAING, JOHN E., 20 Bridge Street, Glasgow, C. 5.

Lamb, Johnston Stewart, 10 Mortonhall Road, Edinburgh.

Lamont, Sir Norman, Bart., of Knockdow, Toward, Argyll.

Lamont, Thomas W., 23 Wall Street, New York, U.S.A.

Leiper, R. J., Tomphulit, Foss, by Pitlochry.

Lemon, Miss Ethelwyn, M.A., 35 Lauriston Place, Edinburgh.

Lindsay, Rev. and Hon. E. R., The Presbytery, Stone, Staffs.

Lindsay, John, M.A., M.D., 18 Burnbank Terrace, Glasgow, W.

Lindsay, Rev. John, 17 Midmar Gardens, Edinburgh.

Lindsay, Leonard C. C., 15 Morpeth Mansions, Westminster, S.W. 1.

180 Lindsay, R. H., Record Office, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

Loch, Major-General The Lord, C.B., C.M.G., M.V.O., D.S.O.,
51 Lennox Gardens, London, S.W. 1.

Loch, Captain Humfrey, Room 22, Foreign Office, London.

Loch, Laurence John Carysfort, 1st Kumaon Rifles, c/o Lloyds
Bank Ltd., Hornby Road, Bombay.

Loch, Sydney, Pyrgos, Jerissos, Greece.

Loney, John W. M., Solicitor, 6 Carlton Street, Edinburgh.

MACARTHUR, NEIL, Solicitor, Royal Bank Buildings, Inverness.

M'Bean, J. P., 6804 Lawnton, Oak Lane, Philadelphia, Pa.,
U.S.A.

M'Candlish, Lieut.-Col. P. D., Muiredge, Bo'ness.

- MacColl, H. G., M.A., B.Sc., Craig Rannoch, Ballachulish, Argyll.
- 190 M'Colm, D. D., 13 Gloucester Place, Edinburgh.
- MacDiarmid, Allan Campbell, C.A., Westbrook Hay, Boxmoor, Herts.
- Macdonald, Angus, Ph.D., King's College, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- MacDonald, Sir Murdoch, K.C.M.G., M.P., 72 Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1.
- MacDougall, Captain Donald, Druimneil, Appin, Argyll.
- Macfarlane-Grieve, Lieut.-Colonel A. A., of Penchrise Peel, Hawick.
- M'Intosh, Murdoch, Drummond Tower, Upper Drummond, Inverness.
- Mackay, Æneas, 44 Craigs, Stirling.
- Mackay, William, Netherwood, Inverness.
- Mackay, W. Macdonald, 26 Lonsdale Road, Toronto, Canada.
- 200 McKechnie, Hector, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, 64 Great King Street, Edinburgh.
- Mackenzie, Compton, Suidheachan, Isle of Barra.
- Mackenzie, Mrs. P. C., 1A Warwick Road, Manor Park, London.
- Mackenzie, William C., Deargaill, St. Margarets-on-Thames.
- M'Kerral, Andrew, C.I.E., M.A., B.Sc., National Bank of India, London.
- Mackie, Professor J. D., M.A., The University, Glasgow.
- Mackie, Robert L., M.A., B.Litt., Abercraig, West Newport, Dundee.
- Mackinnon, Rev. Donald, F.C. Manse, Portree, Skye.
- Mackinnon, Professor James, D.D., Ph.D., 12 Lygon Road, Edinburgh. (Temporary address, Thornlea, Forfar.)
- Maclea, The Very Rev. Norman, D.D., Portree House, Portree, Skye.
- 210 MacLehose, James, LL.D., 5 Heriot Row, Edinburgh.
- Macleod, John, 80 Montpelier Park, Edinburgh.
- Macleod, Sir John Lorne, G.B.E., LL.D., 72 Great King Street, Edinburgh.

- Macmillan, A. R. G., M.A., LL.B., Advocate, 48 India Street, Edinburgh.
- Macmillan, The Lord, G.C.V.O., LL.D., Moon Hall, Ewhurst, near Guildford, Surrey.
- Macpherson, James, Solicitor, Corn Exchange Road, Stirling.
- Macqueen, Miss E., M.A., 46 Mount Road, Montrose.
- Macrae, C., D.Phil., 5 Macdowall Road, Edinburgh 9.
- Macrae, Rev. Duncan, 26 Douglas Crescent, Edinburgh.
- Mactavish, Duncan C., Castleton Cottage, by Lochgilphead, Argyll.
- 220 MacWhirter, Miss, North British Station Hotel, Edinburgh.
- Malcolm, Charles A., Ph.D., Signet Library, Edinburgh.
- Malcolm, Sir Ian, K.C.M.G., of Poltalloch, Kilmartin, Argyll.
- Mar and Kellie, The Earl of, K.T., Alloa House, Alloa.
- Marshall, Charles Hay, S.S.C., 97 Seagate, Dundee.
- Marshall, David C., Kilbucho Place, Broughton, Peebles-shire.
- Marshall, Sir W. M., Solicitor, 8 Merry Street, Motherwell.
- Massie, James, 9 Castle Street, Edinburgh.
- Mathers, George Fleming, M.A., LL.B., W.S., 23 Manor Place, Edinburgh.
- Mechan, Sir Henry, LL.D., 50 Montgomerie Drive, Glasgow, W. 2.
- 230 Meikle, H. W., D.Litt. (*Chairman of Council*), 23 Riselaw Road, Edinburgh.
- Meldrum, Rev. Neil, B.D., 26 Carden Place, Aberdeen.
- Mellor, Major J. G. G., No. 10 Hereford House, Park Street, London, W. 1.
- Menzies, W., 6 St. Vincent Street, Edinburgh.
- Michie, J. T., British Linen Bank House, Balfour.
- Mill, William, 109 Princes Street, Edinburgh.
- Miller, R. Pairman, S.S.C., 13 Heriot Row, Edinburgh.
- Milne, George, Craigellie, Lonmay, Aberdeenshire.
- Milne, James Fairweather, Rocksley House, Boddam, Peterhead.

- Mitchell, Mrs. Dykes, St. Mary's Hotel, Palmerston Place,
Edinburgh.
- 240 Mitchell, Sir George A., 4 West Regent Street, Glasgow.
Moncreiffe, William, Cuil-an-duin, Ballinluig, Perthshire.
Montgomerie, Miss Marjorie, 33 Westbourne Gardens,
Glasgow, W. 2.
Mooney, John, Cromwell Cottage, Kirkwall, Orkney.
Morgan, Ian, 8 Playfair Terrace, Downfield, Dundee.
Morris, David B., 15 Gladstone Place, Stirling.
Muirhead, Ronald E., Meikle Cloak, Lochwinnoch.
Munro, Robert, 71 Adele Street, Motherwell.
- NICHOLAS, DON. L., Pine Lodge, 2 Stanley Avenue, Higher
Bebington, Cheshire.
Nicoll, A., 24 Learmonth Terrace, Edinburgh.
- 250 Normand, The Rt. Hon. Lord, Lord Justice-General, 27 Moray
Place, Edinburgh.
- Ogilvie, F. W., Director-General, British Broadcasting Cor-
poration, London.
Ogilvie, J. D., Barloch, Milngavie.
Oliver, Mrs., Edgerston, Jedburgh.
Orr, John, 74 George Street, Edinburgh.
- PATON, HENRY M., 5 Little Road, Liberton, Edinburgh.
Petrie, Sir Charles, Bart., Lillington House, Sherborne,
Dorset
Petrie, James A., 28 Windsor Street, Edinburgh.
Philip, Rev. Adam, D.D., 19 Greenhill Gardens, Edinburgh.
Pirie-Gordon, of Buthlaw, Harry, D.S.C., F.S.A., 46 Addison
Avenue, Kensington, London, W. 11.
- 260 Pitman, H.A., 130 Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, London, W.2.
Pollok, Mrs. Gladys M., Ranachan, West Side House,
Wimbledon, London, S.W. 19.
Prain, A. M., Advocate, 79 Great King Street, Edinburgh.
Pryde, G. S., Ph.D., History Department, University,
Glasgow.

- RAMSAY, Captain A. H. M., 4 Princes Gate, London, S.W.
Ramsay, Miss E. Lucy, Stainrigg, Coldstream.
Ramsay, Captain Iain, Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, London.
Rankin, W. B., W.S., 2 Rothesay Terrace, Edinburgh.
Reid, James A., 28 Anderson Street, Airdrie.
Reid, R. C., Cleuchbrae Cottage, Ruthwell, R.S.O., Dumfriesshire.
- 270 Reoch, John, Hawthornden, Erskine Road, Whitecraigs, Renfrewshire.
Richardson, Rev. Andrew Turnbull, Whyte's Causeway, Baptist Manse, Kirkcaldy.
Riddell, The Hon. William Renwick, LL.D., D.C.L., Osgoode Hall, Toronto, Canada.
Robb, James, B.D., LL.D., 26 Ormidale Terrace, Edinburgh.
Robertson, John Stewart, Writer, 176 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
Robertson, Ian Macdonald, LL.B., W.S., Glenlyon, Spylaw Bank Road, Colinton.
Rosebery, The Earl of, D.S.O., Dalmeny House, Edinburgh.
Ross, James, 10 Midmar Gardens, Edinburgh.
Rusk, J. M., 6 Rutland Square, Edinburgh.
Russell, John, 2 Brunton Place, Edinburgh.
- 280 ST. VIGEANS, The Hon. Lord, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, Edinburgh.
Salvesen, The Right Hon. Lord, P.C., LL.D., Dean Park House, Queensferry Road, Edinburgh.
Salvesen, I. R. S., 6 Rothesay Terrace, Edinburgh.
Salvesen, T. E., 37 Inverleith Place, Edinburgh.
Sanderson, Kenneth, W.S., 5 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh.
Saunders, William, 15 Morningside Grove, Edinburgh.
Scott-Charles, W. A. B. Hugh, Haining Croft, Hexham, Northumberland.

- Scott, J. C., 15 Napier Road, Edinburgh.
 Scott, John, W.S., 13 Hill Street, Edinburgh.
 Scott, R. Lyon, Braeside, Loanhead, Midlothian.
- 290 Shaw, Mackenzie S., W.S., 1 Thistle Court, Edinburgh.
 Shoemaker, Col. Henry W., Litt.D., American Legation,
 Sofia, Bulgaria.
- Simson, Colonel H. J., M.C., Balmanno, Laurencekirk,
 Kincardineshire.
- Sinclair, The Rt. Hon. Sir Archibald, Bart., M.P., of Ulbster,
 1 Thorney Court, London, W. 8.
- Smith, Andrew Cameron, Milnhead, by Dumfries.
- Smith, D. Baird, C.B.E., LL.D., 5 Kirklee Terrace, Glasgow,
 W. 2.
- Smith, Miss Dorothea Nimmo, 35 Heriot Row, Edinburgh.
- Smith, Lt.-Col. Ian M., D.S.O., M.C., c/o Williams Deacons
 Bank, 9 Pall Mall, London, S.W. 1.
- Smith, John, Birkhill, Lesmahagow.
- Snow, Rev. W. G. S., M.A., St. Mungo's Rectory, Alexandria,
 Dumbartonshire.
- 300 Sommerville, John, Solicitor, 9 Hermitage Terrace, Edinburgh.
 Stair, The Earl of, D.S.O., Oxenfoord Castle, Dalkeith.
- Stenhouse, B. A., 11 Learmonth Park, Edinburgh.
- Steuart, A. Francis, Advocate, 2 Lynedoch Place, Edinburgh
- Stevenson, Professor W. B., 31 Mansionhouse Road, Edin-
 burgh.
- Stewart, James, of Keil, Duror, Appin, Argyll.
- Stewart, William Ritchie, Merrick, Dalmellington, Ayrshire.
- Stirton, Rev. John, C.V.O., D.D., Delvine, Dreghorn Loan,
 Colinton.
- Stodart, Charles, of Leaston, Humble.
- Strathie, A. C., Bemersyde, Kilmacoll, Renfrewshire.
- 310 Struthers, Major J. G., Ardmaddy Castle, by Oban, Argyll.
- Swinton, Rev. Alan E., of Swinton House, Duns.
- TAIT, WILLIAM, 64 Albert Drive, Pollokshields.
- Taylor, Miss Henrietta, Duff House, Arundel.

Thomson, Col., Kilkenny House, Sion Hill, Bath.
 Thomson, David C., Inveravon, Broughty Ferry.
 Thomson, J. Albert, 126 George Street, Edinburgh.
 Tod, Henry, W.S., 45 North Castle Street, Edinburgh.
 Trench, G. Mackenzie, O.B.E., F.R.I.B.A., F.S.I., F.S.A. (Scot.),
 Glen Morven, Forest Drive, Kingswood, Surrey.

URQUHART, DONALD, Bellair, Durban, Natal, South Africa.

- 320 WADDELL, J. JEFFREY, Caldergrove House, Hallside, Lanarkshire.
 Wallace, Sir David, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.R.C.S., 6 Eton Terrace, Edinburgh.
 Walton, Frederick Parker, LL.D., Advocate (K.C., Quebec), 6 Great King Street, Edinburgh.
 Warrack, Malcolm, 7 Oxford Terrace, Edinburgh.
 Warrant, Major Duncan G., C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., Ormidale, Glen Daruel, Argyll.
 Watson, Arthur, 23 Danes Drive, Scotstoun, Glasgow.
 Watson, J. Allen, 5 Charlotte Street, Perth.
 Watson, Professor James A. S., B.Sc., 17 Crick Road, Oxford.
 Watt, James, LL.D., W.S., 7 Blackford Road, Edinburgh 10.
 Watt, The Very Rev. Lauchlan Maclean, D.D., LL.D., Kinloch, Lochcarron, Ross-shire.
 330 Weir, Thomas M., 227 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
 Westwater, L. A., 4 Walker Street, Edinburgh.
 Whitelaw, Charles E., F.S.A. (Scot.), 22 Midmar Gardens, Edinburgh.
 Whitson, Sir Thomas B., LL.D., 27 Eglinton Crescent, Edinburgh.
 Whyte, Robert D., Town Clerk, Rothesay.
 Williams, Allan, Ormeau Avenue, Belfast.
 Wilson, Garnet, St. Colmes, 496 Perth Road, Dundee.
 Wordie, William, 31 Kingsborough Gardens, Glasgow, W. 2.
 Wotherspoon, Robert, Solicitor, Inverness.

Wright, James M. B., of Auchinellan, Ford, Argyll.

340 Wyllie, Matthew, 169 West George Street, Glasgow, C. 2.

YOUNG, DAVID R., Solicitor, Kinross.

Younger, Miss Alice, 3 Osborne Terrace, Edinburgh.

LIST OF LIBRARIES SUBSCRIBING

- Aberdeen Public Library.
 Aberdeen University Library.
 Arbroath Public Library.
 Ayr, Carnegie Public Library.
 Baltimore, Peabody Institute, U.S.A.
 Bearsden, by Glasgow, St. Peter's College.
 Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, Donegall
 Square North, Belfast (Linenhall Library).
 Belfast, Queen's University.
 Birmingham Public Libraries (Ref. Dept.).
 10 Boston Athenæum, Mass., U.S.A.
 Boston Public Library, Mass., U.S.A.
 Bristol University, Bristol.
 California University Library, U.S.A.
 Cambridge University Library.
 Canberra, Commonwealth National Library, Australia.
 Cardiff Free Public Library.
 Chicago, Newberry Library, U.S.A.
 Chicago University Library, U.S.A.
 Cleveland Public Library, 325 Superior Avenue, N.W., Cleve-
 land, Ohio, U.S.A.
 20 Coatbridge, Carnegie Public Library.
 Columbia University Library, New York, U.S.A.
 Copenhagen, Royal Library, Denmark.
 Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.
 Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N.H., U.S.A.
 Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina, U.S.A.
 Dundee Free Library.
 Dundee University College Library.
 Dunfermline Public Library.
 Dunfermline, Scottish Central Library for Students.
 30 Edinburgh, Church of Scotland Library.
 Edinburgh, Corporation of the City of, City Chambers.
 Edinburgh, Episcopal Church Theological Library, Coates Hall,
 Rosebery Crescent.
 Edinburgh, Fraser Chair of Scottish History, Edinburgh Uni-
 versity.

- Edinburgh, Free Church Library, Bank Street.
 Edinburgh, H.M. General Register House (Historical Department).
 Edinburgh, Hope Trust, 31 Moray Place.
 Edinburgh, New Club, Princes Street.
 Edinburgh, New College Library, Assembly Hall, Mound.
 Edinburgh, Protestant Institute of Scotland, 17 George IV. Bridge.
- 40 Edinburgh Public Library, George IV. Bridge.
 Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians, 9 Queen Street.
 Edinburgh, St. Mary's Cathedral Library.
 Edinburgh, Signet Library, Parliament Square.
 Edinburgh, Society of Scottish Antiquaries, National Museum of Antiquities, Queen Street.
 Edinburgh, Society of Solicitors before the Supreme Court.
 Edinburgh, Speculative Society, University Buildings.
 Edinburgh, University Club.
 Edinburgh University Library.
 Falkirk Public Library.
- 50 Fort Augustus, St. Benedict's Abbey.
 Fort William, West Highland Museum.
 Glasgow, Baillie's Institution Free Library.
 Glasgow, Faculty of Procurators.
 Glasgow, Mitchell Library.
 Glasgow University Library.
 Glasgow Western Club.
 Hamburg, Staats-und-Universitäts Bibliothek, Speersort, Hamburg, Germany.
 Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
 Illinois University Library, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
- 60 Inverness Free Library.
 Iowa State University, Iowa, U.S.A.
 Ireland, National Library of, Dublin.
 Kilmarnock Public Library.
 Leeds Library, Commercial Street, Leeds.
 Leipzig, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Beethovenstr. 6, Germany.
 Liverpool Public Library.
 London, Antiquaries, Society of, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
 London, Athenæum Club.
 London, Corporation Library, Guildhall.

- 70 London, Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, W.C. 1.
London Library, St. James's Square.
London, Public Record Office.
London, Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
London, Royal Institution, W.
London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton
Street, Aldwych, W.C. 2.
London University, South Kensington, S.W.
London, University College, Gower Street, London.
Los Angeles Public Library, California, U.S.A.
Los Angeles, University of California Library, U.S.A.
- 80 Lund, Universitets Bibliotheket, Sweden.
Mackay Clan, Edinburgh.
Manchester, John Rylands Library.
Manchester, Public Free Library.
Manchester University Library.
Melbourne, University of, Carlton, Australia.
Michigan, University of, General Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.,
U.S.A.
Minnesota, Library of University of Minneapolis, U.S.A.
Montreal, McGill University, Canada.
Münich, Bavarian State Library, Germany.
- 90 Netherlands Royal Library, The Hague, Holland.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne Public Library.
New South Wales Library, Sydney, Australia.
New York Public Library, Albany, New York, U.S.A.
New York State Library, U.S.A.
New York University Library, U.S.A.
Nottingham Free Public Library.
Ottawa, Parliamentary Library, Canada.
Oxford, All Souls College.
Oxford, Bodleian Library.
- 100 Paisley, Philosophical Institution.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, France.
Pennsylvania Historical Society, U.S.A.
Pennsylvania University Library, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
Perth, Sandeman Public Library.
Philadelphia, St. Andrew's Society, U.S.A.
Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Princeton University Library, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Prussian State Library.

- Reading University Library.
- 110 St. Andrews Hay Fleming Library.
 St. Andrews University Library.
 San Francisco Public Library, Civic Center, California, U.S.A.
 San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery,
 California, U.S.A.
 Saskatoon, University of Saskatchewan, Canada.
 Sheffield Free Public Library.
 Sheffield University Library.
 Stanford University Library, California, U.S.A.
 Stirling Public Library.
 Stockholm, Royal Library, Sweden.
- 120 Stonyhurst College, Blackburn, Lancashire.
 Texas, University of, Austin, Texas, U.S.A.
 Toronto Reference Library, Canada.
 Toronto University Library, Canada.
 Upsala, Royal University Library, Sweden.
 Vaticana Biblioteca Apostolica, Città del Vaticano, Italy.
 Victoria Public Library, Melbourne, Australia.
 Wales, National Library of, Aberystwyth.
 Washington, Library of Congress, U.S.A.
 Washington, University Library, St. Louis, U.S.A.
- 130 Washington, University Library, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
 Wick, Carnegie Public Library.
 Wigan, Free Public Library.
 Wisconsin, State Historical Society, U.S.A.
 Yale University Library, U.S.A.

Copies of the Society's Publications are presented to the following Libraries :—

British Museum, London.
 National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Scottish History Society.

THE EXECUTIVE.

1940-1941.

President.

THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.

Chairman of Council.

JOHN A. INGLIS, K.C.

Council.

W. ANGUS.

R. L. MACKIE.

D. B. MORRIS.

H. W. MEIKLE, D.Litt.

WILLIAM K. DICKSON, LL.D.

JAMES MACLEHOSE, LL.D.

T. INNES of Learney.

EVAN M. BARRON.

R. C. REID.

W. C. DICKINSON, D.Lit.

Professor J. D. MACKIE.

JAMES CURLE, W.S., LL.D.

Corresponding Members of Council.

Sir CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., F.B.A., D.C.L., LL.D., Chichele

Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.

Professor G. M. TREVELYAN, O.M., C.B.E., F.B.A., D.C.L.,

LL.D., Litt.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Hon. Treasurer.

J. DOUGLAS H. DICKSON, W.S., 66 Queen Street, Edinburgh.

Hon. Secretary.

E. W. M. BALFOUR-MELVILLE, D.Litt., History Department,
The University, Edinburgh.

RULES

1. THE object of the Society is the discovery and printing, under selected editorship, of unpublished documents illustrative of the civil, religious, and social history of Scotland. The Society will also undertake, in exceptional cases, to issue translations of printed works of a similar nature, which have not hitherto been accessible in English.

2. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and twelve elected Members, five to make a quorum. Three of the twelve elected Members shall retire annually by ballot, but they shall be eligible for re-election.

3. The Annual Subscription to the Society shall be One Guinea. The publications of the Society shall not be delivered to any Member whose Subscription is in arrear, and no Member shall be permitted to receive more than one copy of the Society's publications.

4. The Society will undertake the issue of its own publications, *i.e.* without the intervention of a publisher or any other paid agent.

5. The Society normally issues yearly two octavo volumes of about 320 pages each.

6. An Annual General Meeting of the Society shall be held at the end of October, or at an approximate date to be determined by the Council.

7. Two stated Meetings of the Council shall be held each year, one on the last Tuesday of May, the other on the Tuesday preceding the day upon which the Annual General Meeting shall be held. The Secretary, on the request of three Members of the Council, shall call a special meeting of the Council.

8. Editors shall receive 20 copies of each volume they edit for the Society.

9. The owners of Manuscripts published by the Society will also be presented with a certain number of copies.

10. The Annual Balance-Sheet, Rules, and List of Members shall be printed.

11. No alteration shall be made in these Rules except at a General Meeting of the Society. A fortnight's notice of any alteration to be proposed shall be given to the Members of the Council.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

For the year 1886-1887.

1. BISHOP POCOCKE'S TOURS IN SCOTLAND, 1747-1760. Edited by D. W. KEMP.
2. DIARY AND ACCOUNT BOOK OF WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM OF CRAIG-ENDS, 1673-1680. Edited by the Rev. JAMES DODDS, D.D.

For the year 1887-1888.

3. GRAMEIDOS LIBRI SEX: an heroic poem on the Campaign of 1689, by JAMES PHILIP of Almerieclose. Translated and edited by the Rev. A. D. MURDOCH.
4. THE REGISTER OF THE KIRK-SESSION OF ST. ANDREWS. Part I. 1559-1582. Edited by D. HAY FLEMING.

For the year 1888-1889.

5. DIARY OF THE REV. JOHN MILL, Minister in Shetland, 1740-1803. Edited by GILBERT GOUDIE.
6. NARRATIVE OF MR. JAMES NIMMO, A COVENANTER, 1654-1709. Edited by W. G. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF.
7. THE REGISTER OF THE KIRK-SESSION OF ST. ANDREWS. Part II. 1583-1600. Edited by D. HAY FLEMING.

For the year 1889-1890.

8. A LIST OF PERSONS CONCERNED IN THE REBELLION (1745). With a Preface by the EARL OF ROSEBERY.

Presented to the Society by the Earl of Rosebery.

9. GLAMIS PAPERS: The 'BOOK OF RECORD,' a Diary written by PATRICK, FIRST EARL OF STRATHMORE, and other documents (1684-89). Edited by A. H. MILLAR.
10. JOHN MAJOR'S HISTORY OF GREATER BRITAIN (1521). Translated and edited by ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE.

For the year 1890-1891.

11. THE RECORDS OF THE COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLIES, 1646-47. Edited by the Rev. Professor MITCHELL, D.D., and the Rev. JAMES CHRISTIE, D.D.
12. COURT-BOOK OF THE BARONY OF URIE, 1604-1747. Edited by the Rev. D. G. BARRON.

For the year 1891-1892.

13. MEMOIRS OF SIR JOHN CLERK OF PENICUIK, Baronet. Extracted by himself from his own Journals, 1676-1755. Edited by JOHN M. GRAY.
14. DIARY OF COL. THE HON. JOHN ERSKINE OF CARNOCK, 1683-1687. Edited by the Rev. WALTER MACLEOD.

For the year 1892-1893.

15. MISCELLANY OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY. Vol. I.
16. ACCOUNT BOOK OF SIR JOHN FOULIS OF RAVELSTON (1671-1707). Edited by the Rev. A. W. CORNELIUS HALLEN.

For the year 1893-1894.

17. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHARLES II. AND SCOTLAND IN 1650. Edited by SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, D.C.L., etc.
18. SCOTLAND AND THE COMMONWEALTH. LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF SCOTLAND, Aug. 1651-Dec. 1653. Edited by C. H. FIRTH, M.A.

For the year 1894-1895.

19. THE JACOBITE ATTEMPT OF 1719. LETTERS OF JAMES, SECOND DUKE OF ORMONDE. Edited by W. K. DICKSON.
- 20, 21. THE LYON IN MOURNING, OR A COLLECTION OF SPEECHES, LETTERS, JOURNALS, ETC., RELATIVE TO THE AFFAIRS OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART, by BISHOP FORBES. 1746-1775. Edited by HENRY PATON. Vols. I. and II.

For the year 1895-1896.

22. THE LYON IN MOURNING. Vol. III.
23. ITINERARY OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD (Supplement to the Lyon in Mourning). Compiled by W. B. BLAIKIE.
24. EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESBYTERY RECORDS OF INVERNESS AND DINGWALL FROM 1638 TO 1688. Edited by WILLIAM MACKAY.
25. RECORDS OF THE COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLIES (*continued*) for the years 1648 and 1649. Edited by the Rev. Professor MITCHELL, D.D., and Rev. JAMES CHRISTIE, D.D.

For the year 1896-1897.

26. WARISTON'S DIARY AND OTHER PAPERS—
JOHNSTON OF WARISTON'S DIARY, 1639. Edited by G. M. PAUL.
—THE HONOURS OF SCOTLAND, 1651-52. C. R. A. HOWDEN.—
THE EARL OF MAR'S LEGACIES, 1722, 1726. Hon. S. ERSKINE.
—LETTERS BY MRS. GRANT OF LAGGAN. J. R. N. MACPHAIL.

Presented to the Society by Messrs. T. and A. Constable.

27. MEMORIALS OF JOHN MURRAY OF BROUGHTON, 1740-1747. Edited by R. FITZROY BELL.
28. THE COMPT BUIK OF DAVID WEDDERBURN, MERCHANT OF DUNDEE, 1587-1630. Edited by A. H. MILLAR.

For the year 1897-1898.

- 29, 30. THE CORRESPONDENCE OF DE MONTEREUL AND THE BROTHERS DE BELLIÈVRE, FRENCH AMBASSADORS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, 1645-1648. Edited, with Translation, by J. G. FOTHERINGHAM. 2 vols.

For the year 1898-1899.

31. SCOTLAND AND THE PROTECTORATE. LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF SCOTLAND, FROM JANUARY 1654 TO JUNE 1659. Edited by C. H. FIRTH, M.A.
32. PAPERS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF THE SCOTS BRIGADE IN THE SERVICE OF THE UNITED NETHERLANDS. 1572-1782. Edited by JAMES FERGUSON. Vol. I. 1572-1697.
- 33, 34. MACFARLANE'S GENEALOGICAL COLLECTIONS CONCERNING FAMILIES IN SCOTLAND; Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library. 2 vols. Edited by J. T. CLARK, Keeper of the Library.

Presented to the Society by the Trustees of the late Sir William Fraser, K.C.B.

For the year 1899-1900.

35. PAPERS ON THE SCOTS BRIGADE IN HOLLAND, 1572-1782. Edited by JAMES FERGUSON. Vol. II. 1698-1782.
36. JOURNAL OF A FOREIGN TOUR IN 1665 AND 1666, ETC., BY SIR JOHN LAUDER, LORD FOUNTAINHALL. Edited by DONALD CRAWFORD.
37. PAPAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS DURING HER REIGN IN SCOTLAND. Chiefly from the Vatican Archives. Edited by the Rev. J. HUNGERFORD POLLEN, S.J.

For the year 1900-1901.

38. PAPERS ON THE SCOTS BRIGADE IN HOLLAND, 1572-1782. Edited by JAMES FERGUSON. Vol. III.
39. THE DIARY OF ANDREW HAY OF CRAIGNETHAN, 1659-60. Edited by A. G. REID, F.S.A.Scot.

For the year 1901-1902.

40. NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND IN 1651-53. Edited by C. SANFORD TERRY.
41. THE LOYALL DISSUASIVE. Written in 1703 by Sir ÆNEAS MACPHERSON. Edited by the Rev. A. D. MURDOCH.

For the year 1902-1903.

42. THE CHARTULARY OF LINDORES, 1195-1479. Edited by the Right Rev. JOHN DOWDEN, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh.
43. A LETTER FROM MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE DUKE OF GUISE, Jan. 1562. Reproduced in Facsimile. Edited by the Rev. J. HUNGERFORD POLLEN, S.J.
Presented to the Society by the family of the late Mr. Scott, of Halkhill.
44. MISCELLANY OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY. Vol. II.
45. LETTERS OF JOHN COCKBURN OF ORMISTOUN TO HIS GARDENER, 1727-1743. Edited by JAMES COLVILLE, D.Sc.

For the year 1903-1904.

46. MINUTE BOOK OF THE MANAGERS OF THE NEW MILLS CLOTH MANUFACTORY, 1681-1690. Edited by W. R. SCOTT.
47. CHRONICLES OF THE FRASERS; being the Wardlaw Manuscript entitled 'Polichronicon seu Polieratica Temporum, or, the true Genealogy of the Frasers.' By Master JAMES FRASER. Edited by WILLIAM MACKAY.
48. PROCEEDINGS OF THE JUSTICIARY COURT FROM 1661 TO 1678. Vol. I. 1661-1669. Edited by Sheriff SCOTT-MONCRIEFF.

For the year 1904-1905.

49. PROCEEDINGS OF THE JUSTICIARY COURT FROM 1661 TO 1678. Vol. II. 1669-1678. Edited by Sheriff SCOTT-MONCRIEFF.
50. RECORDS OF THE BARON COURT OF STITCHILL, 1655-1807. Edited by CLEMENT B. GUNN, M.D., Peebles.
51. MACFARLANE'S GEOGRAPHICAL COLLECTIONS. Vol. I. Edited by Sir ARTHUR MITCHELL, K.C.B.

For the year 1905-1906.

- 52, 53. MACFARLANE'S GEOGRAPHICAL COLLECTIONS. Vols. II. and III. Edited by Sir ARTHUR MITCHELL, K.C.B.
54. STATUTA ECCLESIE SCOTICANÆ, 1225-1559. Translated and edited by DAVID PATRICK, LL.D.

For the year 1906-1907.

55. THE HOUSE BOOKE OF ACCOMPS, OCHTERTYRE, 1737-39. Edited by JAMES COLVILLE, D.Sc.
56. THE CHARTERS OF THE ABBEY OF INCHAFFRAY. Edited by W. A. LINDSAY, K.C., the Right Rev. Bishop DOWDEN, D.D., and J. MAITLAND THOMSON, LL.D.
57. A SELECTION OF THE FORFEITED ESTATES PAPERS PRESERVED IN H.M. GENERAL REGISTER HOUSE AND ELSEWHERE. Edited by A. H. MILLAR, LL.D.

For the year 1907-1908.

58. RECORDS OF THE COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLIES (*continued*), for the years 1650-52. Edited by the Rev. JAMES CHRISTIE, D.D.
59. PAPERS RELATING TO THE SCOTS IN POLAND. Edited by A. FRANCIS STEUART.

For the year 1908-1909.

60. SIR THOMAS CRAIG'S DE UNIONE REGNORUM BRITANNIÆ TRACTATUS. Edited, with an English Translation, by C. SANFORD TERRY.
61. JOHNSTON OF WARISTON'S MEMENTO QUAMDIU VIVAS, AND DIARY FROM 1632 to 1639. Edited by G. M. PAUL, LL.D., D.K.S.

SECOND SERIES.

For the year 1909-1910.

1. THE HOUSEHOLD BOOK OF LADY GRISELL BAILLIE, 1692-1733. Edited by R. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, W.S.
2. ORIGINS OF THE '45 AND OTHER NARRATIVES. Edited by W. B. BLAIKIE, LL.D.
3. CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES, FOURTH EARL OF FINDLATER AND FIRST EARL OF SEAFIELD, LORD CHANCELLOR OF SCOTLAND. Edited by JAMES GRANT, M.A., LL.B.

For the year 1910-1911.

4. RENTALE SANCTI ANDREE; BEING CHAMBERLAIN AND GRANITAR ACCOUNTS OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC IN THE TIME OF CARDINAL BETOUN, 1538-1546. Translated and edited by ROBERT KERR HANNAY.
5. HIGHLAND PAPERS. Vol. I. Edited by J. R. N. MACPHAIL, K.C.

For the year 1911-1912.

6. SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE REGALITY OF MELROSE. Vol. I. Edited by C. S. ROMANES, C.A.
7. RECORDS OF THE EARLDOM OF ORKNEY. Edited by J. S. CLOUSTON.

For the year 1912-1913.

8. SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE REGALITY OF MELROSE. Vol. II. Edited by C. S. ROMANES, C.A.
9. SELECTIONS FROM THE LETTER BOOKS OF JOHN STEUART, BAILIE OF INVERNESS. Edited by WILLIAM MACKAY, LL.D.

For the year 1913-1914.

10. RENTALE DUNKELDENSE ; BEING THE ACCOUNTS OF THE CHAMBERLAIN OF THE BISHOPRIC OF DUNKELD, A.D. 1506-1517. Edited by R. K. HANNAY.
11. LETTERS OF THE EARL OF SEAFIELD AND OTHERS, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND DURING THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE. Edited by Professor HUME BROWN.

For the year 1914-1915.

12. HIGHLAND PAPERS. Vol. II. Edited by J. R. N. MACPHAIL, K.C.
(March 1916.)
(Note.—ORIGINS OF THE '45, issued for 1909-1910, is issued also for 1914-1915.)

For the year 1915-1916.

13. SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE REGALITY OF MELROSE. Vol. III. Edited by C. S. ROMANES, C.A. (February 1917.)
14. A CONTRIBUTION TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SCOTTISH TOPOGRAPHY. Edited by the late Sir ARTHUR MITCHELL and C. G. CASH. Vol. I. (March 1917.)

For the year 1916-1917.

15. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SCOTTISH TOPOGRAPHY. Vol. II. (May 1917.)
16. PAPERS RELATING TO THE ARMY OF THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, 1643-1647. Vol. I. Edited by Professor C. SANFORD TERRY. (October 1917.)

For the year 1917-1918.

17. PAPERS RELATING TO THE ARMY OF THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, 1643-1647. Vol. II. (December 1917.)
18. WARISTON'S DIARY. Vol. II. Edited by D. HAY FLEMING, LL.D. (February 1919.)

For the year 1918-1919.

19. MISCELLANY OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY. Vol. III.
20. HIGHLAND PAPERS. Vol. III. Edited by J. R. N. MACPHAIL, K.C.

THIRD SERIES.

For the year 1919-1920.

1. REGISTER OF THE CONSULTATIONS OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH. Vol. I. 1652-1657. Edited by the Rev. W. STEPHEN, B.D.

For the year 1920-1921.

2. DIARY OF GEORGE RIDPATH, MINISTER OF STITCHEL, 1755-1761.
Edited by Sir JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, C.V.O., LL.D.

For the year 1921-1922.

3. THE CONFESSIONS OF BABINGTON AND OTHER PAPERS RELATING TO THE LAST DAYS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS. Edited by the Rev. J. H. POLLEN, S.J.

For the year 1922-1923.

4. FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE WITH MARIE DE LORRAINE, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND (BALCARRES PAPERS), 1537-1548. Vol. I. Edited by MARGUERITE WOOD, M.A.
5. SELECTION FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE SIR WILLIAM FRASER, K.C.B. Edited by J. R. N. MACPHAIL, K.C.
- Presented to the Society by the Trustees of the late Sir William Fraser, K.C.B.*

For the year 1923-1924.

6. PAPERS RELATING TO THE SHIPS AND VOYAGES OF THE COMPANY OF SCOTLAND TRADING TO AFRICA AND THE INDIES, 1696-1707.
Edited by GEORGE P. INSH, D.Litt.

For the year 1924-1925.

7. FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE WITH MARIE DE LORRAINE, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND (BALCARRES PAPERS), 1548-1557. Vol. II. Edited by MARGUERITE WOOD, M.A.

For the year 1925-1926.

8. THE EARLY RECORDS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS, 1413-1579. Edited by J. MAITLAND ANDERSON, LL.D.
9. MISCELLANY OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY. Vol. IV.
CORDARA'S COMMENTARY ON THE EXPEDITION TO SCOTLAND MADE BY CHARLES EDWARD STUART, PRINCE OF WALES. Edited by Sir BRUCE SETON, C.B.—THE CRAIGNISH MS. Edited by HERBERT CAMPBELL.—MISCELLANEOUS CHARTERS, 1165-1300, FROM TRANSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE SIR WILLIAM FRASER, K.C.B. Edited by WILLIAM ANGUS.

For the year 1926-1927.

10. THE SCOTTISH CORRESPONDENCE OF MARY OF LORRAINE, 1543-1560. Edited by ANNIE I. CAMERON, M.A., Ph.D.
11. JOURNAL OF THOMAS CUNINGHAM, 1640-1654, CONSERVATOR AT CAMPVERE. Edited by ELINOR JOAN COURTHOPE, M.A.

For the year 1927-1928.

12. THE SHERIFF COURT BOOK OF FIFE, 1515-1522. Edited by WILLIAM CROFT DICKINSON, M.A., Ph.D.
13. THE PRISONERS OF THE '45. Vol. I. Edited by Sir BRUCE SETON, Bart. of Abercorn, C.B., and Mrs. JEAN GORDON ARNOT.

For the year 1928-1929.

- 14, 15. THE PRISONERS OF THE '45. Vols. II. and III.

For the year 1929-1930.

16. REGISTER OF THE CONSULTATIONS OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH. Vol. II. 1657-1660. Edited by the Rev. W. STEPHEN, B.D.
17. THE MINUTES OF THE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE FOR LANARKSHIRE, 1707-1723. Edited by C. A. MALCOLM, M.A., Ph.D.
(October 1931.)

For the year 1930-1931.

18. THE WARRENDER PAPERS. Vol. I. 1301-1587. Edited by ANNIE I. CAMERON, M.A., Ph.D., with Introduction by Principal ROBERT S. RAIT, C.B.E., LL.D.

For the year 1931-1932.

19. THE WARRENDER PAPERS. Vol. II. 1587-1603. Edited by ANNIE I. CAMERON, M.A., Ph.D., with Introduction by Principal ROBERT S. RAIT, C.B.E., LL.D.
20. FLODDEN PAPERS. Edited by MARGUERITE WOOD, Ph.D.

For the year 1932-1933.

21. MISCELLANY OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY. Vol. v. FRASER CHARTERS. Edited by WILLIAM ANGUS.—BAGIMOND'S ROLL FOR THE ARCHDEACONRY OF TEVIOTDALE. Edited by ANNIE I. CAMERON.—LAUDERDALE CORRESPONDENCE. Edited by HENRY M. PATON.—LETTERS OF ALEXANDER MONRO. Edited by WILLIAM KIRK DICKSON.—JACOBITE PAPERS AT AVIGNON. Edited by HENRIETTA TAYLER.—MARCHMONT CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE '45. Edited by the Hon. G. F. C. HEPBURN-SCOTT.—AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF EARL MARISCHAL KEITH. Edited by J. Y. T. GREIG.
22. HIGHLAND PAPERS. Vol. IV. Edited by J. R. N. MACPHAIL, K.C., with Biographical Introduction by WILLIAM K. DICKSON, LL.D.

For the year 1933-1934.

23. CALENDAR OF SCOTTISH SUPPLICATIONS TO ROME, 1418-1422. Edited by the Rev. and Hon. E. R. LINDSAY, M.A., and ANNIE I. CAMERON, M.A., D.Litt.
24. EARLY CORRESPONDENCE OF ROBERT WODROW. Edited by L. W. SHARP, M.A., Ph.D. (December 1937.)

For the year 1934-1935.

25. WARRENDER LETTERS. CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR GEORGE WARRENDER, LORD PROVOST OF EDINBURGH, 1715. Edited by WILLIAM K. DICKSON, LL.D.
26. COMMENTARY ON THE RULE OF ST. AUGUSTINE BY ROBERTUS RICHARDINUS. Edited by G. G. COULTON, Litt.D., D.Lit., F.B.A.

For the year 1935-1936.

27. SURVEY OF LOCHTAYSIDE, 1769. Edited by MARGARET M. MCARTHUR, M.A., LL.B.
28. AYR BURGH ACCOUNTS, 1534-1624. Edited by G. S. PRYDE, M.A., Ph.D.

For the year 1936-1937.

29. BARONY COURT BOOK OF CARNWATH, 1523-1542. Edited by W. C. DICKINSON, D.Lit.
30. CHRONICLE OF HOLYROOD. Edited by MARJORIE OGILVIE ANDERSON, B.A., with some additional notes by ALAN ORR ANDERSON, LL.D.

For the year 1937-1938.

31. THE JACOBITE COURT AT ROME, 1719. Edited by HENRIETTA TAYLER.
32. INCHCOLM CHARTERS. Edited by Rev. D. E. EASSON, B.D., Ph.D., and ANGUS MACDONALD, M.A., Ph.D.

For the year 1938-1939.

33. MISCELLANY OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY. Vol. VI. BAGIMOND'S ROLL. Edited by ANNIE I. DUNLOP, D.Litt.—FOUNDATION-CHARTER OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF DUNBAR. Edited by D. E. EASSON, Ph.D.—LETTERS FROM JOHN, SECOND

EARL OF LAUDERDALE, TO JOHN, SECOND EARL OF TWEEDDALE, AND OTHERS. Edited by HENRY M. PATON.—MEMORIES OF AYRSHIRE ABOUT 1780 by the REV. JOHN MITCHELL, D.D. Edited by WILLIAM KIRK DICKSON.

34. WARISTON'S DIARY. Vol. III. Edited by J. D. OGILVIE.

For the year 1939-1940.

35. MISCELLANY OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY. Vol. VII.
DIARY OF SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN, 1657-1659. Edited by H. W. MEIKLE, D.Litt.—THE EXILED STEWARTS IN ITALY. Edited by HELEN C. STEWART.—THE LOCHARKAIG TREASURE. Edited by MARION F. HAMILTON.

For the year 1940-1941.

36. TWO MISSIONS OF JACQUES DE LA BROSSÉ, 1543 AND 1560. Edited by G. DICKINSON.

In preparation.

1. MINUTES OF THE SYNOD OF ARGYLL, 1639-1651. Edited by DUNCAN C. MACTAVISH.
2. CALENDAR OF LETTERS OF JAMES III. AND JAMES IV. Edited by R. K. HANNAY, LL.D.
3. CHARTERS OF THE ABBEY OF COUPAR-ANGUS. Edited by D. E. EASSON, Ph.D.
4. MONYMUSK PAPERS. Edited by HENRY HAMILTON, D.Litt.
5. CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES II., KING OF SCOTS, WITH CHARLES VII., KING OF FRANCE. Edited by ANNIE I. DUNLOP, D.Litt.

